Engraved by A Dagger from the original Painting by Colonel Trumbull

G Washington

WASHINGTON,

at Trenton, N. Jersey, January 2d 1777.

This Print is copied from a painting deposited by the Artist, (the aid of Washington) in the Trumbull Gallery at New Haven Conn.
Washington *is represented viewing the enemy just after the conflict at the Creek bridge.-Every minute article of his dress down to the buttons the trappings of his horse &c were carefully drawn from the originals.*

OUR FRENCH ALLIES.

ROCHAMBEAU AND HIS ARMY, LAFAYETTE AND HIS DEVOTION,
D'ESTAING, DETERNAY, BARRAS, DEGRASSE,
AND THEIR FLEETS,

IN THE

GREAT WAR

OF THE

American Revolution,

FROM 1778 TO 1782,

INCLUDING

MILITARY OPERATIONS IN RHODE ISLAND, THE SURRENDER OF YORKTOWN, SKETCHES OF FRENCH AND AMERICAN OFFICERS, AND INCIDENTS OF SOCIAL LIFE IN NEWPORT, PROVIDENCE, AND ELSEWHERE.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY EDWIN MARTIN STONE.

PROVIDENCE:
PRINTED BY THE PROVIDENCE PRESS COMPANY.
1884.

No. 4

One Hundred Copies Rubricated.

Four Extra Steel Portraits.

TO THE

Marquis de Rochambeau,

THE

HONORED REPRESENTATIVE

OF

A NOBLE NAME,

THIS VOLUME,

COMMEMORATING THE IMPORTANT AID RENDERED BY FRANCE

TO THE

UNITED STATES

IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE,

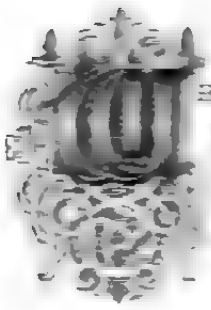
IS

RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.



HEN Lafayette told Napoleon I. that the American Revolution was the greatest event in the history of the world, he employed language that required no slight modification. In laying the foundation of a powerful nation on the North American Continent, now holding a foremost rank in the family of empires, kingdoms and republics; in giving birth to principles that have removed the stain of domestic slavery from its otherwise fair escutcheon, and that have, in no moderate degree, modified the political ideas and legislation of all Europe, the American Revolution may with truth be claimed as filling the grandest chapter in the world's history since the palmy days of the Roman Empire. The asseveration, "I am an American citizen," is now as potential as was the cry, "I am a Roman citizen," in the reign of the Cæsars.

In securing the nationality of which we now boast, and the material prosperity, personal rights and liberties which we now so abundantly enjoy, France gave us the thirteen feeble, but "strong minded" colonies, her aid. The spirit of that nation and of her monarch, Louis the XVI., is illustrated in the following narrative. The assistance he rendered was timely, and hastened to a successful termination a struggle that more than once caused great anxiety to even the hopeful Washington. It has been said, in the way of criticism, that but for the hope of crippling the power of England,

and of extending his colonial dominions, the French King would never have consented to an alliance fraught with the remarkable consequences that followed it. Whatever may have been the motive that governed his action, the benefit to the struggling colonies soon became apparent, and on that fact we rest.

According to a statement made by the Prince de Joinville, France, in the War of the American Revolution, "lost thirty-five thousand men and twenty-five ships of the line." All this loss, did not, of course, occur in America, nor in the waters of the United States, but was an aggregate growing out of the alliance with the American Confederacy. A conservative ministry was disinclined to commit France to such a relation. "The King," the Prince says, "encountered an opposition from the Count de Vergennes and the Court, when he took the suffering cause of the Americans in hand. He was moved by the representations of the American Commissioners, and the Queen was no less urgent to save the sinking cause of the American people. My grandfather and my father were present when the last struggle took place between the King and the ministry upon the article of alliance with the United Colonies of America. That day—it was a happy day for the Americans—but for the King, it was the day of his death! Yes, on that day when the King put his name to the instrument, he sealed his death warrant." . . . . "But for these powerful aids, no monuments are raised to perpetuate their memory. Louis XVI. ought to be placed next to General Washington as a liberator of the American people." *

The Americans are not an unappreciative nor an ungrateful people. This is shown in the commendatory general orders issued by Washington, immediately after the surrender of Cornwallis, and the equally expressive resolutions of thanks to "Our French Allies," so promptly passed by Congress, at Philadelphia, together with a vote authorizing the erection of a monument at Yorktown to perpetuate the memory of the gallant services of the allied armies of

* Prince de Joinville's conversation with the Rev. Eleazer Williams.

France and the United States. When the monument on that spot, the corner-stone of which was laid October 19th, 1881, shall be completed, ample justice will be done to the memory of Louis XVI.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

To Henry Thayer Drowne, Esq., of New York, whose knowledge of Rhode Island history is unsurpassed, I am deeply indebted for much valuable assistance in prosecuting my researches. For special courtesies my grateful acknowledgments are also due to Governor Alfred H. Littlefield, Lincoln; Hon. Joshua M. Addeman, Hon. Henry B. Anthony, Hon. Nelson W. Aldrich, Hon. John R. Bartlett, Hon. William W. Hoppin, Mr. Frederick Street Hoppin, William Bowen, Esq., George L. Cooke, Esq., Rev. Henry H. Northrup, George W. Danielson, Esq., Mr. Charles W. Hopkins, Mr. George B. Peck,* Zachariah Allen,* LL. D., Reuben A. Guild, LL. D., Zebulon L. White, Esq., Albert Holbrook, Esq., Caleb Fiske Harris,* Esq., Mr. Albert V. Jenks, Mr. John Morris, Mr. Russell M. Larned, Mr. Henry R. Davis, Mrs. Harriet A. Brownell, Miss Mary W. Armington, Miss Ellyn A. Clarke, Miss Charlotte K. Clarke, Mr. Thomas V. Carr, and Mrs. Anna R. Carr, Providence; David King, M. D.,* Henry E. Turner, M. D., Hon. Francis Brinley, James Eddy Mauran, Esq., George C. Mason, Esq., Hon. William P. Sheffield, Rev. Charles T. Brooks,* Mrs. Martha M. Anderson,* Mrs. James Birckhead, and Miss Emily Hazard, Newport; William J. Miller, Esq., Bristol; Mrs. Annie G. Bowen, Tiverton; Hon. William Greene,* Prof. George Washington Greene,* East Greenwich; General George Sears Greene, Coweset; Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Hon. Samuel A. Green, M. D., John Ward Dean, Esq, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D. D., Mr. Samuel Adams Drake, and Mr. Francis S. Drake, Boston; William P. Upham, Esq., Salem, Mass.; Oliver Wendell Holmes, M. D., Rev. John L. Sibley, Cambridge, Mass.; President Noah Porter, S. T. D., LL. D., Addison Van Name,

* The starred names are of those persons who, with a single exception, deceased while this volume was being printed.

A. M., Franklin B. Dexter, A. M., New Haven, Conn.; Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, LL. D., Hartford, Conn.; Mr. Anthony Lawton, Troy, N. Y.; Townsend Ward, Esq., Mr. John A. McAllister, Mr. Dexter S. Stone, Mr. William S. Schofield, and Miss Elsie Willing Balch, the accomplished translator and historical writer, Philadelphia, Penn.; Robert A. Brock, Esq., Richmond, Va.; Miss Kate Nelson, Yorktown, Va.; Hon. William Hunter, Hon. John S. Tucker, A. R. Spofford, Esq., Washington, D. C.; Major Asa Bird Gardner, LL. D., Judge Advocate United States army, George H. Moore, LL. D., Lenox Library, Mr. Jacob B. Moore, Librarian New York Historical Society, Thomas Vernon, Esq., and Charles T. Congdon, Esq., New York city. To Mr. Joseph E. C. Farnham, the sole compositor of this volume, my thanks are tendered for the prompt, neat and satisfactory manner in which he has performed the task assigned him; and also to Mr. Henry F. Doherty and to Mr. Alexander M. Robertson for office attentions.

The mechanical excellence displayed in the printing of this volume is highly creditable to the Providence Press Company, which has long been distinguished for superior book printing, and numerous historical works bear the imprint of that establishment.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

No historical work has ever before been issued by a Rhode Island press so largely illustrated as this. The illustrations number two hundred and nineteen. Of these, including eight silhouettes, seventy-two are portraits of French and American officers, and of distinguished civilians. Of this seventy-two, twenty-nine are steel engravings. The portrait of Queen Victoria, (page 558,) in the early days of her domestic sorrow, was engraved in England. The portraits engraved on wood are mostly from the burin of Mr. John C. Thompson, of this city, whose taste and skill are too well known to require further commendation. The historical buildings, autographs, revolutionary relics, and other objects of interest, were produced by the same hand. Several reproductions were furnished by the Photo-

Electrotype Company, Boston. Among the illustrations that will most readily attract the attention of historical students are the sections of the maps of Blaskowitz and Lewis; General Sullivan's battle map, (page 109); the flag of the Second Rhode Island regiment, carried at the siege of Yorktown; and the plat of the French encampment in North Providence, now included in the city of Providence. I consider it a subject for congratulation that so much of the plan of the encampment has been saved from the destruction of the plough. A hydrographic chart of Narragansett Bay, with the soundings carefully laid down, was published in 1776 by J. T. W. Des Barres, "in pursuance of directions from the Lords of Trade," and dedicated to "the Right Honorable Lord Viscount Howe." This is probably the first hydrographic survey of the bay ever made. The chart shows the station of each of the British guard vessels, and the points at which these were severally destroyed, as described on page 69. The charts of Blaskowitz and De Barres are rare and invaluable illustrations of Rhode Island in the War of the Revolution.

ANNOTATIONS.

As will be seen, numerous annotations appear in the following pages, and material that came to hand while the printing was in progress, but too late to be used in its appropriate place in the narrative, will be found in the appendix. For the convenience of readers to whom the lives or biographies of distinguished characters of the Revolution are not easily accessible, upwards of eighty notices and biographical sketches of American and French officers are here inserted.

ROCHAMBEAU PARK.

On page 316, the story of a movement to open a park on the French Camp-ground is told. It is there said, "the long desired park has been ensured." As a sequel to the story, it may be said, that the generous offer of nearly thirty-two acres of land, for the purpose above designated, was made by the owner, Henry T. Beckwith,

Esq., to the City Council, but at the time of the writing of this preface, it had not been acted upon. The Park is still hoped for.

RELICS.

A number of mementos of the French officers who passed their time so agreeably in Providence and Newport, is mentioned in the narrative. A thorough investigation would doubtless bring to light many more. The Count de Noailles, on his departure from Newport, where he passed the winter of 1780–81 in the family of Mr. Thomas Robinson, left some of his camp equipage behind. Benjamin R. Smith, Esq., has at his residence in Philadelphia a camp-kettle that belonged to the Count, and a tête-à-tête set of Sevres china, sent by the Countess de Noailles, to Mrs. Robinson, as a token of her friendly regards. The gift was accompanied with the following letter:

"MADAM:—I do not know whether you will forgive my indiscretion, but your friendly kindness for my husband affects me so truly that I cannot deny myself the pleasure of telling you how much and with what sincerity I unite with him in gratitude for all your favors. Since you know him, Madam, you will be to judge of my uneasiness and of the continual alarms I am exposed to on his account. From what he has told me of your sensibility and tender feelings, I hope it will be a pleasure to you to hear in procuring him a happy life, you also give some consolation to a heart almost broken with such a variety of affliction! I have a double obligation to you, Madam, for having admitted him into an intimate acquaintance in your family. He will see there, each day, that real happiness is not found in the pursuit of military glory, to which, nevertheless, men make such cruel sacrifices!

"May I hope, Madam, that you will permit me to present you some tea-cups of a manufactory we have here, and that in drinking your tea with your charming daughters, you will sometimes think of me. I should look upon it as a great happiness if circumstances should ever procure me an opportunity to offer myself the homage of all those sentiments you inspired me, and with which I have the honor to be, Madam,

"Your most humble and most obedient servant,

"NOAILLES DE NOAILLES.

"PARIS, 6th month, 1781."

BATTLE ON RHODE ISLAND.

The following extract is from an unpublished diary kept by the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL. D., pastor of the Congregational church in Hamilton, Mass., and should have followed the account of the battle given by Colonel Trumbull, (page 106), but was mislaid and not recovered until after the entire volume had been printed. Dr. Cutler was a volunteer chaplain in General Titcomb's brigade, which he joined at Tiverton. He remained on the island in the discharge of his duties until August 26, 1778, when he left to visit his father in Killingly, Conn.*

August 9, Sunday. "This morning the army was ordered to parade near Howland's ferry, in order to embark and re-embark in the boats that they might the better understand such a manœuvre, but a reconnoitering party having discovered that the enemy had left the upper end of the island, and retreated into Newport, the troops embarked and proceeded over, formed on the opposite beach, and marched up and took possession of their works, which were not at all damaged. They evacuated them Saturday evening, upon finding our troops intended to land six miles below, and cut off their retreat. They drove off all the horses and all the cattle from the inhabitants, except one cow to a family, destroyed all their wheels and carriages of every kind, took quantities of provisions, and filled up most of their wells.

"10. Monday. This morning I crossed on to Rhode Island, and joined General Titcomb's brigade. Dined with him and a number of gentlemen on the ground abroad, not having any quarters. Sleep this night in the officer's room in the barracks in the fort taken up by Colonel Wade.

"Last evening a fleet was seen off the harbor, of about eighteen or twenty sail, came up near the lighthouse and anchored. Several ships of the line, but unknown who or from whence. About 10 o'clock, the French fleet that lay above the town of Newport, came to sail, and went out in pursuit of them. As they passed the town and forts the ships began and kept up an incessant fire, until they were all passed. The roar of cannon at times was such as to make but one continued sound, without any distinction of guns. The fleet in the offing, which proved to be from New York, immediately put

* Rev. Dr. Cutler was born in Killingly, Conn., May 3, 1742; graduated at Yale College in 1765; received from his Alma Mater the honorary degree of LL. D. in 1791, and died in Hamilton, Mass., July 28, 1823. He was a faithful pastor, and was distinguished for scientific attainments.

to sea, and by dark the French fleet in pursuit of them was out of sight of land.

"11. Tuesday. The General procured a chamber for quarters at one Browning's, a Quaker. Invited me to live with him. This morning the wind at northeast blew pretty hard, cloudy and rainy. At 4, the whole army paraded, and was reviewed by the general officers. The order of battle and encampment. Front line,—Varnum's and Cornell's brigades on the right,—Glover's and Col. Com. Greene's do on the left. The second line, commanded by Maj.-Gen. Hancock, Lovel's brigade on the right, Titcomb's on the left. The light corps, consisting of Jackson's corps, Boston Independents and Light Infantry, and fifty men from each brigade in the front line, commanded by Col. Leuiston. [Livingston?] The reserve, consisting of Holden's and Brown's regiments, commanded by Col. Com. West. A flanking division on each wing of the army, and a flanking party to each wing of each line, consisting of volunteer and militia. A body of horse, commanded by General Whipple. The right wing of the whole army commanded by Maj.-Gen Greene,—the left by the Marquis de la Fayette.

"12. Wednesday. This morning orders for the whole army to be paraded at 6, for advancing towards the enemies' lines. But the storm increasing violently, prevented. A great number of the militia having no tents were obliged to continue out in the storm without any shelter. Col. Thorndike resigned. Col. Wade appointed. Capts. Brown and Cabot took lodgings at our quarters.

"13. Thursday. The storm exceeding severe,—wind very high. Mr. Nat. Tracy lodged with us. Dr. Clark and Parsons, Cols. Wadsworth and Thorndike with us. A Sergeant and nine men deserted, belonging to the 22d regiment, British. Say the French ships dismounted the guns and almost demolished two forts, and killed several men on Monday.

"14. Friday. This morning the wind changed to the southward. At 4 in the morning, troops turned out, examined their arms, and renewed their cartridges. Capts. Cabot, Brown and myself rode down near the enemies' lines. Saw Col. Hichborn and his brother Samuel. Orders for the army to march at 6 to-morrow morning. Several deserters.

"15. Saturday. At 6 o'clock a signal gun from the right, as a signal for the whole army to parade. Half after 6, two cannons fired for signals for forming into columns. Three cannons, signal for marching. The front line advanced in four columns, and the second line in two columns, commanded by their respective Brigadiers. Flanking divisions and flanking parties marched in their respective stations. The light corps advanced. The light horse advanced on the right for reconnoitering. Pioneers marched advanced of each division to remove walls, etc. The artillery and ammunition wagons between the first and second line,—the baggage

between the second line and the reserve. The reserve moved in one column. I had a fine prospect of the whole army as it moved off from Butts' Hill, where we first encamped. They made a very grand appearance. The army marched about three miles, and halted. A council of war was held by the general officers, who advanced and marked out the ground for encamping. No appearance of an attack from the enemy. The army extended quite across the island, from water to water. At 2 o'clock, advanced and came upon the ground, about a mile and an half from the enemy's lines, directly in their front. They fired a few cannon. As soon as our brigade was halted, on the ground, I returned to our old quarters and tarried the night. Was much pleased with the kindness and benevolence of Mr. Thomas Browning, at whose house we quartered.

"16. Lord's Day. Returned to Camp. Gen. Titcomb took quarters at Mr. Peleg Laughton's, a friendly Quaker, where we had very good accommodations. Almost the whole brigade on duty. No opportunity to attend public worship. At night began to throw up a redoubt upon an high eminence near the enemy's lines. Went in the afternoon with a number of officers to view a garden near our quarters, belonging to one Mr. Bowler,—the finest by far I ever saw. It is laid out much in the form of my own, contains four acres, has a grand aisle in the middle, and is adorned in the front with beautiful carvings. Near the middle is an oval, surrounded with *espaliers* of fruit trees, in the centre of which is a pedestal, on which is an armillary sphere, with an equatorial dial. On one side of the front is a hot-house, containing orange trees, some ripe, some green, some blooms, and various other fruit trees of the exotic kind, curious flowers, etc. At the lower end of the aisle is a large summer-house, a long square containing three rooms,—the middle paved with marble,—hung with landscapes and other pictures. On the right is a very large private library, adorned with very curious carvings. The collection of French and English authors, maps, etc., is valuable. The room is furnished with a table, chairs, etc. There are *espaliers* of fruit trees at each end of the garden, some curious flowering shrubs and a pretty collection of fruit trees. The room on the left in the summer-house, beautifully papered and designed for music, contains a spinet. But the whole garden discovered the desolations of war, and the want of a gardener to dress it. The Marquis de la Fayette took quarters at this house.

"A number of cannon fired from the enemy's lines this afternoon, but no damage done.

"17. Monday. Morning foggy. After it cleared away, rode down to the lines with Col. Thorndike. Had a fine view of the enemy's lines from the top of an house about a quarter of a mile distance, and little advanced of our picket. The enemy had fired for some time in the morning, but had ceased for some hours. While we were on the house, begun their fire again from the

redoubts. Several shot passed us on each side, and fell beyond us. Made a shocking whistling. Soon after we left the house a shot came through it. Found our situation not very safe nor agreeable. Stood by the Marquis when a cannon ball just passed us. Was pleased with his firmness, but found I had nothing to boast of my own, and as I had no business in danger, concluded to stay no longer lest I should happen to pay too dear for my curiosity. (Heard from my friends in Connecticut.)

"18. Tuesday. Morning foggy. As soon as it cleared off, the enemy began to fire on the works thrown up last night, which were considerable, but our men were so covered that they continued the works for the whole day,—no damage done except one man wounded. One man had his cartouch-box carried away. Nine arms belonging to our brigade paraded on the ground near the intrenchment carried away by two balls. Capt. Dodge escaped narrowly. Had the honor to dine with General Hancock by particular invitation. Dined in great state. A large number of officers. The General very complaisant. Invited me to dine, breakfast or to sup with him whenever it suited me, without any ceremony. After dinner, a number of good songs.

"19. Wednesday. Foggy morning. Our first battery opened. A steady fire from both sides. Three hundred cannon fired by 10 o'clock. The enemy evacuated one redoubt before 12 o'clock. At the great rock on our left, had a fine view, secure from danger. Rode in the afternoon in pursuit of a fishing boat. A man in one of the trenches had his thigh cut off by a cannon ball, and expired in an hour and a half.

"20. Thursday. Foggy morning. A steady fire through the day. Attended prayers this evening with the brigade for the first time, our situation not admitting of it before.

"21. Friday. The French fleet returned and came to anchor off the lighthouse, greatly damaged by the storm. The Languadoc, on board of which Count D'Estaing hoisted his flag, was dismasted and lost her rudder. One 74 missing. Took the Senegal and one bomb Ketch. General and all of us invited to take luncheon with Gen. Hancock. Found it rather an elegant dinner than a luncheon. We all rode down to the rock. Saw the fleet. We had two or three more batteries opened. Warm firing. Continually throwing shells from both parties. Saw several burst in the air. Attended prayers morning and evening.

"22. Saturday. Wind out. The three frigates in the river joined the fleet. Warm firing. Prayers morning and evening.

"23. Lord's Day. Expected to preach, and just prepared to go up to the brigade when the General received a letter from General Sullivan, informing him that the French fleet were so disastered they could by no means afford us any assistance, but were gone to Boston to refit. As the plan had ever been to take off eight or ten thousand men from the left of the army,

and land them on Brenton's Neck in the enemy's rear, under cover of the French ships for it was well known their lines were impregnable, this could not be executed with any degree of safety or prospect of success without any cover, all the Generals were called upon to give their opinion whether an immediate retreat was not absolutely necessary. This unexpected desertion of the fleet, which was the main spring of the expedition, cast a universal gloom on the army, and threw us all into consternation. Our most sanguine hopes were dropped in the bud, and we expected immediate orders to prepare to move off the ground. This prevented the brigade's meeting. A very heavy fire from the batteries all day. Rode down to the lines. Had a fine prospect of the enemy's lines. Saw all our shot strike which were well directed. One man killed by a cannon ball at one of our guns,—another died of the wound he received yesterday by the bursting of a shell. A great number of shells thrown in the night Our people split one 18-pounder and one 9½ inch mortar.

"24. Monday. As much of the heavy baggage moved off last night as possible. A body of men retreated to strengthen the works at Butts' Hill. At the lines — heavy fire — army preparing to retreat

"25. Tuesday. Very heavy firing — shells at night — orders to be ready to retreat at a moment's notice

"26 Wednesday. Expected to retreat at 6, this morning. Brigade paraded — sent all our baggage off the island extreme hot. But remained on the ground. Concluded to set out myself for Connecticut Came off the island at 4 P. M. Crossed Bristol ferry. Rode to Providence, and lodged about a mile out of town."

THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.—AN ERROR IN HISTORY CORRECTED.

This Society, of which Washington was the first President, was organized in April, 1783. State Societies were formed the same year. For reasons not necessary here to consider, the Parent and State Societies were bitterly assailed by men prominent in public affairs and of commanding influence, who predicted the direst consequences from their existence. The newspapers of the day, with few exceptions, gave currency to these hostile sentiments, while fruitless efforts were made to obtain their suppression by legislative action. With a better understanding of the design and spirit of the *Cincinnati*, the hostility so strongly displayed gradually disappeared. A

century has shown that the Parent and State societies have never been in any wise "dangerous to the peace, liberty, and safety of the Union," and that beyond their fraternal and benevolent aims they have, with the public, had no special significance. In the recently published "History of the People of the United States, from the Revolution to the Civil War," there is an erroneous statement relating to Rhode Island, which is probably now in current. It is, that "Rhode Island disfranchised such of her citizens as were members of the Order." Whether this statement is based upon a paragraph cited in the History, taken from the Philadelphia "Freeman's Journal," April 28, 1784, which says, "We hear that the State of Rhode Island is determined to disfranchise any and every person who is a member of the Order of the Cincinnati, and render them incapable of holding any post of honor and trust under the government," does not appear; but a careful examination of Rhode Island legislative records, and of the Rhode Island newspapers of 1783 and 1784, authorizes me to say that neither of the statements is sustained by facts. The General Assembly, so far as the records show, never "determined" to disfranchise any of her citizens for the reason set forth. No disfranchisement ever took place. No disfranchisement was ever attempted. Numbers of the most distinguished men in the State, who were members of the Society of the Cincinnati, to the close of their lives, held important public offices. But it is needless to pursue this subject further. The reader who wishes to learn more of the Parent Society and of its Rhode Island associate, is referred to the "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Volume VI., and to the exhaustive history of the Rhode Island Society by Major Asa Bird Gardner, LL. D., United States army.

THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI IN FRANCE.

As the French auxiliary forces had left the United States before the institution of the Order, General Washington, as President-General, on the 29th of October, 1783, wrote to Le Comte de Rocham-

been, late Lieutenant-General commanding auxiliary army, enclosing a copy of the institution, and sent it by a special messenger.*

Rochambeau received it on the 10th of December, 1782, and immediately caused both the letter and institution to be translated, and, on the 18th of December, transmitted them to the Minister of War, to be laid before the King.

On the 15th of that month, Louis XVI., in the most flattering manner, signified his approval, and as, at this time, no French subject was allowed to wear any foreign decoration, except the newly instituted quasi family one of the Golden Fleece, the approval was all the more significant.

The ordinary principle which attached to the possession of membership added to the distinction, and the greatest caution was manifested to show the requisite qualifications.

Another fact increased the honorable character of the decoration, namely, that it was the veritable version of a great cause, the justice of which appealed to the judgment of mankind.

The original membership was not necessarily limited to those who had thus participated, and consequently an element of exclusiveness attached to the possession of the gold eagle, which was the insignia of the Order.

The greatest care was taken in the examination of applicants, and no one, even after he was found to possess the requisite qualifications, was admitted until the King had formally signified his approval.

The society of the Cincinnati in France became, therefore, one of the most distinguished and exclusive Orders in Europe, and comprised in its roster many of the principal French officers.

As the American Alliance had been very popular at the Court of Versailles, and many of the superior French nobility had assisted in arms, the membership was almost exclusively confined to that class.

So great was the desire for membership, that as late as February

* [illegible]

1792. M. le Marquis de Rochambeau, President of the French State Society, submitted to the King, from a large list of applicants, the names of several who had served in the late "Auxiliary army," and were considered to possess the necessary qualifications.

The first meeting of the Order in France was held in Paris on the 7th of January, 1784.

In all the movements of the States-General of 1789, towards the establishment of constitutional government, the French Cincinnati were conspicuous.

The arrest of the King and the inauguration of the reign of terror put an end to the meetings of the Order, and, as the members belonged to a class obnoxious because of its family connections and descent, and against which legislation was taken, they were forced to emigrate, or were imprisoned or guillotined,—only two or three having been able to retain their places in the army or navy.

The record of original members in France shows that nearly all in the military service rose to be general officers; while of those in the navy, a large number was promoted from the grade of Capitaine de Vaisseau to be Chefs d'Escadre, Rear or Vice Admirals, and a few to the unusual dignity of Admiral.*

THE DAUPHIN OF FRANCE.

On pages 505–508 is a description of the celebration of the birth of the Dauphin, provided by the French minister, M. Luzerne, at which Washington and Rochambeau were guests. Over the life of this heir to the French throne a cloud of mystery hangs. On the one hand, it is affirmed that he died in 1795, and on the other that, at the age of ten years, he was consigned to the care of "Simon, the cobbler," a brutal man residing in Paris, under whose inhuman treatment he became idiotic, and in that condition was clandestinely car-

* Register of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1783–1883, by Asa Bird Gardner, LL. D., Judge Advocate United States army, Assistant Secretary.

ried to America, and placed in the care of an Indian family at Caughnawaga, N. Y.; that at about the age of thirteen or fourteen years he recovered his reason; that he was educated for the ministry; that a missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church to the Indians, known as the Rev. Eleazer Williams, was none other than the son of Louis XVI.; that the Indian woman, his reputed mother, did not acknowledge him to be her child; that he had none of the characteristics of an Indian; that he closely resembled Louis XVIII.; that in childhood, boxes of clothing and medals of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette were left with him; that various marks on his body corresponded exactly with those known to have been on the body of the Dauphin; that Belanger, in 1848, confessed, when dying, that he brought the Dauphin to this country; and much more of this sort; that, in 1818, at a dinner party given in New York, the French Minister, Genet, said, "the Dauphin of France is not dead, but was brought to America"; that the first knowledge Mr. Williams had of his royal descent was received from the Prince de Joinville, by whom he was visited, in 1841, for the purpose of obtaining, for a princely consideration, "a solemn abdication of the throne of France in favor of Louis Philippe," then King of the French, which proposition, much to the chagrin of the Prince, Mr. Williams declined. Mr. Williams does not appear to have been elated with this assurance of his royal parentage, nor did he ever take steps to assert his claim to the throne. In "Putnam's Magazine" for February, 1853, under the head, "Have we a Bourbon among us?" this remarkable story is told in detail by the Rev. John H. Hanson, with an introduction by the late Rev. Dr. Francis L. Hawks, of New York. Of the merits of its claim to an affirmative belief, the reader will judge.

THE YORKTOWN CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION.

It will be seen (pages 537–568) that considerable space has been given to an account of this commemoration, in which Rhode Island

was honorably represented. By an unexpected but appreciated courtesy I enjoyed the privileges of a national guest, which afforded me special advantages for witnessing the various ceremonies described. Could the Prince de Joinville, mentioned in another connection, have been present at Yorktown during the entire festivities, and noted the enthusiasm with which every allusion to the aid rendered by France in freeing the American Colonies from a foreign yoke was received, as well as the fervent welcomes every where given to the distinguished representatives of the French nation, he would have withheld the criticism he made to the Rev. Mr. Williams, that the American people did not appreciate the assistance afforded them in the day of distress. A hundred years had not obliterated the memory of those services.

The saluting of the Revolutionary flag, at the close of the ceremonies, "as a mark of respect to the illustrious sovereign and gracious lady who sits upon the Russian throne," forcibly recalled the tender commiseration addressed by the Queen to the new-bereaved widow of the assassinated President (Garfield): "Words cannot express the deep sympathy I feel for you at this terrible moment. May God support and comfort you as He alone can." That this language voiced the feelings of the Queen's subjects is evident from an incident that occurred in Faneuil Hall, where a meeting of the American Minister Lowell, or immense audience had assembled to express the grief and sympathy awakened by the death of the American President. When the venerable Rev. Mr. Simpson, with pathetic fervor, exclaimed, "God bless Queen Victoria for her womanly sympathy and her queenly courtesy," there followed a perfect storm of applause. Grace Greenwood, describing the occasion, says: "I never witnessed a scene like it. People sobbed and waved their hats, and women stood weeping and sobbing, and fanning their handkerchiefs. It was an old man's blessing, and received times repeated."*

* New York Independent, [illegible]

AUTHORITIES.

In collecting materials for this volume, I have been many years engaged. Not less than two hundred printed authorities, including the publications of twenty French officers in the army and navy who participated in the American Revolution, have been placed within my reach. By the cordial permission of Henry V. A. Joslin, Esq., the Providence City Clerk, I have made a careful examination of the proceedings of the town and of the town council during the entire war. An examination of the Pawtucket (North Providence) records has also been made. By similar cordial permissions of the Rhode Island State Executive Department, the Rhode Island Historical Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society, the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, the New York Historical Society, the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and the President and Librarian of Yale College, I have been made acquainted with the manuscripts in their respective archives, bearing upon my line of inquiry, besides which I have had the use of a large number of unpublished diaries and other family papers of the Revolutionary period. But notwithstanding this wide scope, and with unwearied endeavor to be thorough, I do not assume that the field has been exhausted. I have endeavored to be accurate in my narrative, but will not dogmatically affirm that no error in statement can be found. It has been my aim to do honorable justice to the invaluable services of "OUR FRENCH ALLIES," and to so present the salient points in the movements of Rhode Island troops, and the action of the State authorities, as to exhibit their mutual patriotism in times of the greatest emergency. In this I hope I have succeeded. I need only add that in describing the campaign in Rhode Island, and also in several of the biographical sketches, I have made free use of my previous contributions to the press.

CORRECTION.

The dwelling house of Colonel Coles stood on the southeast corner of Westminster and Sixth streets, and not "west east of the Hoppin Homestead Building," as stated on page 174. The house was many years ago removed.

FRENCH MEMORIAL CONSECRATION.

Pages 365, 366.

The decorations of the approach to the entrance to the North Burial Ground on the occasion of consecrating the monument to the memory of French soldiers, July 4, 1882, were designed and arranged by Mr. Florent Helot.

An elegantly bound souvenir copy of the memorial services, enclosed in a handsome casket, was forwarded by Mayor William S. Hayward, with an explanatory letter, to the Honorable Levi P. Morton, American Minister at Paris, to be presented to M. Grévy, President of the French Republic. This was done at an audience given May 2, 1888. The President received the gift with great satisfaction, as a memorial evidence of the strength of the ties by which, for more than a century, France and the United States had been united." Subsequently, through the Secretary of his military household, he requested M. Morton to convey to Mayor Hayward this expression of his personal feelings:

My work—pleasant to me, though laborious—is now completed. If it meets favor with friendly readers, and shall, to any degree, serve to perpetuate the kindly feeling existing between France and the United States, that diplomat so strong as expressed at the Yorktown Centennial Commemoration, a cherished desire will be accomplished.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PORTRAITS.

HISTORIC BUILDINGS, &c.

AUTOGRAPHS.

MISCELLANEOUS ILLUSTRATIONS.

PART I.

PRELIMINARY EVENTS.

NO one who reads the history of Rhode Island in its documents and well authenticated traditions can fail to perceive traits inherent in its founder. Before and subsequently to the granting of the Charter of 1643–4 by the home government, which united the three colonies as "The Incorporation of Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay in New England," the people evinced loyalty to the mother country. But while loyal they were independent. They understood their rights, and were prompt in resisting encroachment upon them. Indeed, they were a people who believed they were capable of taking care of themselves, who chose to manage their affairs in their own way, and who asked no aid from the Throne other than the protection in their prerogatives that would secure them from unauthorized foreign molestation. Yet they honored the King. They respected the government, whether a monarchy or a commonwealth, and the tone of individual and legislative expression was in accordance with this spirit. It was only when the English Parliament passed measures so oppressive to the American colonies, and attempted to enforce them, or the minions of the government made themselves oppressive to the people by annoying and irritating conduct, that attachment to King and Parliament gradually weakened. The

temper of the colony for a series of years was truthfully exhibited in firing upon the armed schooner St. John; in the protests against the "Molasses Act," the "Stamp Act," the tax on tea, and refusal to use it; the legend on an extra issue of the Providence Gazette, of "VOX POPULI VOX DEI," and "*Where the Spirit of the Lord is there is Liberty*"; the bonfire of tea and the Royal Arms in Providence; the hanging, in effigy, in Newport, of the Attorney General and two stamp officers; and the seizure of cannon on "Fort Island," with the avowed purpose of using them in self defence, if necessary.

The recklessness of the Parliament, and the folly of Lord North, notwithstanding the warnings of far-seeing statesmen, hastened events that issued in a final separation of the colonies from the mother country; and, as for Rhode Island, the exasperating course pursued by Lieutenant William Dudingston, in the Gaspee; and later, of Sir James Wallace, Captain of the frigate Rose, together with other exciting causes, severed the ties of affection, aroused a defiant spirit, and prepared the public mind to join heartily with the other colonies in abjuring "all allegiance to the British crown," and to "solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." Such was the growing temper of Rhode Island up to the opening of the year 1775.

The Gaspee, before referred to, was a revenue vessel of eight guns. Her commander had not only been unnecessarily annoying in the performance of his official duties, but had assumed an uncourteous attitude towards Governor Wanton. On the 9th of June, 1772, in giving chase to a packet for Providence, commanded by Captain Benjamin Lindsay, he grounded on Namquit Point, (afterwards called Gaspee Point,) about seven miles below the town, and the tide being on ebb, could not get off. Captain Lindsay carried the news to Providence. That same night the Gaspee was attacked and burned by a body of volunteers, in

eight long boats, commanded by Abraham Whipple. Lieutenant Dudingston was severely wounded.

The boats for the expedition, furnished by John Brown, a prominent merchant of Providence, were gathered, before starting, at Fenner's wharf, nearly opposite the public house of James Sabin, on South Main street, where the company cast bullets and made other preparations for the assault. Conspicuous in this affair besides John Brown and Abraham Whipple were John B. Hopkins, son of Commodore Esek Hopkins, Dr. John Mawney, Benjamin Page, Joseph Bucklin, Turpin Smith, and Ephraim Bowen. A company of boys manned a boat with the intention of accompanying the expedition. Of the number was the late venerable President of the Rhode Island Historical Society, John Howland; but he was taken from the boat by his master Gladding, and thus, as he says, had "no part in the boast of being of the Gaspee party." Whether his companions carried out their design does not appear—probably not.

The destruction of the Gaspee stirred greatly the crown authorities. A reward of £100 was offered for the discovery and conviction of the perpetrators of the deed; but though well known to many in Providence, the secret was sacredly kept, and no arrests were made. The story appeared at the time in the form of a ballad, attributed to Captain Swan, of Bristol, R. I. It is here given as a curious relic of the period:

SONG.

"'Twas in the reign of George the Third,
Our public peace was much disturbed
By ships of war, that came and laid
Within our ports, to stop our trade.
Seventeen hundred and seventy-two,
In Newport harbor lay a crew,
That played the part of pirates there,
The sons of freedom could not bear.
Sometimes they weighed and gave them chase,
Such actions, sure were very base.
No honest coaster could pass by
But what they would let some shot fly;

And did provoke, to high degree,
Those true born sons of liberty;
So that they could not longer bear
Those sons of Belial staying there.
But 'twas not long 'fore it fell out,
That William Dudingston, so stout,
Commander of the Gaspee tender,
Which he has reason to remember,
Because, as people do assert,
He almost had his just desert;
Here, on the tenth day of last June,
Betwixt the hours of twelve and one.
Did chase the sloop called the Hannah,
Of whom, one Lindsay, was commander.
They dogged her up Providence Sound,
And there the rascal got aground.
The news of it flew that very day,
That they on Namquit Point did lay.
That night, about half after ten
Some Narragansett Indian men,
Being sixty-four, if I remember,
Which made the stout coxcomb surrender;
And what was best of all their tricks,
They in his breech a ball did fix;
Then set the men upon the land,
And burnt her up, we understand;
Which thing provoked the King so high
He said those men shall surely die;
So if he could but find them out,
The hangman he'll employ, no doubt;
For he's declared, in his passion,
He'll have them tried a new fashion.
Now, for to find these people out,
King George has offered very stout;
One thousand pounds to find out one
That wounded William Dudingston.
One thousand more, he says he'll spare.
For those who say the sheriffs were;
One thousand more, there doth remain
For to find out the leader's name;
Likewise, five hundred pounds per man
For any one of all the clan.
But let him try his utmost skill,
I'm apt to think he never will
Find out any of those hearts of gold,
Though he should offer fifty fold."

Captain Wallace was even more annoying to the commerce of the colony than Lieutenant Dudingston, and his frequent raids for cattle and other supplies on the towns bordering the Narragansett and Mount Hope Bays, as well as upon the islands in the former, made him alike dreaded and hated. In 1775, when Sir James had learned who commanded in the attack upon the Gaspee, he addressed the following threatening letter to that brave leader:

"You, Abraham Whipple, on the 10th June, 1772, burned his Majesty's vessel, the Gaspee, and I will hang you at the yard arm.

"JAMES WALLACE."

To this Whipple returned the following characteristic reply:

"TO SIR JAMES WALLACE:

"*Sir*:—Always catch a man before you hang him.

"ABRAHAM WHIPPLE."

In 1826 the fiftieth anniversary of American independence was celebrated in Providence with great spirit. The military and civic procession numbered more than one thousand persons. To the concourse of citizens thronging the streets a special attraction was an elegant barouche in which rode the four survivors of the Gaspee exploit in 1772, viz.: Colonel Ephraim Bowen, Colonel John Mawney, Captain Benjamin Page, and Captain Turpin Smith. The barouche was drawn by four white horses, driven by Mr. Horatio Blake, landlord of the Franklin House, who volunteered the service. Over the heads of these venerable patriots waved a splendid silk banner, designed and painted for the occasion by Mr. Samuel J. Bower, of Providence, whose pencil exhibited the skill of an accomplished artist. Within wreaths and appropriate devices, bearing the names of the survivors, the "GASPEE," and the date 1772, appears a representation of the ill-fated vessel in flames, with a boat con-

taining a number of the daring assailants rowing from the burning wreck. On the reverse are the Arms of Rhode Island, with the legend: "July 4, 1776. In God we Hope. For Liberty and Independence. July 4, 1826." In the right hand corner of the obverse picture is the record by the artist: "Presented to the Committee of Arrangements by Samuel J. Bower, Pinxt." After the celebration the Committee presented it to the Rhode Island Historical Society, in whose cabinet it is still preserved.*

THE BALL BEGINS TO ROLL.

ENLISTMENTS.—HOSPITALS.—ARMY OF OBSERVATION.—EMBRYO OF THE AMERICAN NAVY.—FEMALE PATRIOTISM.—SOLDIERS' RATIONS.—COUNCIL OF WAR.

FROM the 19th of April, 1775, when the news arrived that British troops, under Major Pitcairn, had marched from Boston to Lexington and Concord, to seize military stores

*Samuel J. Bower, son of John and Honor Bower, was born in Providence. Prior to and after the great September gale in 1815, he kept a dry goods store on Cheapside, North Main street. On the memorable day, when the flood had swept away the bridge connecting the east and west sides of the river, he was enabled to reach his home on Pine street only by passing up round the north side of the Cove and swimming across a narrower portion of the angry stream. Mr. Bower's father was distinguished as a carver in wood, being considered one of the most expert in his profession in the country. The "Turk's Head," which for many years looked down with becoming gravity upon passers by from its elevation on Whitman's Block, at the junction of Westminster and Weybosset streets, and which was subsequently removed and carried to the South or West, and a statue of Washington, which stood at the west end of Washington Bridge at India Point, and which was swept away in the September gale of 1815, were specimens of his handiwork.

Mr. Bower entered the army in the war of 1812, and is understood to have held a subordinate command. He was on his way to New Orleans at the time of the battle there. He subsequently marched to Georgia, where he obtained some experience in skirmishing with the Indians. After leaving the army he went South, and spent some time in Milledgeville and Savannah. Returning to Providence, he engaged anew in his business, which he pursued at different times on Market square, Weybosset street, and in the Hamilton and the Dyer buildings on Westminster street. The latter he occupied until his death, which occurred March 7th, 1860, at the age of sixty-three years. Mr. Bower was highly respected in the community for his moral and social worth.

there deposited by patriotic colonists for expected use, until the close of the war of the Revolution, the patriotism of Rhode Island was astir. Materials for the manufacture of powder were collected, a powder-mill was built,* magazines were established, fire ships were procured, a floating battery was ordered, obstructions to the approach of the enemy's ships were provided, and ordnance was cast at Hope Furnace† in Cranston.‡

The spirit of this period is illustrated by the fact that with the exception of a small number of loyalists, nearly every able-bodied male person in the colony between the ages of sixteen years and sixty, for a longer or shorter time, bore arms. Providence, during this same period, was literally a military camp, and the streets were daily enlivened by the presence of soldiers and the sound of martial music. The Providence Gazette of December 18, 1775, says "not a day passes, Sundays excepted, but some of the companies are under arms," while Stephen Jenks, of North Providence, and others skilled in the manufacture of fire-arms, were industriously engaged in furnishing muskets for the approaching time of need.§ Besides the constant

* Of this Mill Caleb Harris was appointed overseer.

† Esek Hopkins and Joseph Brown were appointed a Committee to go through the colony and determine in what places it may be necessary to erect batteries or entrenchments for its defence.

‡ April, 1775, in the distribution of 2,500 pounds of powder, and one-quarter part of the lead, bullets and flints belonging to the colony, Providence received 148 pounds of powder, 237 pounds of lead, 948 flints; Newport received 389 pounds of powder, 623 pounds of lead, 2,492 flints.

In August, of the same year, the General Assembly voted, "that this colony will purchase all the gunpowder that shall be imported here before the 1st of April next, at the rate of three shillings, lawful money, a pound."

In 1776 there were 139 cannon in the State, distributed as follows: Newport county, 55; Providence county, 25; Bristol county, 15; Kent county, 17.

§ Captain Stephen Jenks manufactured muskets for several of the militia companies of the colony. He resided in Pawtucket. His great ancestor came to North Providence, according to tradition, as early as 1655. He was a zealous patriot and a prominent citizen, presiding at most of the public business meetings of the town. He died on Sunday, Nov. 16th, 1800, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, leaving a widow and sixty descendants to mourn his departure. He was a kind husband, an indulgent parent, and an obliging neighbor. The widow, the orphan, and others in distress were partakers of his benevolence. He was a man of sound judgment and integrity. His last sickness was borne with a calm resignation to the will of God. His funeral took place from the meeting-house on the Tuesday after his decease, on which occasion a pertinent discourse was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Hurley, of Cambridge, Mass.—*See note in Centennial History of Pawtucket.*

enlistment of men to fill the regiments of Colonels Lippitt, Olney, Richmond, Hitchcock, Crary, Topham, Greene, Varnum and Elliott, troops frequently passed through the town, (sometimes encamping for the night on "Matthewson's Plain,") on their march to join the army under the immediate command of Washington. The General Assembly directed the establishment of Hospitals, and Dr. Jonathan Arnold was appointed "Director and Providetor," Dr. Isaac Senter, of Newport, Hospital Surgeon, and Drs. Stephen Wigneron and Joseph Joslin, Regimental Surgeons. Public necessities led to taking possession of Rhode Island College as early as 1776, to be used as a Barrack and Hospital. After the battle on Rhode Island the number in the hospital was increased to about one hundred.

In 1778, the late Dr. Levi Wheaton held the position of Hospital Steward, "in point of fact a Surgeon."* George Stainer was Ward Master; William Temple, Thomas Piggin, and John Stanfield, Tenders; Sarah Stainer, Mrs. Barnes, Mrs. Pottinger, Mrs. Bailes, and Sukey Olney, Nurses; Samuel Thurber, Hospital Commissary. Mr. Thurber served about a year, and was succeeded by Olney Winsor. For a short time Drs. Jackson, Hutchinson, Hagan, Sweet, Wilson, Hardin and Parsons, were Surgeons. Dr. Peter Turner was a Surgeon in Colonel Israel Angell's Battalion. Dr. John Bartlett served as a Surgeon in a Rhode Island Brigade, and was, in 1777, a Director of the Rhode Island Hospital. Dr. William Whiteridge attended on sick soldiers at Howland's Ferry. Dr. William Chace attended on sick and wounded soldiers. Dr. Caleb Fiske, of Scituate, performed similar services. Dr. Solomon Drowne, of whom a more extended notice will be found in another part of this volume, served as a Surgeon on board the private sloop-of-war Hope, during a cruise in 1780. He also served for several years in the same capacity in various hospitals and regiments.

* Cowell

There were hospitals at Bristol, Warren, Tiverton, and elsewhere, but no complete list of surgeons employed in them has come to light.

At an early day, an "Army of Observation" of 1,500 men was raised, of which, before June 1, 1775, more than 1,000, besides the United Train of Artillery with four field pieces and twelve siege guns, had joined the American army encamped at Roxbury, near Boston. In 1778 Rhode Island had five regiments in the field, and in addition to these there were eleven independent chartered companies; among them, the Kentish Guards, the Kingston Reds, the Pawtuxet Rangers, and the Providence companies of Cadets, Artillery, and Infantry, ready as minute men for any service required. Nor was this exhibition of patriotism confined to men. It was shared equally (as in the late war of the Rebellion) by wives and daughters. They spun flax and wool and wove cloth and made garments and knitted stockings for the army with an energy and a persistence which only a true love of freedom could have inspired. They took the places of their husbands and brothers on the farm, — ploughing, planting, and harvesting the crops, — and thus helping, in an important way, the achievement of a National Life.

For army rations the General Assembly made the following allowance: "One pound of bread; one pound of beef or pork; a half-penny for vegetables; half a gill of rice; one pint of milk; one quart of beer per day; and one pint of molasses per week. That once a week instead of meat they have a pound of fish, an ounce of butter, and half a pint of vinegar; that if they have no milk they be allowed a gill and a half of rice per day; that if the half penny per day for vegetables be not sufficient, the Brigadier-General be empowered to increase the same to a sufficient allowance; and that the Commissary furnish them with the same quantity of soap as is allowed by the colony of Massachusetts Bay to their troops." It was further provided for all persons who entertained soldiers on the march, that, "if they supply

but three meals of victuals before the troops leave the house they shall be allowed nine pence per meal: if more than three meals that they be allowed for the whole at the rate of nine shillings per week: that in cold weather two pence per night shall be allowed for each soldier's lodging: and that no liquor be found them on the colony's account."

To leave nothing undone that would impart increased efficiency to public action a home Council of War, consisting of Governor Nicholas Cooke, Deputy-Governor William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, Ambrose Page, John Fenner, John Dexter, Joshua Babcock, Cromwell Child, William Greene, and Henry Ward, Secretary of State, was appointed by the General Assembly, and measures were concerted "for the well being and security of this State, and the United States in general." At different periods during the war the following persons were members of this Council: Ebenezer Thompson, Daniel Cahoone, Christopher Ellery, Christopher Lippitt, James Arnold, Thomas Rumreil, Samuel Babcock, Gideon Hoxsie, Job Comstock, Gideon Comstock, Immanuel Case, Thomas Willis, John Updike, Jabez Bowen, Pardon Gray, Esek Hopkins, John Jenckes, John Northup, Jonathan J. Haszard, Josiah Humphrey, Preserved Pearce, Paul Mumford, Caleb Gardner, Peter Phillips, Nathan Miller, Thomas Tillinghast, William West, John I. Clarke, Joseph Stanton, Sylvester Gardner, Robert Elliott, William Ladd, Benjamin Bourne, Gideon Mumford, Thomas Holden, William Taggart, and Jeremiah Clarke. At first, nine shillings, lawful money, were allowed for each day's attendance, to members residing out of Providence, and six shillings to members residing in town. In 1781 the compensation was increased to fifteen shillings per day.

At the beginning of the war the confederation was destitute of a navy, and although privateers were industrious in their mode of warfare, this destitution was severely felt. Rhode Island began the work of supplying this need. Two vessels, the Washington and the Katy, were equipped and

placed in command of Abraham Whipple, with the title of Commodore. Subsequently the number of vessels was increased, which may be regarded as the embryo of the American Navy, commanded by Esek Hopkins, who had been a Brigadier-General, while Whipple continued in command as Captain of the frigate Columbus. The exploits of Commodore Hopkins at Nassau and elsewhere, gained for him among the enemy the reputation of a brave and energetic officer, greatly to be feared. A poet of the day represents Neptune as being disturbed while he lay

"In dalliance soft and anxious play,"

with his favorite goddess, and directing the winds to go forth and make known who dared to shake his coral throne and fill his realm with smoke. The winds obeyed, and having witnessed a battle—

"Amazed they fly and tell their Chief
That How is ruined past relief,
And Hopkins conquering rode.
'Hopkins!' said Neptune, 'who is he
That dares usurp this power at sea,
And thus insult a God?'
The Winds reply: 'In distant Land
A Congress sits whose martial Bands
Defy all Britain's force,
And when their floating castles Roll
From sea to sea, from Pole to Pole,
Hopkins directs their course.
And when their Winged Bullets fly
To reenstate their Liberty,
Or scourge oppressive Bands,
Then Gallant Hopkins, calmly Great,
Tho' Death and Carnage round him wait,
Performs their dread command.'"

The result is that Neptune, in amazement, resigns his Trident and Crown to Congress, and says, as

"A tribute due to such renown,
These Gods shall rule for me."

Esek Hopkins, son of William and Ruth Wilkinson Hopkins, and brother of Governor Stephen Hopkins, was born in Scituate, R. I., April 26, 1718. He was in youth bred a farmer, but occasional visits to Providence, where he saw ships and sailors, awakened a desire to plough the sea, which he did for several years. The primary lessons in seamanship thus taken proved of great service to him in subsequent years. It was while so engaged that he saw the pernicious effects upon sailors of the prevalent practice of using "grog" at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and four o'clock in the afternoon, a custom he abjured, and during his long life totally abstained from the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage.

On November 28, 1746, Mr. Hopkins married Desire J. Burroughs, of Newport, by whom he had four children.—John H., Heart, Abigail, and Samuel. About 1751 he removed to Providence, where he took part in public affairs, and frequently represented the town in the General Assembly. He afterwards settled in North Providence. At the opening of the Revolution he sided, as already seen, with the sons of freedom. By Governor Cooke he was commissioned as Brigadier-General in command of six hundred men. In 1775 Congress appointed him Commander-in-Chief of a navy then to be created, and which he did much to create.

In February, 1776, Commodore Hopkins with a fleet of eight vessels sailed on a successful expedition against New Providence. The forts at Nassau were taken, and all the cannon and military stores brought away. These consisted of eighty-eight cannon, fifteen mortars, five thousand four hundred and fifty-eight shell, and upwards of eleven thousand round shot. On his return thirty-six of these cannon were landed at New London for the defence of that place, twenty-six of which were subsequently transferred to Newport for the same purpose, greatly to the joy of the inhabitants. Twenty of these were ordered by Congress to be

sent to Philadelphia, but upon a spirited remonstrance by a committee of the General Assembly being made, showing the great danger from the enemy to which Newport was exposed, the order was modified to six from Newport and fourteen from New London. When off Block Island, on his return voyage, he fell in with and captured the British sloop Hawke and the bomb brig Bolton, both well provided with ammunition and stores. For this act the President of Congress complimented him officially.

Two days after these captures, the Alfred, (the flag ship,) the Cabot, Captain John B. Hopkins, and the Columbus, Captain Abraham Whipple, attacked, unsuccessfully, the British ship Glasgow, of twenty-nine guns and one hundred and fifty men. For this failure, arising from unavoidable causes, both the Commodore and Captain Whipple were censured. The latter, justly indignant, demanded a court-martial, which was not called. With a better understanding of the affair, the President of Congress addressed a letter to Commodore Hopkins, saying: "Though it is to be regretted that the Glasgow Man-of-War made her escape, yet, as it was not through any misconduct, the praise due to you and the other officers is undoubtedly the same."

When the Warren and the Providence were built Commodore Hopkins was appointed to the command of the former. The committee appointed by Congress, under whose supervision these vessels were built, consisted of Nicholas Cooke, Nicholas Brown, Joseph Russell, Joseph Brown, John Brown, John Smith, William Russell, Daniel Tillinghast, John Innes Clarke, Joseph Nightingale, Jabez Bowen, and Rufus Hopkins, all of Providence. The master-carpenter of the Warren was Benjamin Tallman, and of the Providence, Sylvester Bowers. Mr. Tallman was born in Portsmouth, R. I., in the year 1741. He established himself in Providence as a ship-builder, and was regarded as one of the most skilful naval architects of his time. He built about one hundred sail of merchant vessels, some of them of the

largest class of ships constructed in those days. Two of them, the Ann and the Hope, owned by Brown and Ives, and the George Washington, owned by John Brown, attained a distinguished reputation. Mr. Tallman took an active part in the war of the Revolution, and successively held the rank of Major, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Colonel. While serving in Colonel Richmond's regiment he was engaged in the battle of Long Island, where he suffered severely. He died at his home in Providence, June 10, 1836, aged ninety-five years, universally respected.

It has been the common lot of men of purest motives who have rendered valuable services to their country, to be assailed by the tongue of slander, and to have vile insinuations or positive charges made for the destruction of their characters. It was so with Washington. It was so with Greene. This ordeal Hopkins did not escape. There were, unfortunately for the credit of a true manhood, those who could not appreciate his patriotic zeal and disinterested efforts in the cause of freedom. His popularity excited envy, and his refusal to subordinate public interests to private, created hostility. He was in somebody's way and must be removed. Soon was heard the voice of calumny, and in June, 1776, he met the Marine Committee at Philadelphia in reference to certain charges that had been preferred against him. He was ably defended by John Adams, acquitted, and retained his command. The committee directed him to purchase a schooner he had taken, and added, "this schooner must be called the Hopkins,"—a significant compliment, under the circumstances, to an efficient and faithful officer. The distinguished Commodore John Paul Jones, an intimate friend of Commodore Hopkins, writing to him in reference to his Philadelphia experience, says:

"I know you will not suspect me of flattery when I affirm I have not experienced a more sincere pleasure for a long time past than the account I have had of your having gained your cause at Philadelphia, in spite of party. Your late trouble will tend to your future advantage; by pointing

out your friends and enemies, you will be thereby enabled to retain the one part, while you are guarding against the others. You will be thrice welcome to your native land and to your nearest concerns. After your late shock, they will see you, as gold from the fire, of more worth and value; and slander will keep silence when Admiral Hopkins is mentioned."

The next year he was again cited to appear before the same committee, but as no specific charges were made against him, he neglected the citation, and January 2, 1777, was dismissed the service. But this act did not diminish the confidence and respect of his fellow-citizens. His usefulness to the Colonies at a moment when they were struggling into national birth no one questioned. His bravery was beyond dispute, and his worth as a patriotic citizen was universally acknowledged.

While of an independent mind, and decidedly pronounced in his opinions, the Commodore was, in private life, social and hearty in his welcomes. His title "Commander-in-Chief of the Navy," conferred upon him by a law of Congress, was designed to make his position correspond to that held by Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the army. His pay was $125 per month. In official correspondence he was addressed as Commodore; but in private and in the papers of the day he was frequently styled *Admiral*.

In 1780, while a representative for the town of North Providence, he was instrumental in securing the unanimous appointment of President Manning, of Brown University, as a delegate to the Continental Congress.

His death took place February 26, 1802, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. His remains lie in the family ground in North Providence. A fine portrait of him, painted by Heade, is in the possession of Brown University.

Thus closed the earthly career of the founder of the American Navy. His public and private papers came into the hands of Judge J. Dorrance, who had his estate in charge. Subsequently they were obtained by the late Judge William R. Staples, who, under the sanction of the heirs-at-law, deposited them in the Rhode Island Historical Society.

FORTIFICATIONS.

GENERAL BENEDICT ARNOLD.—COMMODORE ABRAHAM WHIPPLE.—THE PROVIDENCE COMPANY OF CADETS.

FROM 1774 to 1777, Providence became well guarded. Forts on Prospect Hill and at Fox and Field's Points bristled with cannon ready to thunder defiance at invaders. The town ordered an intrenchment to be thrown up, to extend from Sassafras Point to Field's Point, "sufficient to cover such a body of men as may be ordered there on any emergency."* A breastwork for the protection of sharpshooters was thrown up a little north of Bowers' Cove, and a redoubt at Bullock's Point. Mr. Thomas N. Sumner, a former resident of Providence, in a letter of "Reminiscences" addressed to his daughter, dated "Brookline, May 13, 1834," says:

"I remember in addition two circular forts called redoubts, south of the main fort on the height of the hill—one north and one south of the powder house which stood on Powder House lane. This lane was then the only road to what was called the upper ferry, now central bridge, I believe. It led by where Moses Brown now lives, or did live."

The Fox Point Fort, or "Fox Hill," as styled in the town records, was built by Captain Nicholas Power, "in consultation with Captain Esek Hopkins, Ambrose Page, Esq., Captain John Updike, Mr. Samuel Nightingale, Jr., Captain William Earle, and Captain Simon Smith." Although Blaskowitz, on his "Topographical Chart of the Narragansett Bay," 1777, rates the fort at "50 guns, 18 and 24 pounders," the town at first, whatever increase may afterwards have been made, ordered "a battery of six 18 pound-

* "One day last week, Mr. Crompton, with one of his Light Infantry drummers and two of the Cadet fifers, went round to notify the Sons of Freedom who had the public good and safety at heart, to repair to Hacker's Wharf, with such implements as are used in intrenching, where a boat was ready to take them on board and transport them to the shore between Sassafras and Field's Point. . . . . With what had been done by a number who went the day before, we threw up a breastwork that extended near one quarter of a mile."—*Letter from Dr. Solomon Drowne, Providence, August 12, 1775.*

ers," four of the cannon "to be mounted as field pieces." Captain Esek Hopkins was appointed to the command of this fort; Captain Samuel Warner was appointed Lieutenant; and Captain Christopher Sheldon, gunner. Seven men were appointed to each gun, who were authorized to select from their number a captain and a gunner. A watch of two persons for day and night was also provided.*

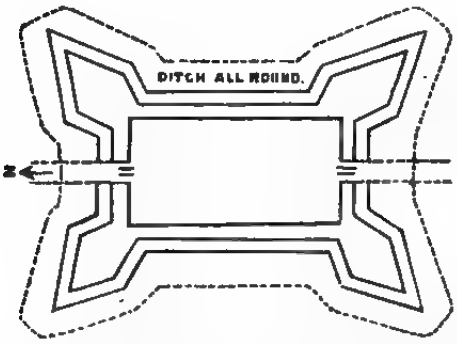
The items of expense are preserved in the following bill brought to light in removing the town archives from the city building on Market Square to the new city hall:

TOWN OF PROVIDENCE TO NICHOLAS POWER, DR.

1775. Aug. 16.	To 148¼ Days' work for men building Battery at Fox Hill, . . . at 3 p day,	22	4	9
	To paid Thos. Pittman's wages and billet for 3 months' Guard at the Battery from Aug. 30th to November 30th, ...	9	15	
	To p'd John Jones wages and billet for same time, ...	7	16	
	To pd. Thos. Pittman for 3 months & 7 Days at [obscure]	10	11	3
1776.	To pd. Jno. Jones bill for 3 weeks & 3 Day, from Apr. 8 to May 6th, ...	2	11	6¾
	To Barnard Eddy's Bill for Provisions for men at work on Breast Work at Field's Point, ...		16	
	To John Pitts' Bill for Guarding Battery & Billet 2 months, ...	6	9	5
	To David Lawrince's Bill for Stores, . .	3	1	4
	To John Brown's Bill, ...		13	1½
		£63	18	5¼
	To Addington Davenport's aid for use of his Shop for a Watch House for Town Watch, ...		13	
		£64	16	5¼

* The Guards for FOX POINT, from January to July, 1778, were arranged as follows:

	Capt.	Sub.	Sergt.	Corp.	Fifer.	Privates.
January 4, ...	0	1	1	1	1	20
May 31, ...	0	1	1	2	0	20
June 11, ...	0	1	1	2	1	18
June 17, ...	0	0	1	1	0	12
July 14, ...	0	1	2	3		
FIELD'S POINT.						
June 17, ...	0	1	1	2	1	16
July 14, ...	0		1	1		

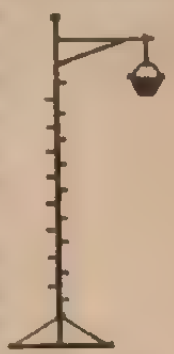


The Fort on Prospect Hill, commanding all the approaches to the centre of the town, was built in 1777, with the approval of General Spencer, under the direction of Major James Sumner, by whom it was planned, then Chief Engineer of the Rhode Island Department. It occupied the site now covered in part by a brick block of dwelling-houses at the corner of Bowen and Congdon streets, and was at once garrisoned. In the prosecution of this work the town authorities heartily concurred. At a town meeting held May 5th, when Major Sumner presented his plan, it was voted to approve the measure as one that "would be of the greatest advantage to the public as well as to this town in particular," and General Spencer was assured that the town would "cheerfully concur in any general measures for carrying the plan aforesaid, or such other as His Honor may adopt, into execution."

At a meeting held May 16th, it was resolved, "to recommend to the commanders of the several companies of Alarm Men, Independent Companies and Militia in this town, to call their respective companies together, and in turns to go upon Beacon Hill, there to give all assistance they are able to complete the fortifications there erecting for the common defence — that Colonel Barzillai Richmond's company go upon duty to-morrow; Captain Russell's the next day; Captain Burrill's on Monday; Captain Keene's on Tuesday; Captain Snow's and the Grenadier Company on Wednesday; and that the captains keep lists of all persons who work, as also of those who do not work, to be returned to the next town meeting, and that the said companies begin on Thursday next, and go through a second tour of duty in rotation

in the same manner, each person to furnish himself with proper tools, etc."

The dimensions of the fort were three hundred by one hundred and fifty feet, within the parapet. It was surrounded by a fosse or ditch, and was capable of mounting fifty-eight guns. In the centre was erected a large pole or mast at the top of which was attached an iron crane, and from the crane was suspended a large iron kettle filled with tar, to be ignited in an emergency, to warn the surrounding country. Soon after its completion an experiment was made by Major Perkins, who ordered three cannons to be fired, and the tar in the kettle to be set on fire. It burned several hours with the desired effect. The light was seen in the most distant parts of the State. The country was alarmed, and the next day the militia in great numbers flocked into the town. The use made of this beacon gave to the locality the name of *Beacon Hill*, a name it retained for several years.*



It was a part of the plan of Major Sumner to build barracks on the side hill west of the fort, across "Dorr's Lane," near Wheaton street. The building was to face west, to be two stories high in the centre, and one story in each wing. As to the erection of such a building on the spot designated the records of the town are silent. Tradition is also silent, and probably the Major's plan was not consummated. The town, however, did what it could to furnish accommodations, and among other arrangements the Work House, at

* For the plan of this Fort I am indebted to the courtesy of the Hon. Zachariah Allen, who has a distinct recollection of it. Prior to having the draft copied by Mr. Sumner from the original, Mr. Allen presented me with a draft made from memory, which, on comparison, was found to be an exact representation, in its outline, of the one here produced. Mr. Allen, in speaking of this memorial of the Revolution, says: "The copy of the PLAN of the Old Fort shows that it was executed scientifically, and that it was the most perfect fortification in the north part of the State. The narrative of the test experiments with mortars and shells, serves to show the efforts made to prepare for defence of 'freedom from taxation without the right of representation' by early colonists."

NOTE.—The above reduced section of Blaskowitz's rare Topographical Chart of Narragansett Bay, 1777, shows the location of the several defences at that time, from Bullock's Point to Prospect Hill, in Providence. The author is in error when he speaks of "Field's or Kettle's Point," as though they were one. Kettle Point is directly opposite Field's Point. The miniature map of Providence in the upper left hand corner, indicating the entire "town street," with several diverging streets, is the earliest I have seen.

the corner of Smith and Charles streets, was given up to the use of the soldiery. At a town meeting held May 17, 1779, Mr. John Brown, the Hon. Jabez Bowen, Colonel Jonathan Arnold, Welcome Arnold, Esq., and David Howell, Esq., were appointed a committee to request General Gates "to direct that suitable barracks be built at the expense of the continent, for troops, in case any shall be barracked in this town the next winter," and that they also "request the General to direct that the Work House which has been improved the winter past for barracks, and damaged thereby, be repaired at the general expense."

Mr. Sumner, before quoted, in pursuing his reminiscences, says:

"During the Revolutionary War there was a regiment of artillery under Colonel Crane for some experiments in throwing shells. A detachment under Captain Callender, were on duty with a mortar on this lot.* The carriage was placed on a little knoll of ground, immediately in front of the old cellar. This knoll, no doubt, was formed when the cellar was dug. The dirt being thrown down hill to the west, formed a terrace whereon the carriage was placed.—the only level spot near the vicinity. I remember very well after loading, ranging it south of *Great Point*, so that the fall might be in the river, and firing two or three dead or blank shells, *which did not burst.*—the next one, *say the fourth*, burst in the air. It did not do any mischief, but before they were ready to fire again, Colonel Crane came driving a foaming horse, and reprimanded Callender for firing live shells before dark. More blanks were fired before dark, and after dark a number of live ones, which burst before striking the water, and made a fine show."

On the 12th of January, 1777, Brigadier-General Benedict Arnold arrived in Providence, to assist in the defence of Rhode Island. His quarters were taken in a house west of the Market square bridge, owned by Nathanael Greene, and subsequently purchased by Governor William Jones. The General does not appear to have done much here besides

* The lot on which his father, Major Sumner, proposed to erect barracks. Major Sumner came with his family from Boston, in 1774, and lived in Providence until 1783, when he removed to Brookline, Mass. His son Thomas, in his "reminiscences" communicated to his daughter in 1834, appears to have been generally correct in his recollection of localities and events. Major Sumner superintended the erection of the meeting-house of the First Baptist Society in Providence, in 1774.

displaying his military scarlet coat, of which he was quite vain. At this time he was soured by what he considered a want of appreciation of his merits as an officer, and fre-

Benedt. Arnold

quently threatened to resign his commission if not soon promoted. He once made this declaration in the presence of Commodore Whipple, who shrewdly replied, "General, I

know you won't resign." "Why do you doubt my word?" inquired Arnold. "Because, General," answered the Commodore, "you are the proudest man I ever seed; and I know you won't quit your uniform, your epaulets and command to be a private man—for I tell you, you are the proudest man that I ever *seed*." * The Commodore was correct. The General did not resign, but after obtaining promotion, became a traitor to his country—having four years previously made a good military record at Saratoga. Well for his reputation had it been that he had closed his life on that field. But of him more hereafter.

Commodore Abraham Whipple, a descendant of John Whipple, one of the original proprietors of Providence Plantations, and an associate of Roger Williams, was born in Providence, R. I., September 26, 1733. He early took to sea life, and sailed in the service of Nicholas Brown, one of the leading merchants of Providence. Towards the close of the old French war he commanded the privateer "Game Cock," in which, in a single cruise, he captured twenty-three prizes. The part he took in the destruction of the Gaspee, in 1772, is related in preceding pages. In 1775, two days before the battle of Bunker Hill, the General Assembly of Rhode Island purchased and armed two sloops, one carrying twelve guns and the other eight, and appointed Captain Whipple to the command of the larger vessel, named the Providence, and Captain Grimes to that of the smaller, who acted under the orders of Whipple. The duty assigned him was to clear the bay of the tenders of the British frigate Rose, which prevented many vessels from getting to sea. This he did effectually by an engagement with two of the tenders, June 15th, in which he disabled and forced them to retire under the guns of the frigate, besides capturing a third. This feat of valor won for him the honor of having fired the *first gun* on the sea at the British, in the opening of the

* Life of Howland, p. 90.

Revolutionary war. Subsequently he was placed in command of The Columbus, in the continental service, in which he was very active. He participated in the expedition against New Providence. At a later day he was appointed to the command of the frigate Providence, a new vessel of twenty-eight guns, having Captain, afterwards Governor Jones, for his first officer. In 1778 he escaped the British blockading squadron occupying the harbor of Newport and various positions in the bay, and bore important despatches from Congress to our Ministers in France. The appearance of the Providence at Nantes attracted much attention, as the sight of an American vessel of war in that harbor was rare. Captain Jones was sent without delay to Paris with the despatches, where he met a warm reception. He was presented to the King, who received him in the most cordial manner. Commodore Whipple returned in safety to Boston, after a somewhat perilous voyage, with a much needed cargo of clothing, arms and ammunition. For this service he received a complimentary letter from Washington.

In cruising on and off the coast of Newfoundland, in July, 1779, he fell in with the homeward bound Jamaica fleet of nearly one hundred and fifty sail, convoyed by a seventy-four gun ship and several smaller vessels. This convoy he joined, under the British flag, got possession of the signals of the Commodore, and by an adroit movement in the night drew a number of vessels out of their course, of which he captured ten. Eight of these prizes, having cargoes valued at more than a million of dollars, were brought safely into Boston harbor.

In operating in the South in 1780, and endeavoring to save Charleston from the enemy, he was compelled to surrender his squadron to Admiral Arbuthnot, and was held a prisoner to the close of the war. He returned to his farm in Cranston poorer than when he entered the service of the United States, with a large sum due him. On the securities in which he was finally paid he realized, owing to the low

credit of the government, only two shillings and sixpence on the pound, a discount of more than eighty per cent.

In 1784, Commodore Whipple engaged once more in the merchant service, and as commander of the General Washington, a fine ship built by John Brown, he had the honor of first unfurling the American flag on the river Thames.*

In 1786 he represented Cranston in the General Assembly. On the formation of the Ohio company he removed with his family to Marietta, and finally settled on a small farm bordered by the Muskingum river, a few miles from Marietta.

While living in his new western home a company of enterprising men of Marietta built a vessel named the St. Clair, of which he was given the command. Laden with provisions he made a successful voyage to Havana. In commemoration of this event and of his naval exploits, Captain Jonathan Devol, a native of Tiverton, R. I., wrote as follows, laying the scene at the mouth of the Mississippi:

"The Triton crieth,
'Who cometh now from shore?'
Neptune replieth,
''Tis the old Commodore;
Long has it been since I saw him before.
In the year seventy-five from Columbia he came,
The pride of the Briton on ocean to tame:
And often, too, with his gallant crew,
Hath he crossed the belt of ocean blue.
On the Gallic coast
I have seen him tost,
While his thundering cannon lulled my waves,
And roused my nymphs from their coral caves,
When he fought for freedom with all his braves,
In the war of the Revolution.

"'But now he comes from the western woods,
Descending slow with gentle floods,
The pioneers of a mighty train,
Which commerce brings to my domain!

*A recent writer in the New York Tribune claims this honor for Captain William Mooers, who commanded the Bedford, of Nantucket, which, he says, was "the first ship to display the thirteen stripes in the river Thames, February 6, 1783." No authorities are at hand to settle these conflicting claims.

Up, sons of the wave,
Greet the noble brave!
Present your arms unto him.
His gray hair shows,
Life nears its close:
Let's pay the honors due him.
Sea-maids attend with lute and lyre,
And bring your conchs, my Triton sons,
In chorus blow to the aged sire
A welcome to my dominions.'"

Commodore Whipple was for several years active in stimulating ship building at Marietta, but after this voyage to Havana he retired from business life. He died at his home, after a short illness, May 29th, 1819, at the age of eighty-five years. His wife, a sister of Governor Hopkins, preceded him to the grave by only a few months, at the age of seventy-nine years. His only son John was never married, and in the male line the family of this eminent patriot has become extinct. The tombstone over his remains at Marietta bears the following inscription:

"Sacred to the memory of

COMMODORE ABRAHAM WHIPPLE,

Whose name, skill and courage will ever remain the pride and boast of his country. In the late Revolution he was the first on the seas to hurl defiance at proud Briton; gallantly leading the way to arrest from the Mistress of the Ocean her scepter, and there to wave the Star Spangled Banner. He also conducted to sea the first square-rigged vessel ever built on the Ohio, opening to commerce resources beyond calculation."

It has been truly said that the success of Commodore Whipple on the ocean "was not exceeded by that of any other in the navy," and that "his exploits and character will long be remembered by the inhabitants of Rhode Island and Marietta."*

The Providence company of cadets, under Colonel Night-

* For a more extended notice of the life and services of Commodore Whipple, see "Memoirs of the Early Pioneer Settlers of Ohio," pp. 120-164.

Abraham Whipple

[Reproduced from a Lithograph Portrait.]

ingale, was stationed at Pawtuxet from January 7th to February 7th, 1777. The command comprised the following roll:

Joseph Nightingale,	Colonel.
William Russell,	Lieutenant-Colonel.
Nath'l Greene,	Major.
Paul Allen,	Captain.
Bela Whipple,	1st Sergeant.
Christopher Olney,	2d "
Jo. Dolbeare Russell,	3d "
William Corlis,	4th "
Caleb Gardner,	Fifer.
Arthur Fenner,	"
Pero Bowler,	Drummer.
Primus Thompson,	"

Privates.

John Innes Clark,	Joseph Angell,	Jeremiah Fones Jenkins,
Samuel Young,	William Cozzens,	Rufus Hopkins,
Lewis Peck,	Pepp'l Tyler,	John Green,
Nicholas Power,	Robert Lawton,	Daniel Cooke,
John Angell,	Olney Winsor,	William Russell, Jr.
William Bowen,	Samuel Dunn,	Aaron Wright,
Zachariah Allen,	Nicholas Cooke,	Pardon Bowen,
John Mumford,	James Munroe,	Arthur Crawford,
Daniel Smith.	Thomas Russell,	Samuel Chace,
Nathaniel Jacobs,	John Mumford,	Benjamin Bowen,
Peter Taylor,	Jesse Cooke,	Jeremiah Jenckes,
Thomas Gladding,	George Olney,	Samuel Chace, Jr.
Joseph Parker,	Joseph Greene,	Daniel Tillinghast,
John Gibbs,	Joseph Cooke,	John Kilton,
James Hill,	Daniel Rogers,	Sylv'o Jenks,*
Samuel Hamlin,	Benjamin Alger,	Nehemiah Sweet,†
William Earl,	John Rogers,	Joseph Green,‡
Job Page,	William Rhodes,	

Jeremiah Whipple,	Sick, absent.
John Murray,	Absent by leave.
James Morrill,	Absent.
Joseph Bucklin, Jr.,	Absent in service of the State.

Prince, Primus, } Pioneers.

Thomas Thayer, Benjamin Camp, Samuel ——, } Waiters.

* Time in service, four days. † In service, two days. ‡ In service, one day.

The total expense of the company during their month's encampment was £226 10*s* 4*d*.

This company of cadets was one of the early organized infantry companies of Providence. In connection with the regiments of Colonels Little and Hitchcock, then quartered in town, it performed escort duty to General Washington on his visit to Providence, April 5, 1776. In the war of 1812 the company rendered important services as a home guard, and when, on the return of peace, President Monroe visited Providence, the cadets, under the command of the late Colonel George Baker, were selected for the escort. The company no longer exists, its charter having been surrendered in 1865.

THE EARLIEST OF OUR FRENCH ALLIES.

THE Declaration of Independence found cordial sympathy among the liberal spirits of Europe, and was looked upon with favor in France by men in high social position, who were not slow in making known their opinions. French military officers flocked to America and applied for positions in the Continental Army. Of these the following is a list:

Monsieur Dugan, M. Arundel, Le Chevalier de Saint Aulaire, Antoine Felix Viebert, Louis Dubois, Le Chevalier de Kermorvan, Jac. Ant. de Franchessen, Saint-Martin, Jean-Arthur de Vermouet, Fidele Dorré, Christophe Pellissier, Jacques-Paul Govert, Marquis de Malmedy, Chevalier du Plessis Mauduit, Jean-Louis Imbert, Chrétien de Colerus, Jean-Louis de Virnejoix, Pierre François de Boys, Mat-Al de la Rochefermoy, Le Comte de Montfort, De la Neuville, DeFaneuil, Charles Armand Tufin, Marquis de la Rouerie, Marquis François Louis DeFleury, Thomas Conway, (of

Scotch origin, and one of the Cabal to depose Washington,) Mottin de la Balme, Coppin de la Garde, Marquis de la Fayette, De Vallenays, Le Chevalier du Portail, De la Radiere, De Gouvion, Baron de Holzendorf, Prudhomme de Borre, Tronson du Coudrai, Chevalier de Failly, Des Epinieres, Le Comte de Pulaski, (a Pole by birth, and killed at Savannah.) Nicolas Roger, De Bedeaux, John Baron de Kalb, (born in Germany), De Vrigny, Chevalier du Buisson, Chevalier de la Colombe, Chevalier Dorset, De Laumoi, De Gimat, Chevalier de Villefranche, Denis de Bonchet, Ferdinand de Brahm, De Ponthiere, De Ponceaux, Du Cambray, Marquis de Vienne, Bechet de Rochefontaine, De L'Eclise, M. Touzar, M. Brice, De Neville, De Pongibeau and Chevalier de Cremis.

These applicants received appointments, in various grades, from Lieutenants to Majors-General. Some of them gained special renown; as, for example, Rouerie, Fleury, Du Portail, Pulaski, De Kalb, Mauduit, De Gimat,* Bouchet, and Touzar, who lost an arm in the service. But high over all towered Lafayette, who, at the age of nineteen years, in warm sympathy with the American cause, secretly fitted out a vessel at his own expense, and eluding the Royal officers sent to prevent his departure, reached this country and asked permission of Congress to serve in the army as a volunteer without pay. His *compagnons de voyage* were the Baron De Kalb and ten other military gentlemen. If this act disturbed the equanimity of conservatives at the Royal Court, it proved a mighty power in strengthening the courage of a sorely pressed people. Belonging to an ancient, honored and influential family of the French Nobility, he was a favorite with Louis XVI. and his fascinating Queen, Maria Antoinette, and did much to bring them into closer sympathy with the struggling Americans, despite the counteracting influence of the cautious Prime Minister. The

* Gimat, subsequently a Colonel of Artillery at Yorktown, Brice De la Colombe, and De Neville were Aids-de-Camp to Lafayette.

spirit which actuated him throughout his military career in this country is well expressed in a letter addressed to Henry Laurens, President of Congress, in acknowledgment of a commendatory resolution transmitted to him from that body:

"The moment I heard of America I loved her; the moment I knew she was fighting for freedom I burnt with a desire of bleeding for her; and the moment I shall be able to serve her at any time, or in any part of the world, will be among the happiest ones of my life."*

Lafayette was received into the military family of Washington, between whom and himself there grew up a tender, confidential, life-long friendship. By Congress he was commissioned a Major-General, and served without abatement of ardor until the conclusion of the revolutionary struggle.

When Lafayette came to Rhode Island it was with a reputation for unusual military ability,—a reputation well won at the Brandywine and elsewhere. In Providence, his youth, intelligence and manly bearing, not less than his vigilance and prudence as an officer, made him a welcome guest. The homes of the best families were cordially opened to him, and wherever he went he was the life of the social circle. He found great delight in the society of the Bowens, the Nightingales, the Browns, Foster, Corliss, Jones, Tillinghast, Madame Dexter, and many others, while the simple pleasures sure to await him and his officers at the house of William Field, of Field's Point, or at the "Garrison House" in Cranston, compensated in no small degree for the home enjoyments he had temporarily laid aside at La Grange, that he might serve the cause of freedom in America. The late Miss Polly Fenner, a descendant of Major Thomas Fenner, who died some years ago, distinctly remembered having seen Washington, Lafayette and other officers "with swords dangling by their sides as they danced" at a

* Sparks.

ball given at the Garrison House.* The ladies present, she said, were conspicuous "with powdered heads and spangled dresses."

Among the places in Providence selected for quarters for a night or more when in town, tradition assures us that Lafayette sometimes found rest in the gambrel-roof brick house, now numbered 537 and 539 North Main street.

(SEAMEN'S CHAPEL.)

This oldest brick house in Providence, an engraving of which is here given, was built between 1750 and 1760 by Lieutenant-Governor Elisha Brown, whose home was near by in the then almost palatial residence, at present known as "the Butler House," in "Carpenter's Yard." Lieutenant-Governor Brown was the youngest son of Elder James Brown, and the uncle of Moses Brown. August 20, 1770, he sold the brick house to Paul Bunker, of Sherbourn, now Nantucket town, and April 12, 1776, it was again sold to Thomas Sherbourn, of the same town. It has several times since changed hands, but while it stands it will attract

* The "Garrison House" was built and occupied by Captain Arthur Fenner, one of the early settlers of Cranston, and became a refuge to neighbors in seasons of danger from Indians. The house stands about half a mile northwesterly of the Cranston Print Works. It is not inhabited, and is rapidly falling to decay. The house built by Major Thomas Fenner, a brother of Captain Arthur, is in the vicinity, and in good repair.

attention as a relic of the revolutionary period.* Of Lafayette more hereafter.

Several of the officers in the preceding list were well known in Providence. Prominently among them stood the Marquis François Lellorquis De Malmedy and the Marquis De Fleury. Malmedy came to Providence in December, 1776, on the recommendation of General Charles Lee, and was appointed Chief Engineer and Director of the works of defence within the State, with the rank first of Colonel and then of Brigadier-General. In his letter of introduction to Governor Cooke, General Lee says:

"Rhode Island will probably be attacked; your men and younger officers are good, but I am persuaded you have no man with you capable of conducting an army; no man who has sufficient knowledge as an engineer. I have therefore resolved to send a gentleman with whose great talents, activity and zeal, I am well acquainted; his name is Malmedy, a Frenchman. I entreat you to give him the entire command to be directed by his councils."

With this wish the Governor complied, and important changes in the defences around Providence were made.

A defence had been established at Warwick Neck, which the General early inspected, and which he decided was not adapted to the purpose intended. Concerning this post he writes to General Lee, December 20, 1776, as follows:

"The gentlemen of the committee imagined that Warwick Neck was more important, since the enemy are in Rhode Island. I returned the same evening. I have traversed all near to the point of Connecticut, all the neck of Warwick. I cannot perceive in all that part the possibility of hindering the enemy from making a descent. The banks throughout are easy of access, and the vessels can come close to the land. There is,

* "The house was an imposing structure for the times, and does not now give a correct idea of its then appearance, from the fact that about one third of its length on the north was taken down and the wooden cottage now standing there built upon its site. This was brought about on account of an insecure foundation at the north end, which caused it to settle and show signs of falling, and was taken down within the memory of persons now living. A look at the front elevation will reveal its original proportion, inasmuch as the central window of the three north ones was evidently the centre of the north and south line."—*A. H., in Providence Journal.*

however, an advantageous situation for a camp upon the high ground, from whence we can hinder the enemy from forming and withdrawing themselves from the fire of their cannon. It might serve as a camp of observation. On my return I gave a particular account of this matter.

"You know, My General, the situation of the town of Warwick. It is mere folly to attempt to defend it, in case the enemy makes a descent in its neighborhood. I there found some works begun. I thought it my duty not to oppose the desire of the commandant. We have therefore continued to prolong them, with some regularity, adapted to the ground.

"The same night I returned to Providence and gave an account to the Governor of the difficulty of defending the town, and that the post ought to be evacuated. I have sent him an order of retreat for the detachment, with the out-guards, and requested him to drive from Pawtuxet the great number of cattle and forage, which are on the Neck. I cannot doubt but from its situation, that is the place where the enemy will make their descent, if they land.

"I think, My General, that after making efforts at Pawtuxet, and all along the river, we ought to defend Providence, and there engage them. I presented to the Governor four reasons to support this determination. I believe the place where I am, will, in a month, be out of danger of a *coup de main* In that case, a general who shall command a force, supporting his left, and extending obliquely on the right, will cover Boston and that province; and I do not believe the enemy dare enter Connecticut, and by that means separate themselves from their vessels, which is their place of arms; nor are they so numerous as to render themselves masters of the river."

Under the same date, he writes: "I should go to-day to Bristol and Howland's Ferry, but it snows to such a degree that there is no travelling." Of the local military aspect he gives the following description:

"Notwithstanding the proximity of the enemy, and the ease with which they may land, I do not see above six or seven hundred men at Warwick; one thousand or eleven hundred here; four hundred citizens, at the most, ready to take arms, and only one company of artillery. The colonels of the regiment do not know where to rendezvous, in case of alarm; I see no posts established; I see no artillery in motion, nor any preparations for that purpose. No exercise at cannon, notwithstanding the great want of instruction.

"Meantime, the enemy are ten thousand. They do not make any general movement; but they can, in one tide, embark in flat-bottomed boats, and land at Warwick Neck, and arrive at Providence in four hours. That town is worth such an attempt at this moment. It is very important, on account of the great quantity of merchandize and ships in its port. I

cannot account for the conduct of the English generals, if they have good intelligence. The people here give themselves up to a lethargic idea, because they are not numerous, and because they serve as a defensive post to Rhode Island. The Americans ought to fear the Illusion; for these two months it has been very destructive."

Provision was made for the General's accommodation in the house of widow Elizabeth Arnold, which proved to be very satisfactory to him. He appears to have been active in the discharge of his duties, and to have stood well approved, but Washington having sent two continental general officers to Providence competent to perform the duty of engineers, and the General Assembly considering the heavy demands upon the State treasury, felt constrained to close their relations with the General, which they did "with a very grateful remembrance of his abilities, activity and zeal," and a gift of £50. In acknowledgment of the courtesies shown him, he wrote to Governor Cooke as follows:

"MORRISTOWN, May 19th, 1777.

"HONORABLE SIR:—Permit me to remind you that the Assembly of Rhode Island, in consideration of the small number of troops raised in that State, (which was a prudent measure, and from wise motives of economy,) resolved to dismiss their three brigadier-generals. It even condescended to offer me a gratification for my services, as a testimony of their satisfaction; and Your Honor has been pleased, likewise, to make an advantageous representation of my conduct; all which, does me honor, and has disposed the Honorable Congress, His Excellency and all worthy persons to think favorably of me: however, this good disposition towards me is not universal; for evil-minded people, ever ready to misconstrue facts, have interpreted my dismission in a manner highly injurious to my reputation.

"I know and respect the good intentions of the gentlemen who compose your Assembly; and therefore cannot believe that they meant to do me harm in sending me to the army; and after premising this, I shall hesitate not a moment to acquaint you with the subject of my apprehensions and uneasiness, hoping from a continuance of good offices, to remove the prejudices and malicious insinuations of the malevolent against my character.

"I came into America with the consent of the French generals, and upon assurance that my services here would be agreeable to my country. I am obliged to render them an account of my conduct in the armies of the

States. I could not do this better than by informing them that through the recommendation and confidence of General Lee the State of Rhode Island has honored me with the rank of Brigadier-General; and I've just now received the General of Martinico's compliments thereupon.

"If the reputation of a French officer through the affection of his country for your cause, be absolutely established, by his fulfilling his duty in your armies, I beg you will consider how critical the situation the bare suspicion of the contrary must bring him into; my dismission after five months' promotion must necessarily leave some suspicions in a kingdom where the spirit of honor and good conduct can alone recommend to and maintain officers in posts and places.

"Be pleased to put a favorable construction on my inquietude. I know not what judgment the people in general of this continent may pass on these matters, unless I may be allowed to form an idea from the expressive letter which General Washington wrote upon the subject.

"Wherefore, since my services at Rhode Island have met with your approbation, permit me, through Your Honor, to ask a favor of the Assembly, that will be of infinite service to me. Your Honors dismissed me from the maxims of economy, and because you had but few troops. I entreat you will again honor me with the rank of Brigadier-General, without any pay, and without the least pretension of being employed by you, unless Your Honors should think proper to demand my services. This will be a rank merely honorary, which will confirm the distinction you formerly conferred on me without any solicitation on my part.

"If the principles of your administration, sir, permit you to pay any attention to what so essentially concerns my reputation, and to grant my petition, be pleased to grant this rank to Monsieur François de Malmedy, Colonel. The Congress sent me this commission on the 10th May. In which case there will be no degradation, and I shall enjoy in tranquillity the effects of your bounty.

"I am, with profound respect, honored sir,

"Your most obedient and very humble servant,

(Signed) malmedy

"To Honorable Governor Cooke."

The Colonial Records do not show that any action was taken upon General Malmedy's request. There may have been reasons of State for not calling the attention of the General Assembly to the subject.

The Marquis De Fleury passed a considerable time in Providence, and while here held very intimate relations with

the Hon. Theodore Foster, with whom he boarded, and who entertained for him a high esteem. Mr. Foster represents the Colonel as "sociable, jocose, and very agreeable in conversation, of a free, liberal turn of mind in matters of religion." September 13th, 1778, he went to Bristol, and returned to Providence on the 24th. October 4th he left Providence to join Washington. He was an officer of superior ability, and served in the American army as Captain, Sub-Inspector under Steuben, Adjutant-General under Lee, and Lieutenant-Colonel. For distinguished services at Fort Mifflin and at the battle of the Brandywine Congress presented him with a horse. He served gallantly under Sullivan on Rhode Island, and for the brilliant part he took in the storming of Stony Point received the commendation of Wayne. Congress voted him thanks and a silver medal. The medal was probably never in his possession. It appears to have been lost, how and when are unknown, in Princeton, N. J., where it was found in 1850. De Fleury accompanied Hamilton in a visit to D'Estaing in 1778, to communicate Washington's views in regard to mutual operations. Washington speaks of him as "an amiable and valuable officer," whose services he had received on numerous occasions.

In 1780 he placed himself under the command of Rochambeau, and served at Yorktown. The following letter written by the Colonel at Yorktown subsequently to the capitulation, addressed to James Duane, a member of the Continental Congress from New York, and recently brought to light, exhibits an admirable, patriotic spirit. It is printed without any correction of an imperfect orthography, pardonable in a foreigner of that period:

"Dear Sir

"I have wrott to you twice during the siege, I hope my letters are arriv'd safe into your hands: but I couldn't forbear congratulating you on this Lucky and glorious event. Our successes have not indeed costed very dear to us; however you must not measure our glory, by the dangers we

run to obtain it, but by their utility. Cornwallys, the southern Lyon, has been very tame to us; he had neither teeth, nor claws, God bless him, for he has done no mischief. We shall I hope by this last blow get the better of the brittish obstinacy to enslave america. Don't you think that the Congres we have hold at York will promote peace sooner than the Congres at vienna? If we could hold the next session at charlestown, I do not question but we should come to an end of this war next spring. Mr. de grasse is sailed yesterday morning after the brittish fleet, which came in sight and disappeared; if we hear anythink of an action, you shall have the particulars. We expect to take our quarters at Lampton [Hampton?] york and williamsburgh. The american army will divide, part to your River, part to green's army. general washington, *ipse agmen*, is going back to your Country, which I hope he will protect, from the indians of niagara and new york.

"farewell, and believe me forever with great respect your devoted and obliged servant and friend

"Fleury

"I Dined yesterday with Lord Cornwallys & o'hara; i was so bold as to inquire of the Lord, why they took so many nigros. by God said he whe had no other allees left in this Country. you forget did i answer, your faithfull friends the indians

"31 october 1781 Camp near york."*

On returning to France the Colonel was made a Field Marshal.

Worthy to be associated with De Fleury is Charles Armand Tufin, Marquis de la Rouerie, who was born at the Castle of de la Rouerie, near Basonge in Brittany, in 1756, and early entered a regiment of the French Guards, under the command of the Duke de Biron. He came to America early in the struggle between the colonies and the mother country, and near the close of his voyage narrowly escaped death, but succeeded in preserving despatches from Dr. Franklin placed in his care by Captain Anderson of the vessel in which he sailed, and in delivering them to Congress. May 10, 1777, he was commissioned as Colonel in the continental army.

The Marquis saw much service in the North and at the South. He commanded an independent legion, with which

* New York Evening Post, October 15, 1881.

he participated in the siege of Yorktown. After the surrender of Cornwallis, he was directed to report to General Greene in the Department of the South. March 26, 1783, he was commissioned a Brigadier-General. He was a brave and an efficient officer, and was greatly esteemed both by Washington and Rochambeau. Congress passed very complimentary resolutions in acknowledgment of his services. In 1784 he returned to France, where he participated in the exciting events of the times. He died in 1792 of grief for the execution of Louis XVI., to whom he was faithfully devoted.*

Baron De Kalb was born in Germany, and in early life entered the French service, in which he continued forty-two years. On his arrival in America he offered his services to the Congress, which were accepted. He was commissioned a Major-General, and commanded the right wing of the army under General Gates, in the battle near Camden, S. C., in which he was mortally wounded.

* An interesting Memoir of the Marquis, written by Townsend Ward, Esq., of Philadelphia, is published in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, vol. II, No. 1, 1878, illustrated with a finely engraved portrait.

Barracks.—On page 19 doubts were expressed whether barracks were erected on the hill-side west of the fort on Prospect Hill. Since that page was printed a diary has been placed in my hands in which I find the following entry:

"1782. June 21. The barrack standing on the land of Dr. William Bowen was sold this day at public vendue to the said Dr. Bowen for 11 dollars specie."

As the land upon which Major Sumner proposed to erect the barracks was owned by Dr. William Bowen, the above extract makes it appear that they were built.

Note.—It appears that prior to leaving France, Lafayette entered into an agreement with Silas Deane, then in Paris as a political and commercial agent of Congress to procure clothing, arms and ammunition, by which was granted to the former the rank of Major-General, which Mr. Deane begged Congress to confirm. Similar contracts were made with the Baron De Kalb, and other officers intending to identify their military fortunes with the continental struggle for a nationality. These contracts are embraced in the Deane papers, now in possession of the Treasury Department in Washington. They were discovered a few years ago by Captain R. A. Bayley, of the Treasury Department, and were first published in the Providence Evening Press. Those of Lafayette and De Kalb are here presented as germane to this narrative. The orthography of the originals has not been changed.

LAFAYETTE'S CONTRACT.

"Le desir que monsieur le marquis de lafayette marque, de servir dans les troupes des Etats unis de l'amerique septentrionale, et l'interet qu'il prend a la justice de leur cause, luy faisant souhaiter des occasions de se distinguer a la guerre, et de s'y rendre utile autant qu'il sera en luy, mais ne pouvant se flater d'obtenir l'agrement de sa famille pour servir en Pays etranger et passer les mers, qu'autant qu'il y iroit comme Officier General, J'ay crû ne pouvoir mieux servir mon Pays et mes commettants qu'en luy accordant au nom du tres honorable Congrès, le grade de major general que je supplie les etats de luy confirmer, ratifier et en faire expedier la Commission pour tenir et prendre rang a compter de ce jour, avec les officiers generaux du meme grade. Sa haute naissance, ses alliances, les grandes dignités que sa famille possede au cy devant, Ses biens considerable en ce Royaume, Son merite personnel, sa reputation, Son desinteressement, et Surtout Son zele pour la liberte de nos Provinces, m'ont seuls pû engager a luy faire la promesse dudit grade de major general, au nom des dits Etats unis. En foy de quoy j'ay signé le present, fait a Paris Sept Xbre mil Sept cent Soixante Seize.

Aux conditions cy dessus, je m'offre et promet de partir quand et comment Monsieur Deane le jugera apropos, pour servir Lesdits Etats avec tout le zele possible sans aucune pension ny traitement particulier, me reservant seulement la Liberte de revenir en Europe, Lorsque ma famille ou mon Roy me rappelleront, fait a Paris ce Sept Xbre 1776.

le m. de lafayette.

TRANSLATION.

The wish that the Marquis de Lafayette has shown to serve in the army of the United States of North America, and the interest that he takes in the justice of their cause, making him wish for opportunities to distinguish himself in the war, and to make himself useful to them as much as in his ties, but, not being able to obtain the consent of his family to serve in a foreign country and to cross the ocean, except on the condition that he should go as a general officer, I have believed that I could not serve my country and my superiors better than by granting to him, in the name of the very honorable Congress, the rank of Major General, which I beg the States to confirm and ratify, and to send Forward his commission to enable him to take and hold rank, counting from to-day, with the general officers of the same grade. His high birth, his connections, the great dignities held by his family at this court, his considerable possessions in this Kingdom, his personal merit, his reputation, his disinterestedness, and, above all, his zeal for the freedom of our colonies, have alone been able to induce me to make this promise of the said rank of Major General, in the name of the said United States. In witness of which I have signed these presents, done at Paris, this seventh of October, seventeen hundred and seventy six.

To the above conditions I agree, and promise to start when and how Mr. Deane shall judge it proper to serve the said States with all possible zeal, with no allowance nor private salary, reserving to myself only the right to return to Europe whenever my family or my king shall recall me, done at Paris this seventh day of October, 1776.

(Signed) THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

BARON DE KALB'S CONTRACT.

Le Baron De Kalb being advised by some Generals of the highest reputation and by several other Noblemen of the first rank in this realm, to serve the cause of Liberty in America, he accordingly offers his services to the most honorable Congress, on the following terms.

1. To be made a Major General of the American Troops at the appointments of the Major Generals in that service, with all other perquisites belonging to that Rank, besides a particular sum to be allowed to him annually, which he will not determine but rely on it for the Congress, hoping they will consider the difference there is, between their own Countrymen, who are on duty bound to defend their all, and a foreigner who out of his own accord offers his time, sets aside his family affairs to hazard his life for the American liberties. The said appointments to begin from this day November the seventh 1776.

2nd. That Mr. Deane will furnish him presently & before embarking with a sum of twelve thousand livres french money, namely 6000 to be considered and given as a gratification for the necessary expenses attending such an Errant, and th' other 6000 as an advance upon his appointments.

3rd. That Captain Dubois martin and another Gentleman who Le Baron De Kalb Shall nominate in time, may be agreed as majors to be his aid de Camps at the appointments of american officers of the Same Rank, and the sum of 3000,, or at least 2400,, be paid to each of them presently or before embarking, the half of which as a gratification & the other half as an advance, the said appointments beginning too from this day.

4th. That in case the Peace was made at their Landing in america, or that the Congress would not grant these demands, and ratify the present agreement, or that the Baron de Kalb himself should on any other account & at any time incline to return to Europe, that he be allowed to do so, and besides be furnish with a sufficient sum of money for the Expenses of his coming back.

On the above Conditions, I engage and promise to serve the american States to the utmost of my abilities, to acknowledge the authority and every act of the most honorable Congress, be faithfull to the Country as if my own, obey to Superiors committed by that Lawfull Power, and be from this very day at the disposal of Mr. Deane for my embarkation and in such vessel and harbour as he shall think fit. Witness my hand, in Paris november ye seventh in the year one thousand seven hundred seventy-six.

(Signed) DE KALB.

Recd of Silas Deane at Paris Novr. 22nd 1776 Sixteen Thousand Eight Hundred Livs. on acct. of the above.

(Signed) DE KALB.

N B paid 8800 in Cash
& ——8000 by a Bill on Messrs. Delaps.

A joint contract was also made out for Charles Louis, Viscount de Maurol, Chevalier Dudoupeau de Fayolle, and de Sonneville, the former to be made a Major-General, and the latter to be his aids-de-camp, with the rank respectively of Lieutenant-Colonel and Major. The salaries, bonuses and other terms were defined. The name of the Chevalier de Sonneville was not signed to the contract, and there is no mention of these officers anywhere in the records of the army. It is thought probable that they did not come to America. It will be seen that in his contract Lafayette alone stipulated to serve without pay,—a stipulation renewed in his application to Congress for the rank of Major-General. Although this rank was conferred upon him in Paris by Mr. Deane, and may have been known to his family and to the king, it does not appear to have caused them to look with favor upon his proposed American adventure, or to have induced the government to refrain from measures to prevent its consummation.

Mr Silas Deane, by whom these contracts were made, was chosen by Congress an Ambassador to France, and served in connexion with Franklin and Jefferson. In 1777 he was recalled. He suffered, as is not unfrequently the experience of public men, from misrepresentations of his official acts, but Dr. Franklin testified to his unqualified integrity in all his transactions for Congress. He was a man of strong mental endowments, an earnest patriot, and a victim of determined enemies. He was born in Groton, Conn., December 24, 1737, and died in Deal, England, August 23, 1789.

2nd. That Mr Deane will furnish him immediately a vessel to embark with a sum of twelve thousand livres francs, or such equivalent as to be considered and given as a gratification for the necessary expenses attending such an Errand and the other half as an advance upon his appointments

3rd. That Captain Fedeles Morris and another Gentleman who Le Baron De Kalb shall nominate in their stead be agreed as engineers to the Army and be entitled at the appointments of American officers of the same Rank, and the sum of [illegible], or at their option, be paid to each of them personally on their embarking the half of which as a gratuity and the other half as an advance, the said appointments to commence this day

4th. That in case the Peace was made at Sea Lawing a success, or that the Congress would not grant the demands, and enter into the proper agreement, or that the Baron de Kalb himself should on any other account [illegible] Europe, that he be allowed to do so, and besides be [illegible] with a sufficient sum of money for the Expenses of his coming back

On the above Conditions, I engage and promise to serve the American States in the utmost of my abilities, to acknowledge the authority [illegible] Congress, be faithfull to the Country as it [illegible] lawfull Power, and be from this very day at the disposal of Mr Deane [illegible] station and in such vessel and harbour as he shall think [illegible] Paris November the seventh in the year one thousand seven hundred [illegible]

(Signed) DE KALB.

Read at Silas Deane at Paris Nov. 22nd 1776 Sixteen Thousand Eight Hundred Livres on part of the above

Signed DE KALB.

N B paid 200 in Cash
& [illegible] on Messrs Delaps

A similar contract was also made out for Charles Louis, Viscount de Mauroi, Chevalier Duchesnes, de Fontenelle and de Sonnetlle, the former to be made a Major General, and the latter to be his aide de camp, with the rank respectively of Lieutenant-colonel and Major. The salaries, bounties and other terms were defined. The name of the Chevalier de Sonnetlle was not signed to the contract, and there is no mention of these officers anywhere in the records of the army. It is thought probable that they did not come to America. It will be seen that in his contract Lafayette alone stipulated to serve without pay,—a stipulation renewed in his application to Congress for the rank of Major General. Although the rank was conferred upon him in Paris by Mr Deane, and may have been known to Franklin and to the king, it does not appear to have caused them to look with favor upon the proposed American adventure, or to have induced the government to refrain from more [illegible] discouragement.

Mr Silas Deane, by whom these contracts were made, was chosen by Congress an Ambassador to France, and acted in connection with Franklin and Jefferson. In 1777 he was recalled. He obeyed, and in consequence the expectations of public men from misrepresentations of his official acts, but Dr Franklin testified to his unpolluted integrity in all his transactions for Congress. He was a man of strong mental and moral parts, an earnest patriot and a man of determined enemies. He was born in Groton, Conn., December 24, 1737, and died in Deal, England, August 23, 1789.

PART II.

GOVERNORS COOKE AND GREENE.

DEPUTY-GOVERNORS BRADFORD AND BOWEN.—THE BRITISH IN NEWPORT.—GENERAL SPENCER'S CAMPAIGN.

IN the opening and progress of the Revolution, Rhode Island was exceedingly fortunate in her chief magistrates. Nicholas Cooke, of Providence, Governor from 1775 to 1778; and William Greene, of Warwick, Governor from 1778 to 1786, were both men of untiring energy and devoted patriotism. They appreciated the value of the stake for which the confederation was playing, and heartily supported every measure calculated to insure its success. Aware of the exposed condition of Rhode Island, with its long line of unprotected sea-coast, Governor Cooke was deeply solicitous that seasonable measures might be adopted to insure safety to the State. He therefore, March 19, 1776, addressed a letter to General Washington, then at Cambridge, soliciting his assistance. "The singular situation," he says, "will, we hope, excite your Excellency's immediate attention. Rhode Island, and many other islands in our bays and rivers, with the extensive sea-coast, render it very difficult to defend ourselves against the present ministerial forces. What our situation must be should a large armed force make a landing upon Rhode Island, or any other part of the colony, your Excellency may as easily

suggest as we can describe. It will, we are sure, be your Excellency's great concern to defend every part of the continent as far as possible. Should your Excellency see fit to order any part of the forces from the vicinity of Boston, to any of the southern colonies we could wish your Excellency would order their march through this colony by the seashore, that we might have the chance of their being present should the colony be immediately invaded; and [to consider] whether it may not be necessary that a considerable force should be immediately stationed here, till the intention of the enemy can be known, we also submit to your Excellency."

Washington felt the force of this appeal, yet situated as he was, straightened for arms and ammunition, he could not readily comply. In the following letter, however, he expresses a sense of the danger to which the State is exposed, and indicates the only method in his power to render service:

"CAMBRIDGE, March 21st, 1776.

"SIR:—Your favors of the 18th and 19th instant I received, and am sorry to hear that your militia are so deficient in arms. I fear the misfortune is too common; nor do I know how it will be remedied. In this army, although I have pursued every mode I could devise, for procuring them, there is still a great deficiency; and a considerable number of men without any in their hands.

"The peculiar situation of Rhode Island, and the extensive sea coast, had not escaped my mind. I well know the enemy have it in their power to do it considerable damage, unless there is a sufficient force to repel their attempts.

"But it is the opinion of the general officers here, that their destination is against New York; the importance of which (as it secures the free and only communication between the northern and southern colonies, which will be entirely cut off by their possessing it, and give them the command of Hudson's river, and an easy pass into Canada), makes it absolutely and indispensably necessary for the whole of this army, which is but inconsiderable, except that part of it which will be left here to secure the stores, barracks, and other public property, to be marched from its defence with all possible expedition. It is an object that should command our first attention, and if lost, will be of the most fatal consequence to us in the present unhappy and interesting struggle.

"Lest any attempt should be made against you, I shall give orders to the officers commanding brigades, if they have intelligence of an invasion upon their march, that they forthwith return to your succor. I shall also order the officer who will be left here, to do the same with the troops under his command, whenever occasion may require it.

"Agreeably to the request made by you, and your Honorable General Assembly, I shall, with cheerfulness and pleasure, direct some of the last divisions that go from hence, to pursue the route you wish, if they can be accommodated with covering and provision; and shall be ever ready and happy to render Rhode Island, or any other place, any services in my power, that may be compatible with the general good.

"I am, sir, with sentiments of the highest regard,

"Your and their most obedient servant,

"To Governor COOKE."

In a letter addressed to General Washington, under date April 23, 1776, Governor Cooke says:

"I prevailed upon Colonel Knox, who passed through this town on his way to Norwich, to take a view of Newport, and to direct such works to be thrown up as he should think necessary for the defence of the place. He is clearly of opinion that the town of Newport may be secured; and hath left some directions, which I have ordered to be carried into execution. They have begun the works, and I believe will this day complete a battery which commands the north entrance of the harbor.

"To-morrow they begin the fortifications upon Fort Island; and if it be in our power to complete the works, I have no doubt it will put a total end to toryism in this colony.

"As Colonel Knox's stay was very short, his plans are not particular nor exact. If it were possible for Your Excellency to spare from your army some person acquainted with fortifications, to assist, were it only for a few days, you would do us a particular favor, and a most essential service to the common cause.

"I beg the favor of Your Excellency to represent the state of the colony to Congress, and to recommend to them the taking our brigade (which is enlisted to serve in any of the United Colonies,) into Continental pay; and to establish a force here, for the defence of the colony."

To this Washington replied April 28th: "I received your

favor of the 25th. I am very glad that Colonel Knox has taken a view of Newport, and hope the directions he left will be attended with all the good consequences you mention."

Nicholas Cooke was born in Providence, February 3, 1717. He was an eminent merchant, and for many years engaged in sea-faring life as a ship-master. He became conspicuous in town and State affairs. When urged to permit his name to be used as a candidate for Governor as the only person on whom the friends of American freedom could agree, he reluctantly yielded, saying that if we did not succeed in the revolutionary struggle we should be hung as traitors; and as the rulers would be taken first, he supposed he might as well be hung as another. A further illustration of his decision of character is found in the following letter addressed to Commodore Wallace. It was written under direction of a resolution passed by the General Assembly, while Mr. Cooke was Deputy-Governor. Such action was necessitated on account of detention and interference with the commerce of the colony by Wallace, then in command of His Majesty's ship Rose:

"EAST GREENWICH, June 14, 1775.

"SIR:—Long have the good people of this colony been oppressed by your conduct, in interrupting their lawful trade, and preventing the importation of the provisions necessary for their subsistence.

"The acts of the British Parliament, already filled with restrictions of trade, oppressive in the highest degree, seem by you, to be thought too lenient.

"Not controlled by those you affect to call your masters, you have detained the persons and taken away the properties of His Majesty's American subjects, without any warrant from the acts of trade, by which you have greatly impeded the intercourse between this and the other colonies, as well as between the different parts of this colony. The inhabitants expecting the interposition of the lawful authority of the colony, have borne these outrages with a patience almost criminal.

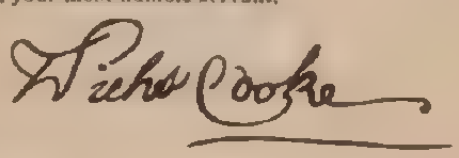
"The Legislature have heard their complaints, and in consequence of an act passed by the General Assembly this day, I demand of you the reason of your conduct towards the inhabitants of this colony, in stopping and detaining their vessels. And I also demand of you, that you immediately restore the two packets, belonging to some inhabitants of the town

of Providence; and all other vessels belonging to the inhabitants of this colony, which you have taken and unjustly detained.

"So long as you remain in the colony, and demean yourself as becomes your office, you may depend upon the protection of the laws, and every assistance for promoting the public service, in my power. And you may also be assured that the whole power of this colony will be exerted to secure the persons and properties of the inhabitants against every lawless invader.

"An immediate answer is requested to this letter.

"I am, sir, your most humble servant,



"To Captain JAMES WALLACE."

As President of the Board of War, a large portion of the public correspondence remained in the possession of Governor Cooke. Much of this, together with other valuable documents, was destroyed by the great fire which consumed his house on South Main street, January 21, 1801,—a loss to the historian greatly to be lamented.

In his business pursuits Governor Cooke was successful, having accumulated an ample fortune. In private life he was cheerful, affable, benevolent, and a devout supporter of christian institutions. He died September 14, 1782, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, honored and lamented. One who knew him well, and who was competent to correctly estimate his public and private qualities,* has left on record this testimony: "If a correct history of the Revolution, so far as Rhode Island is concerned, should be written, the name and character of Nicholas Cooke must appear conspicuous; by his decision and energy he raised and sustained the high reputation of the State, with the full confidence of General Washington and the high appreciation of the leading men of the neighboring States, as well as of Congress."

*John Howland.

His remains lie in the North Burial Ground in Providence, beneath a monument bearing an appropriate inscription.*

William Greene was descended from John Greene, surgeon, who first settled in Providence, and afterwards was one of the earliest settlers in Warwick. He was a son of Governor William Greene, who died in office, and was born in East Greenwich, (Warwick,) August 16, 1731, and died in the homestead mansion, where he had passed his life, November 29, 1809, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. He was buried in the family cemetery on the farm. Having been Chief Justice of the State, he brought to his office as Governor exact legal knowledge that gave weight to his opinions in all matters involving points of law. That he was an uncompromising patriot, as already intimated, his public correspondence and other official acts clearly show.

The spirit in which Governor Greene entered upon the duties of his office is well expressed in a congratulatory letter from his kinsman, General Nathanael Greene, who wrote: "I am persuaded you have taken the reins of government from the best of motives, and that you will discharge your trust with the greatest integrity." He married Catherine, daughter of Simon and Deborah Ray, of Block Island, by whom he had four children, viz.: Ray,† Samuel, Phœbe and Celia.

*Governor Cooke found an efficient coadjutor in Deputy-Governor William Bradford, of Bristol, and both having entered upon their respective offices "at a time of great public danger, difficulty and distress, and discharged the duties of their stations with patriotic zeal, firmness and intrepidity," the General Assembly, on their retiring from office, presented to each, in behalf of the State, a vote of thanks in acknowledgment of the value of his services. He was in intimate relations with Washington, who, it is said, during one of his visits to Rhode Island passed a week as a welcome guest at the pleasant Mount Hope mansion. William Bradford was a lineal descendant of Governor William Bradford, the second Governor of Plymouth colony, and was born in Plymouth, Mass., in November, 1729. He studied medicine under the tuition of Dr. Ezekiel Hersey, of Hingham, Mass. He settled in his profession in Warren, R. I., and removed thence to Bristol and entered the profession of the law. His house in Bristol was burned by the British. At the commencement of the Revolution he was a member of the Committee of Correspondence. For many years he was speaker of the Rhode Island General Assembly. In 1792 he was elected a Senator in Congress, and was a Trustee of Brown University from 1785 to his death, which occurred July 6, 1808.

†Hon. Ray Greene filled the office of Attorney General and District Attorney for several years. He was also elected Senator in Congress, which position he resigned in 1801. Hon. William Greene, son of Ray Greene, held the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Rhode Island from 1866 to 1868.

During the stay of the French Allies in Rhode Island, Rochambeau, Lafayette, Generals Greene, Sullivan and Varnum were often guests at his hospitable table. In private life he was a model christian gentleman, always gentle and kind to those around him, and universally beloved and respected as a good and wise man, a judicious counsellor, and a faithful friend.*

Early in the war Newport appears to have been regarded by the British as an eligible base for military and naval operations, and on the 7th of December, 1776, when only about seven hundred American soldiers were on the island for its protection, Sir Peter Parker, with seven ships of the line, four frigates and seventy transports, anchored in the bay, and the next day (Sunday) disembarked about six thousand troops,† and took possession of Newport. These troops were commanded by General Clinton. Under him were Earl Percy and Major-General Prescott. Thus Providence and the intermediate towns on both sides of the bay were virtually blockaded.

With this advent of the enemy began spoliations common to war. The citizens of the town and of the island were robbed with impunity, and many fled to Providence and elsewhere, to escape further ill treatment. Indeed, it was a dark and trying period during the nearly three years in which Rhode Island was made the theatre of war.

The occupation of Newport by the British not only placed an embargo on the commerce of Providence, and enabled the enemy to ravage the country bordering on Narragansett and Mount Hope Bays, but it was a formidable menace of New England, and was so felt by Connecticut, Massachu-

* Of the patriotic Deputy Governor Jabez Bowen, closely associated with Governor Greene in public affairs, with the exception of a single year from the commencement to the close of his gubernatorial career, an extended notice will be found in another part of this volume.

† The town records of Portsmouth say "about 8,000 of British troops landed and took possession of this island." They consisted of five British regiments, including a regiment of artillery, and four regiments of Hessians. One of the latter (Anspachers) was composed of men six feet in height.

setts and New Hampshire. It was also likely to prove a serious detriment to a free communication (important to be maintained) between the public authorities of Rhode Island and the Continental Congress and General Washington. In common with our State, the three above named States were aroused.

Earl Percy having returned to England, leaving General Prescott in command, and the latter having been captured in his quarters by the "bold push" of Colonel William Barton, July 10, 1777, General Pigot, who was sent from New York, now commanded the British forces on Rhode Island.

The capture of General Prescott was a bold and well devised undertaking, and involved more important consequences than have usually been ascribed to it. It not only imparted fresh power to the patriotism of the colony and sent a thrill of inspiration throughout the country, but hastened the return of General Lee, for whom General Prescott was exchanged, to the continental service. How anxious Lee was to end his parole and to engage again in military operations is evident from his letter to Washington, dated [illegible] 30, 1777, in which he says, that though his "situation is considered as easy, comfortable and pleasant as possible for a man who is in any sort a prisoner," he has "nothing left to wish for but that some circumstance may arise which may make it convenient for both parties that a general exchange may take place, and I amongst the rest reap the advantage." In reply, January 27, 1778, Washington assures him that every effort had been made on his part to effect the exchange. In due time it was effected, and Lee and Prescott were again in their respective fields. For this daring deed Congress presented Colonel Barton with a sword. The General Assembly, in recognition of the service, voted the sum of $1,120 to the Colonel and his party, to be distributed equally between officers and soldiers, upon the basis of their pay.

On the 6th of April, 1776, Major-General Joseph Spen-

cer, with a brigade of five regiments, arrived in Providence and assumed command of the military affairs of the State. He was warmly greeted, and great hopes were entertained by the inhabitants of the town from his advent among them. The General at once saw the danger to which the State was exposed, and the day succeeding his arrival addressed the following letter to Governor Cooke in relation to it:

"PROVIDENCE, 7th April, 1777.

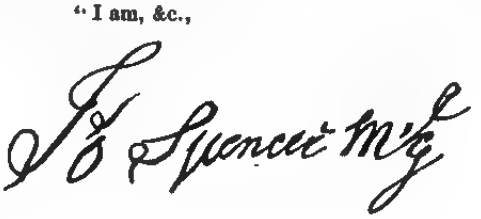
"SIR:—As I think this part of the country is in great danger of being soon ravaged by the enemy, (the army here being so very weak), I therefore imagine myself bound in duty to make this further application to your State for immediate succor.

"The Continental troops of this State are positively ordered to the westward, by General Washington; they will all march to-morrow, except those ordered to the hospital, to take the small pox. The whole troops now in this army, by the returns, does not exceed fourteen hundred men, and they are necessarily very much scattered. The enemy at Rhode Island are without doubt four thousand strong. This is confirmed fully by the intelligence we have, it would be too troublesome to relate the particular evidence.

"The report in a late Providence paper, that the enemy at Rhode Island amounted to but twenty-two hundred, ought never to have had any credit given to it; and it never had, by any gentlemen who were fully acquainted with the general intelligence from Rhode Island; that information was given by one Lawton, who came off from the island, who has since been strongly suspected of inimical designs, and was accordingly confined; and since his confinement has confessed that he came off at the desire of the enemy.

"By the late accounts we have, the enemy have determined on making a descent on the main very soon, to get fresh provisions; but how that may be I cannot say. But it is very certain, that the neglect of the several States to keep a proper army up in these parts, to prevent their excursions, is extremely dangerous to the country, and affords a very great temptation to the enemy to lay some parts of the country waste.

"I hope, sir, from these representations, which Your Honor may depend upon, your State will send with the utmost dispatch some assistance to this army. "I am, &c.,



"To Governor COOKE."

Before the arrival of General Spencer in Providence a small pox hospital had been established at Tockwotton, a location then quite remote from the densely populated part of the town; but as it closed an important pass in case of the enemy's approach from that quarter, and apprehending the danger of the disease being communicated to the troops, the General requested the Town Council to remove the hospital to some place more remote, by which safety to the army would be ensured. The Council, in compliance with the request, and under the sanction of the General Assembly, made arrangements with Jesse Lealand, of North Providence, for the use of his house, at that time occupied by John Jenckes Durfey, "they paying a reasonable rent therefor." Durfey was to be remunerated for the damage he might suffer by his sudden removal.

It was natural that the people of Rhode Island, having felt so keenly the rigors of war, should desire to see the enemy driven, at an early day, from Newport. The General Assembly, echoing the common feeling, passed a resolution at its March session, 1777, recommending "to the Honorable Major-General Spencer (if it be any way consistent with prudence) to make an attack upon the enemy at Rhode Island."

To stimulate the enlistment of volunteers for this purpose, a farther resolution was adopted offering a reward, to be equally divided between the officers and soldiers, "of $1,000 for every British or foreign general officer; $200 for a Colonel; $150 for a Lieutenant-Colonel; $100 for a Major; $50 for every Captain; $30 for every subaltern: and $20 for every private taken prisoner and brought off the island as aforesaid, within fifteen days." It was still further resolved, that "His Honor the Governor and General Spencer be requested to write to the selectmen of the towns of Rehoboth, Taunton, Attleborough, Wrentham, Norton, Bellingham, Dighton, Swanzey, Freetown, Dartmouth and Middleborough, and request their aid and assistance in engaging as many

volunteers within their respective towns, for the purpose aforesaid, as may be procured; and that they form themselves into companies, appoint their officers, and march to the town of Tiverton on or before the 12th of March inst."

It was easy enough to pass resolutions difficult of execution, and quite as easy to criticise a failure to accomplish a result that had not been carefully considered from a military standpoint. And this appears to have been the case with the General Assembly and the people at large. Evidently neither had weighed the thousand impediments to military action which, to the superficial eye, are invisible. General Spencer had been in Providence nearly a year, the enemy were ravaging the island and the adjacent country, and it was felt that a movement for relief ought to be made.

The desire of the General Assembly for an attack at that time upon the enemy did not find sympathy with General Greene, who was then at Morristown. General Arnold, then in Providence, communicated the votes of the Assembly to General Greene "as a curiosity." He evidently resented them as a reflection upon himself and General Spencer. In reply Greene says: "I am very sure their hearts are right, and their zeal warm, but I fear they do not give themselves time to deliberate properly. I am sure the House of Assembly never meant the resolutions as a reflection upon the general officers." He then adds:

"The State of Rhode Island may think it a great misfortune that the troops on Rhode Island have not been attacked; but I am far from thinking so, and ever shall be, unless I can first be convinced of the certainty of the success of the attack. People that are unacquainted with military matters and the force of discipline, think that numbers are sufficient to insure success; four thousand troops, well posted, with a good train of artillery, may bid defiance to three times their number, especially when there is but little order and method and discipline among the assailants. I wish General Spencer may not hazard an attack with such troops as you describe. It is the opinion of the best military judges we have in the army that the chance of an attack is against us. It signifies nothing for a few spirited officers to rush upon danger, when they have little or no hope of being well supported. Spirit is essential in an officer, but prudence is

more so. If you make the attack, God grant you success! but I hope General Spencer will have more prudence than to run any unnecessary risk to gratify popular clamor."

The General, however, in deference to the Assembly, commenced at once preparations for the campaign. To carry out the plan one-half of the militia of Rhode Island were called into service, while Massachusetts and Connecticut were to furnish liberal quotas of men. Troops to the number of nine thousand or more were gradually gathered at Tiverton, but so many obstacles had to be overcome that it was nearly the middle of October before all the arrangements for a forward movement were completed. Major Nathan Munro had collected a large number of boats at and near Fogland Ferry, to convey the troops across the East Passage to the island; but on the night designated for the embarkation a severe storm arose, which continued several days, and caused delay. A second and third time was designated for the attempt, but strong adverse winds and other causes interposed (among them discovery by the enemy) and led to further delays. "These delays disaffected the troops and many withdrew. Scarcely five thousand could be mustered on the last night assigned for the embarkation. A council of officers decided that it was inexpedient to make the attempt, and the expedition was abandoned." The high hopes of the public were thus suddenly brought low. Disappointed feeling found vent in severe criticism of General Spencer for inefficiency, and the popular sentiment of the hour was set forth in the following pasquinade:

"Israel wanted bread
The Lord sent them manna;
Rhode Island wants a head,
And Congress sends a granny."

At this time the home public in England appear to hold no higher opinion of their Generals in America, as the following satire published in a London paper of December 2, 1777, shows:

"ON THE BRITISH COMMANDERS.

"*Gage* nothing did and went to pot;
Howe lost one town, another got;
Gay nothing lost, and nothing won;
Dunmore was homeward forc'd to run;
Clinton was beat and got a garter;
And bouncing *Burgoyne* catch'd a Tartar;
Thus all we've got for millions spent,
Is to be laugh'd at, and repent."*

General Spencer keenly felt the odium resting upon him, and demanded a Court of Inquiry, which was granted. After a full hearing he was acquitted of blame.

"There was always a mystery about this expedition. Although Congress authorized Rhode Island to get it up, and requested Massachusetts and Connecticut to assist, it has been said that neither Congress or Washington ever had any expectation of expelling the enemy from the Island at this time. The main object was to prevent the enemy from making any diversion in favor of General Burgoyne. The British had a large army at Newport, and could have spared and sent several thousand to some point which would have diminished the opposition to his march through the country. But the assembling of such an army as the expedition called out, confined them to their quarters in Newport,

*About the same time the following, in a similar vein, appeared in the London Advertiser, headed:

"PLAY-BILL EXTRAORDINARY."

"In the course of this summer will be performed a new Tragic Farce, called

"ALL FOR POWER.

"OR

"AMERICA LOST.

"Captain Atall,	Mr. Minden.
"Bully,	Mr. Twitcher.
"Budget,	Mr. Boreas (North).
"Positive,	Mr. King (George III).
"Cautious,	Mr. O'Howe.
"Steady,	Mr. Washington.
"Firm,	Mr. Gates.
"Captive,	Mr. Lee.

"Out-Riders, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane.

"Chief Mourners, 8,000,000 Spectators.

"Knights of the Bath, Knights of the Post, Officers, Guards and Attendants.

"Scene — England, Scotland, Ireland and America."

and if such *was* the object, General Spencer was precisely the man to take the command of the American troops, and there seems some ground for such a supposition, for as soon as it was known that Burgoyne had surrendered his army (October 17, 1777,) to General Gates, the militia were all dismissed and sent home. It is true the General Assembly appointed a committee to inquire into the causes of General Spencer's failure, and Massachusetts and Connecticut were invited to send delegates to be present at the meeting of this committee, which was held at Providence. And the committee did meet and heard General Spencer and all parties and acquitted him. But this easy trial and acquittal have been by some considered as further evidence of the *real* object of the expedition. Be this as it might, however, the surrender of Burgoyne's whole army, made every one feel so happy, that they cared but little for General Spencer or his expedition. * * * * * Upon all the facts and circumstances connected with Spencer's expedition we are at a loss to decide whether it was a *real* failure, or not, and so we leave it."*

The solution of this mystery is a work for the future historian.

General Spencer was born in East Haddam, Conn., in 1714, and died in his native town, January 13, 1789. He held the office of Judge of Probate in 1753, and in 1758 joined the northern army as Major under Colonel Whiting. In 1775 he was appointed Brigadier-General in the Continental army, and subsequently was commissioned by Congress a Major-General. He resigned his commission December 21, 1777. Though the failure of the campaign he conducted in Rhode Island cast a shadow upon his military reputation, he was deemed a brave, patriotic and capable officer.

* "Spirit of '76," pp. 145, 146.

PART III.

LOOKING FOR A SUCCESSOR.

A DARK PERIOD.—LIGHT BREAKS IN.—GENERAL SULLIVAN SUCCEEDS GENERAL SPENCER.—FRENCH ALLIANCE.—BRITISH VIOLATION OF RULES OF WAR.—LETTER TO GENERAL PIGOT.—GENERALS GREENE AND LAFAYETTE JOIN SULLIVAN.—THE SECOND CAMPAIGN ON RHODE ISLAND.

WHEN General Spencer closed his military relations with Rhode Island, the question arose, who should be his successor. The eyes of many were turned towards General Nathanael Greene. In the opinion of William Ellery, the patriotic delegate in Congress from Newport, he was the man. "Mr. Ellery," writes the General, "proposed to me to take the command there,* provided it was agreeable to His Excellency; but he is totally averse to the measure." Mr. Ellery was right. General Greene was unquestionably the man for the place. His knowledge of the points of defence in the State that needed strengthening, his perfect understanding of the temperament of the people, and of the best methods of utilizing that knowledge, his personal magnetism, and his extraordinary executive ability gave him an advantage, as a leader, over almost any other general officer who could be named. But he could not be spared from the field of duty in which, at the moment, he

* Rhode Island.

was employed; and as the eyes that had rested upon him as the positive emancipator of his native state were turned elsewhere.

This was a dark period for American patriots. The winter at Valley Forge, when, according to Washington, the men were "without clothes to cover their nakedness, without blankets to lie on, without shoes, for the want of which their marches might be traced by the blood from their feet, and almost as often without provisions as with them," illustrated a common experience from which Rhode Island was not altogether exempt. Up to this time the confederation had been fighting the battles of freedom single handed. The Indian tribes had, for the most part, been drawn into the interests of Great Britain. Foreign governments, however kindly many of their people looked upon the liberal cause, proffered no aid. The resources of the young republic were greatly diminished, its finances were in a wretched state, the depreciation of paper money from par to a rate at which one specie silled dollar was equal to four or five hundred of continental currency, enhanced the cost of living, while legislative attempts to compel, *nolens volens*, the acceptance of depreciated paper when proffered in payment of debts greatly disturbed the harmony of the community.

There was a constant depreciation of the continental currency, so that in February, 1781, one silver dollar was equal to seven thousand five hundred dollars in paper. As mementos of the revolutionary period two fac-simile specimens of colonial and continental currency are given on succeeding pages.

The depreciation was so rapid that an article of merchandise sold one day, at an advance upon its cost, could not be replenished for the price received on the next. When the General Assembly passed a penal law, subjecting a creditor to a fine of one hundred pounds if he refused to take paper money at par in payment of indebtedness, the shopkeepers in Providence closed their doors. The market house was

also shut up. The farmers brought in nothing to sell. Paper money would not purchase a dinner. People dodged out of the way when a debtor appeared in sight, for fear of a tender of paper to cancel the debt.*

Under this law many cases of annoying litigation occurred. One in Providence was of a somewhat amusing, yet provoking, character. A shopkeeper having sold a jack-knife for twenty-five cents refused to receive a paper bill of that

denomination, at par, in payment. Complaint was entered against him, and the trial bade fair to occupy several days, the court adjourning from day to day without reaching a decision. Able counsel was employed on both sides. On the one side it was contended that the law was unconstitutional, and therefore void. On the other it was argued that the power of the General Assembly was unlimited by the charter or any declaration of rights established here, and

* Life of Howland, p. 101

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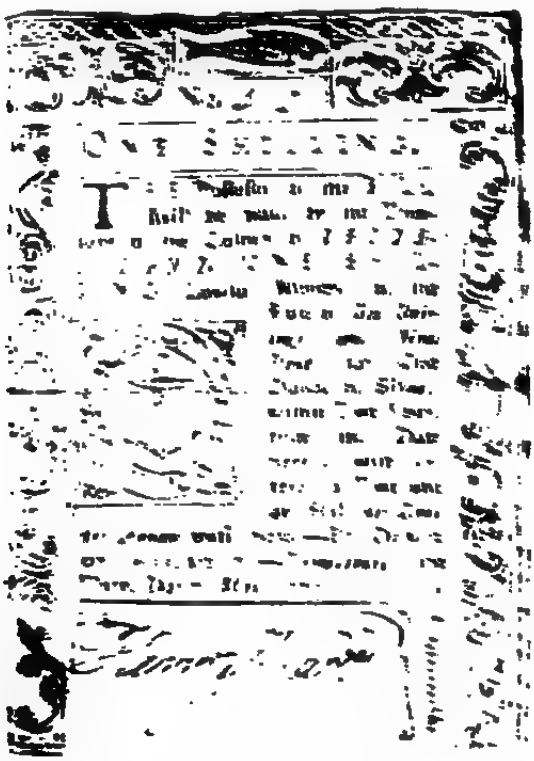

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General Spencer, bringing the well-earned reputation of a skilful, energetic officer. He was not unknown to the citizens of Providence, having been sent there with his brigade immediately after the evacuation of Boston in 1776, to protect Rhode Island from apprehended attack. The Council of War at once invested him with the supreme command of the State, and he entered without delay upon his military duties. The pleasure created by his presence was intensified by the almost simultaneous announcement that France had entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the confederate States, and had thus placed them, for the first time, before all Europe as an acknowledged independent nation. This vital act has never received the meed of praise it deserved. It gave strength to the young republic, and made easier negotiations abroad for military supplies and pecuniary loans.

The timidity that had hitherto restrained the action of Louis XVI. gave place to the warm sympathy of a generous ally. The result was that a fleet of sixteen sail, bringing a land force of four thousand men, was sent to aid the new-born nation.

The news of the alliance was received throughout the country with demonstrations of joy. At the headquarters of General Washington it was celebrated with a thanksgiving sermon, a review of the troops, a national salute of thirteen cannon, and a *feu-de-joie* of musketry, followed by an elegant dinner, to which, according to De Kalb, officers and their wives, together with the most distinguished persons in the neighborhood, sat down. "Here Washington, with Greene and Lafayette and Stirling, was already in waiting, Lafayette conspicuous by his white scarf." Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Greene and Lady Stirling and her daughter, Miss Kitty, were also present. In Providence the intelligence was received with no less exultation. From the Fox Point battery and the frigate Providence a salute was fired, which at sunset was repeated by the artillery company and the troops quartered in the town.

The British were still in Newport, and from time to time were raiding upon the islands in the bay and also upon the main land. They set fire to the town of Warren, burned the Baptist meeting-house, pillaged the houses, carried away many unarmed persons as prisoners, besides doing other acts not warranted by the rules of war. Bristol was assailed in like manner. Eighteen dwellings and the Episcopal church were burnt, the inhabitants were plundered, and about forty persons were made prisoners. The town was saved from utter destruction by the timely arrival of Colonel Barton from Providence, with about twenty mounted men and a number of volunteers gathered on the way. In a skirmish with the enemy he received a severe wound in the leg.

These wanton depredations excited the indignation of General Sullivan, and June 4th he addressed to General Pigot a letter of sharp rebuke. In that letter he says:

"The repeated applications of the distressed families of persons captured by your troops on the 25th ultimo induce me to write you upon the subject, as these men were not in actual service or found in arms. I cannot conceive what were the motives for taking them, or guess the terms upon which their release may be obtained.

"Had the war on the part of Britain been founded in justice; and your troops in their excursions, completed the destruction of the boats* and our military preparations in that quarter, without wantonly destroying defenceless towns, burning houses consecrated to the Deity, plundering and abusing innocent inhabitants, and dragging, from their peaceful habitations, unarmed and unoffending men,—such an expedition might have shone with splendor: it is now darkened with savage cruelty, and stained with indelible disgrace."

The General also intimated that while the law of retaliation had not as yet been exercised by the Americans, humanity having marked the line of their conduct thus far, yet perhaps at some future time when exasperated by accumulated injuries, measures might be adopted that would "convince the British that they have mistaken the motives of

* Seventy flat boats, the galley Washington and a grist mill were burned.

American clemency, and trifled too long with undeserved lenity." He adds, in closing, "I should not have written you so particularly upon the subject had I not observed in the 'Newport Gazette' that the conduct of your troops employed in the late expedition had received your approbation and warmest thanks."

Besides sufferings caused by raids like those above mentioned, many persons and families, driven from the island, were thrown into circumstances of great distress, the character of which may be seen in the following appeal, printed in the Providence Gazette:

"The charitable and well disposed persons in this and the neighboring States are requested to extend their donations unto the poor and distressed people who were lately inhabitants of the Island of Rhode Island. Men and women bowed down with age and infirmities, helpless children and persons with large families, have lately been driven from their once peaceful habitations, and turned into the wide world, destitute of every means to support themselves, by the cruel and rapacious Britons and their mercenaries, who have stripped them of the small pittance they were once possessed of, and left them to depend entirely upon the charity of the good people. Their distresses loudly call upon the humanity of those whose affluent circumstances will admit, and their souls dictate to them, to relieve the necessities of those who are almost ready to perish."

To this appeal liberal responses were made by the citizens of Providence and of the neighboring towns.

Of his military needs, General Sullivan thus writes to Congress:

"As the number of troops destined for this department will be so inadequate to defend it against a sudden attack, I think that the two State galleys, if properly fitted, would be of great advantage. I have applied to the Council of War upon the subject, who seem rather inclined to dispose of them to the continent, than to fix and man them for service. I beg leave, therefore, to submit to Congress whether it would not be for the good of the service to purchase them for guarding those places which are most exposed, particularly the rivers of Taunton and Warren. I also beg Congress to order General Stark, who has returned to New Hampshire from Albany, to me at this place, as I shall need two brigadiers when the troops arrive; and the more so, as the extent of country to guard will be so great. Should Congress think that, after the troops arrive here, an attempt upon the island, with them and some militia and volunteers called

m, would be practicable, I shall be exceeding happy in executing any order they will please to give.

In expectation that the enemy would make an attempt upon the town, General Sullivan ordered necessary defences to be prepared, and the people were soon busily at work on forts and redoubts.

Boats were ordered to constantly patrol near the shore to prevent surprise. The Tiverton boat cruised at Fogland Point and Common-fence Point; the Bristol boat between Common-fence Point and Poppasquash Point; the Warren boat between Poppasquash Point and the north shore at the entrance of Warren river; Providence boats down to Pawtuxet; Pawtuxet boat down to Warwick Neck; Warwick boat down below Greenwich. Sentinels covered the whole shore from Point Judith to East Greenwich. A guard boat was kept out at Slade's ferry and another at Fall River.

A SECOND CAMPAIGN.

After mature deliberation it was determined to make a second campaign on Rhode Island. In this campaign General Greene was deeply interested, and he was a prominent adviser. Writing to General Sullivan, he says: "I wish you success with all my soul, and intend, if possible, to come home to put things in a proper train in my department,* and to take a command of a part of the troops under you. I wish most ardently to be with you." To his Deputy Quartermaster-General in Rhode Island, Major Ephraim Bowen, he writes, urging prompt co-operation:

"There is an expedition going on against Newport. The forces that will be collected for this purpose will be considerable. Great exertions, therefore, will be necessary in our department. You must get the most active men to assist you that you possibly can.

"A great number of teams and boats will be wanted upon the occasion. Pray do not let the expedition suffer for want of any thing in our line. If tents are likely to be wanted, get all that Mr. Chace, Mr. Andrews and

* He was then Quartermaster-General of the continental army.

Mr. Greene have. I think you had better write them to send you all they have on hand.

"I am in hopes to come and assist you myself and join the expedition; but am afraid I cannot obtain the General's consent."

Much to his gratification, General Greene's wish to join General Sullivan was granted. He set out from camp July 28th, and July 31st, after three days' hard ride, reached Coventry, where, after an absence of nearly three years, he was warmly welcomed by his family, friends and neighbors. The next day he proceeded to Providence, and August 4th wrote to Colonel Wadsworth, "I am here, busy as a bee in a tar-barrel, to speak in a sailor's style." Before leaving to join the Rhode Island expedition, he took the precaution to engage and send on forty ship-carpenters and boat-builders "to put things in readiness in the water department," with "a most excellent fellow at the head of them, Major Eyres."

Another general officer no less interested in the campaign than General Greene, and equally anxious to serve in it, was Lafayette, whose delight, when sent forward with a command by Washington, was unbounded. In the exuberance of his feelings he wrote to General Sullivan:

"Nothing can give me greater pleasure than to go under your orders; and it is with the greatest happiness that I see my wishes, on that point, entirely satisfied. I both love and esteem you; therefore the moment we shall fight together will be extremely pleasant and agreeable to me. Colonel Laurens will explain to you the number of troops I take with me. The Count D'Estaing, a relation and friend of mine, has offered me the French troops he has on board; so that, in addition to your forces, we shall add a pretty good reenforcement. Had General Gates or any other gone there, I had already expressed that I did not choose to go; but I confess I feel the greatest happiness to coöperate with you to our glory and the common advantage. For God's sake, my dear friend, don't begin any thing before we arrive.

"With the most sincere affection and regard, I have the honor to be your most obedient servant.

"P. S. Laurens is just going, and I have not time to add more."

The ardor and energy he displayed during the campaign justified the highest expectations the General may have entertained of the value of the services of his young friend.

Preparatory to a forward movement, Major Silas Talbot was sent to Tiverton, where the troops were to assemble, to superintend the building of eighty-six flat boats capable of carrying one hundred persons each, to be used for ferrying the army over to the island. This work he accomplished in an incredibly short time.* Besides two continental brigades, commanded by Generals Varnum and Glover, who arrived in Providence with their respective commands early in August, the army embraced about sixteen hundred men from Rhode Island, fourteen hundred from Massachusetts, four hundred from Connecticut, and some volunteers from New Hampshire, half of whom left before the campaign came to a final issue. The aggregate number was about ten thousand.

"There were no Sundays during the Revolution." The day for rest and for quiet worship was often given over to

* Silas Talbot was born in Rhode Island about 1750, and in early life learned the trade of a stone mason. In 1772 he married a Miss Richmond, and settled in his own home in Providence. At the commencement of the revolutionary war he engaged in the cause of freedom, and was identified with some of the most important military and naval operations of that trying period. He participated in the defence of Fort Mifflin, November, 1777, where he received a severe wound. On the field of battle in this campaign his valor and usefulness were conspicuous, and won from the commander-in chief honorable mention in his dispatch to Congress. His skill in operating against the British shipping in the harbor of New York was rewarded by Congress with the commission of Major, he having previously been a Captain in a Rhode Island regiment. His naval exploits were numerous. Among the most brilliant of them was the capture, in Rhode Island waters, of the British galley Pigot of 22 guns. For this he received the commission of Lieutenant-Colonel. Several other sea triumphs secured for him, September 17, 1779, the commission of Captain in the navy. In 1780, while cruising in a private ship, he was taken prisoner and consigned to the Jersey prison ship, and from thence was transferred to the jail in New York, "a scene of misery on the one side, and despotic cruelty on the other," and thence again to Dartmoor prison in England. This prison was no less famous or infamous, for the mal-treatment of its inmates, than the Jersey. Three attempts to escape were unsuccessful, but he was ultimately released in December, 1781, by exchange, and in the spring of 1782 reached his home in Providence. In 1786 he married for a second wife a Miss Morris, of Philadelphia, a granddaughter of Governor Mifflin, and removed to western New York, where he engaged in agricultural pursuits. In 1794 he was employed to superintend the construction of the frigate Constitution, and was appointed to her command. He subsequently commanded on the St. Domingo station. A question of rank between himself and Commodore Truxton, decided by the Secretary of the Navy wrongfully, as he believed, against him, together with other causes, led Commodore Talbot, September 23, 1801, to resign his commission and retire from public service. He passed the residue of his life in New York, where he married a third time and died June 30, 1813. In person, he is represented as "tall and graceful, in features determined, but attractive. His conversation was spirited and genial." His eminent services to his country were appreciated in his day, and gave his name an honorable place among the patriots of the Revolution.

the exciting service of the war. This was extensively true in Rhode Island. In Providence, Sunday, August 2, 1778, presented a busy scene. "This day," says a manuscript diary of that date, "does not appear like Sunday in this town. All the artificers and tradesmen, with a vast number of persons not belonging to the town, differently employed in preparing with all expedition to go upon the enterprise against the enemy upon Rhode Island." On Thursday morning, August 6th, General Varnum's and Glover's brigades of continental troops took up their line of march for Tiverton. The same day, the Marquis de Lafayette set out for the general rendezvous, and on the 7th General Sullivan and suite left town for the same destination. General Pigot, apprised of General Sullivan's movements, withdrew his forces from Butts' Hill, and retired within his defences in front of Newport. On the 9th and 10th of August, Sullivan with his army crossed over and took possession of the enemy's abandoned works.

Prior to all this, on the 10th of July, the French fleet under D'Estaing, before mentioned, appeared off the capes of Delaware, having Monsieur Gerard, the French Plenipotentiary, on board. The news spread rapidly through the country, awakening joy wherever heard. It now appeared as if France had taken hold of the American cause in earnest, and with the purpose of furnishing aid and comfort to an extent comporting with the character of a leading nation.

"Glorious news!" exclaims Hon. Henry Marchant, a delegate in Congress, in a letter to Governor Greene, dated Philadelphia, July 11, 1778:

"I have but a few minutes before the express goes off, to inform you that a French fleet is arrived on this coast commanded by Count D'Estaing; one ship of 90 guns, four ships of 80 and two 74, and five of 64, and four frigates. Congress this day received a letter from the Admiral, dated Delaware Bay. The French Ambassador, Mons. Gerard, and Mr. Deane, in a frigate, are now coming up the river. The Admiral also for-

warded us a letter, directed to Congress, from the King of France, and signed by His Majesty, addressing us in the most respectful and tender manner."

On the 14th of July he again writes:

"I had the honor of being present the last Sabbath at the most interesting interview that ever took place in America, or perhaps in the world, between Monsieur Gerard, the Plenipotentiary of France, and the President of Congress, on the part of the sovereign independent United States of America. This interview was most cordial, generous and noble. In my turn I had the honor of personally congratulating His Excellency upon his safe arrival, and giving him a hearty welcome to the United States of America."

And still again he writes, August 11th:

"Last Thursday Congress gave public audience to Monsieur Gerard, the Minister Plenipotentiary of France. It was an important day, an important transaction, and I hope replete with lasting advantages to the United States in general, and to the State of Rhode Island in particular. By this day, perhaps at this moment, we are reaping the blessings arising from a treaty with so powerful an ally. I think the connection was brought about by the hand of Heaven, and thereupon it promises to be lasting, as it is mutually beneficial, generous and noble."

Of the treaty of alliance, William Ellery, also a delegate in Congress from Newport, writes:

"Instead of pursuing that narrow policy which regards only the present moment, and present interest, and nobly disdaining to take advantage of our situation, France hath, with a small variation, acceded to our proposals, thereby doubtless intending to bind us to them by indissoluble ties of affection and gratitude."

The letters of the Commissioner, he says, "show a good disposition in the powers of Europe towards us."

When the fleet of Vice-Admiral Count D'Estaing appeared on our southern coast, the question arose, how it could be employed to the best advantage. One idea was to blockade New York, and thus co-operate with the American land forces in cooping up the British troops in that city; but it was found, upon examination, that the channel was not of sufficient depth to permit the entrance into the harbor of the

larger ships, and so that plan was abandoned. The next plan was to invest Newport, and by a simultaneous assault by the naval and land forces, under Sullivan, to insure the capture of the enemy then holding possession of the town and of the island. Accordingly D'Estaing bore away for this out-post of southern New England, and appeared off Newport July 29, 1778. The entrance of his fleet into the harbor, August 8, filled the enemy with consternation. So intense was the fear awakened, that the three guard vessels anchored in the East passage, and the seven vessels anchored in the West passage and in the bay as far north as nearly opposite the northerly end of Prudence island were, to prevent their becoming prizes to our French allies, ordered to be destroyed.

These vessels mounted in the aggregate two hundred and eighteen guns, viz.:

Alarm, galley,	10 guns.	Orpheus, frigate	32 guns
Cerberus frigate,	28 guns.	Pigot, galley,	8 guns.
Juno, frigate,	32 guns.	Spitfire galley,	8 guns.
King's Fisher, sloop,	18 guns.	Flora, frigate,	32 guns
Lark, frigate,	32 guns.	Falcon, sloop,	18 guns.

Of these, the Flora and Falcon, with their armaments, were sunk. The other eight were burned, and all their munitions of war went to the bottom.

"A MAP OF PART OF RHODE ISLAND, showing the positions of the American and British Armies at the siege of Newport and the subsequent Action on the 29th of August, 1778. Scale, two miles to the inch. Drawn by S. Lewis. Engraved by Benj'n Jones, Philad'a." This is the title of a map composed in a series that accompanied Marshall's Life of Washington. A part of the map on a reduced scale, extending from Brenton's Ledge to Bristol Ferry, is here presented.

EXPLANATION. A 2, American Lines. B L, British lines. B, British line on Conanicut Island, from which the troops were withdrawn; B B, British vessels in East Passage. Fine. Ferry across West Passage. F F, French fleet at the entrance of Newport harbor. B F, British fleet, right hand corner of the map.

The following details will perhaps make the account more intelligible to the reader:

Alarm, galley, stationed at Fogland Ferry, East Passage; burnt at Sandy Point.

Cerberus, frigate, stationed south of Dyer's Island; burnt further south, near Portsmouth shore.

Juno, frigate, stationed in centre of West Passage, about half way between Jamestown West Ferry and Conanicut Point; burnt in Coddington's Cove.

King's Fisher, sloop, stationed at the southern entrance of the East Passage; burnt a little north of Little Sandy Point.

Lark, frigate, stationed midway between Arnold's Point and Prudence Island; burnt near Portsmouth shore, about midway between Arnold's and Coggeshall's Points.

Orpheus, frigate, stationed between the northern end of Prudence Island and Calf Pasture Point; burnt near Coggeshall Point.

Pigot, galley, stationed near Brenton's Point; burnt a little south, near the shore, on the opposite side of the cove.

Spitfire, galley, stationed in the East Passage, south of Little Sandy Point and near Portsmouth shore; burnt at Sandy Point.

Flora, frigate, stationed south of Race Island; sunk in Newport harbor, south of Long wharf.

Falcon, sloop, stationed between Goat Island and the Dumplings; sunk near the south end of Goat Island *

GENERAL ORDERS BEFORE THE BATTLE.

The following Orders issued by General Sullivan, preparatory to moving on the enemy at Newport, after taking possession of Butts' Hill, seem to have a fitting place here.

* Des Barres has placed on the margin of his "Chart of the Harbor of Rhode Island and Narragansett Bay," the following

"NOTES AND REFERENCES explaining the situation of the BRITISH SHIPS and FORCES after the 29th of July, 1778, when the French Fleet under the command of Count d'Estaing appeared and Anchored off the Harbor at Newport.

"The same day two French Frigates went up the Seakonnet Passage.

"July 30th. Two French Line of Battle Ships Anchored in the Narragansett Passage on which the King's Troops quitted Connanicut Island.

"August 5th. The French Ships came down towards Dyer's Island when the British advanced Frigates were destroyed and the Seamen Encamped.

"8th. The rest of the French Fleet came into Harbour and Anchored abreast of Gould Island, upon which the King's Troops withdrew within the Lines.

"9th. The Enemy's Forces Landed."

The British had one encampment in Newport, one on Conanicut Island, one (a Naval Brigade) in Middletown, and five encampments in Portsmouth.

The names of Generals Greene, Hancock, Varnum, Glover, Whipple, Tyler, Cornell and Lafayette, as well as those of subordinate officers therein named, stand connected in history with some of the most important and brilliant military achievements of the Revolution.

"HEADQUARTERS, August 14, 1778.

"The army being under orders to march to morrow at six o'clock, the following order of march is to be observed, viz.: The brigades of the first line to advance by their centre in columns of two platoons in front. Varnum's brigade to march on in the west road, Glover's in the east, Cornell's and Greene's in the centre between them, taking care to divide the ground between the roads as near as possible by their centre. The two brigades of the second line to advance in front. The line will advance in two columns. Notwithstanding the order of march heretofore given out, the two columns of the second line will preserve their proper distance between them for displaying the two regiments of reserve, will advance from the centre of each in columns, and preserve their proper distance for displaying. Colonel Greene will arrange the artillery of the right wing in the east road. General Whipple, with the New Hampshire troops, will flank on the army in the right. General Tyler, with the Connecticut troops, will flank the army on the left, when two flanking divisions will march by platoons in the manner represented in the order of march, at the distance of fifty rods from the wing of the army when formed and preserve that distance. Colonel Dyer will move his regiment to the right, and divide it equally, and with one-half cover the right of the first, and with the other the right of the second line. Colonel Noyes will divide his regiment in like manner, to cover the left of the first and second lines. General Whipple will detach from his command one hundred men to flank the reserve on the right. General Tyler will detach one hundred men from his command to flank the reserve on the left. These parties will each be commanded by a field officer. The Salem volunteers will join parts of Noyes' regiment, which cover the left of the first line. The signals for paradling, wheeling and marching will be the same as in the order of the 11th instant. All signals of the drum will be taken from the brigade on the right of the first line, and will pass from it through the whole army. When the troop beats, it will be a signal for the army to move up in order to display. When the drum beats to arms, the lines and reserves with the covering parties to the first and second lines will display and form an order of battle, the flanking divisions on the right and left will halt and wait for orders.

"Pioneers to be immediately drafted from each corps, who are to be furnished from the Quartermaster with proper tools for removing obstructions in the road or field before the columns. The light corps will move on at least a mile in front of the army. Colonel Crane will order two

heavy pieces of artillery mounted on field carriages, to move on in the east road, and two more in the west road.

"The commanders of corps will see that the arrangements are properly fixed to-day, that each one may know his place in the morning. Colonel Langdon, with his dragoons, and Colonel Slack, with his light horse, will attend at headquarters in the morning.

"AFTER ORDERS.

"That no mistake may happen with respect to commanders of the army notified, the right wing of the first line will be commanded by Brigadier-General Varnum. The left wing of the first line will be commanded by Brigadier-General Glover. The second line will be commanded by the Hon. Major-General Hancock. The reserve by Colonel-Commandant West. Major-General Greene will command the right wing of the army; Major-General the Marquis de la Fayette the left. The other particular command of corps has been pointed out in the orders of the day.

"A permit from the Director General of the Hospital will be a sufficient warrant for any surgeon or sick soldier to pass to the main.

"The commanders of regiment corps and company will supply the Quartermaster-General military stores and the Commissary of Provision with such number of men as they shall request, without orders from headquarters.

"Parole — COOK.

"C. Signe — HOPKINS."

"HEADQUARTERS, RHODE ISLAND, August 15, 1778.

"Major General for the day to-morrow, Hancock. Brigadier for the day, Titcomb. Field Officers, Colonel Jacobs, Lieutenant-Colonel Woods, Major Wilson. Brigade Major for the day, Titcomb.

"Colonel Bigelow will take command of General Glover's Brigade. Adjutant Larnerd of Colonel Shepard's regiment, will do Brigade Major's duty till further orders.

"Major Thomas Fosdick and Mr. John Tracy are appointed Aids-de-Camp to General Glover; they are to be respected and obeyed accordingly."

"HEADQUARTERS, August 16, 1778.

"Major-General for the day to-morrow, Marquis De la Fayette. Brigadier, Whipple. Field officers, Colonel Wade, Lieutenant-Colonel Vose and Major Bradish. Brigade Major Sherburne. The whole of Noyes' regiment to cover the left of the second line. The Boston independent companies to join the Salem volunteers, and cover the left of the first line. General Glover will give directions where they are to encamp. Eight hundred fatigue men to be drafted from the second line reserve corps, General Tyler's flanking division and Dyer's and Noyes' regiments, and to parade in the front line on the east road precisely at six o'clock this evening. A

covering party of one thousand men from the first line to parade at the same time and places. The Quartermaster-General will forward all the fascines, gabions, platforms, and intrenching tools, that they may be in front of the first line at six o'clock this evening. The Commissary of Military Stores will forward all the ordnance to the same place and at the same time. Captain Dorrish Hanson and Lieutenant Anthony Whelp, who were sentenced by the court martial of which Major Huntington was President, to be discharged the service, are in consideration of their former good behavior and officer-like conduct, restored to their former ranks and command. The General wishes that this may serve to caution them against a conduct that may at once destroy all the credit that long and faithful services have acquired. The Aids and Majors of Brigades are requested to attend at headquarters precisely at the hours mentioned in the orders of the tenth inst. Brigadier General Varnum will command the covering parties this evening.

"The fatigue parties will parade with their arms, (the officers excepted) going on the lines. Richard Walker and Royal Tyler, Esqs., are to act as Brigade-Majors to light corps."

"HEADQUARTERS, August 16, 1778.

"AFTER ORDERS.

"Colonel Crane to have the charge of erecting the batteries this night; Colonel Govion and Colonel Gridley to assist him.

"Colonel Crane will detach such number of artillery men and such number of pieces for the covering party as he shall think proper. He will also detach such number of men to take charge of the batteries and serve the cannon as he finds requisite.

"Captain Hinckley's company from Boston, now in Colonel Livingston's corps, to join the corps which now covers the left of the first line.

"A draft of two hundred men of the most able and active men from the several corps of the army, except the first line, to be paraded at headquarters."

"HEADQUARTERS, RHODE ISLAND, August 16, 1778.

. . "The whole of Colonel Noyes's regiment to cover the left of the second line. The Boston independent company to join the Salem volunteers, and cover the left of the front line. General Glover will give directions where they are to be encamped." . .

"HEADQUARTERS, RHODE ISLAND, August 17, 1778.

"AFTER ORDERS.

. "Major Morton is appointed Aid-de-Camp to Major-General Hancock. Captain Stephen Sewall and Rufus King, Esq'rs, are appointed Aids-de-Camp to General Glover; they are to be respected and obeyed accordingly."

"HEADQUARTERS, CAMP BEFORE NEWPORT,
"August 20, 1778.

"Major-General for the day, to-morrow, Green. Brigadier for the day, Lovell. Field Officers, Colonel Hawes, Lieutenant-Colonel Pope, Major Fenno. Brigade Major, Niles.

"The General positively orders that no officers commanding fatigue parties shall suffer them to come off the works until they are regularly relieved, or dismissed by the Major-General of the day. The court martial, whereof Brigadier-General Varnum is President, to sit to-morrow, to try Colonel Noyes for taking off the fatigue party without orders and without having been relieved.

"The Quartermaster-General to apply to the Adjutant-General for a proper number of hands to bury the offal of the cattle killed about camp; also the carcasses of dead oxen and horses about the island. Colonel Evans will give orders for burying those on the north part of the island.

"The General entreats his brave officers and soldiers to use their utmost efforts in carrying on their approaches to the enemy's lines. Though a noble spirit of patriotism brought numbers of brave men on the ground whose particular interest loudly called for their presence at home, and though the General is convinced that the public interest will still prevail over every other consideration, yet he wishes to do everything in his power to forward the return of those brave men to their respective families and business; for which reason he exhorts every one to use their best endeavors to make the siege as short as possible.

"While the Commander-in-Chief esteems it his duty to return his warmest acknowledgments to the truly spirited citizens of Salem, Marblehead, &c., who so cheerfully turned out to take charge of the boats, and who have hitherto executed their trust to so universal satisfaction, he cannot help expressing his concern, that the term of time they agreed for, is so nearly expired; it gives him the most sensible pain to reflect that the unfavorable weather, the absence of the French fleet, and some other unforeseen and unfortunate events, have lengthened out the operations far beyond his expectations and lay him under a necessity of calling on those men [who ought to return home with the thanks of the army and country in general] to continue the sacrifice they are making of their private interest for a few days longer, to see the business they are so nobly engaged in completed, and this island again restored to the domination of the United States." . . .

"HEADQUARTERS, August 24, 1778.

"Major-General for the day, to morrow, Marquis de la Fayette. Brigadier, Glover.* . . . The company of Salem volunteers will immedi-

*General John Glover, son of Jonathan, Jr. and Tabitha (Bacon) Glover, was born in Salem, Mass., November 5, 1732. He early removed, with three brothers, (Jonathan, Samuel and Daniel,) to Marblehead, where he learned the trade of a shoemaker. In 1754 (Octo-

ately march to Howland's Ferry and put themselves under the command of Colonel Lee, to guard the boats, and to man them when occasion may

ber 30 he married Hannah Gale, of that town, and engaged in the fishing and other mercantile pursuits, which were prosperously followed until the breaking out of the Revolutionary war. He became prominent in town affairs, and held offices of honor and trust. He was for many years connected with the military, and at the beginning of the war abandoned his extensive business, raised a regiment of one thousand men, and joined Washington at Cambridge. As his command was composed mostly of seamen, it obtained the sobriquet of the "Marine Regiment," and for its thorough drill, bravery and ability to do service alike on land or water, was regarded by the Commander in Chief as one of the most valuable acquisitions to his army. From October 4, 1775, to July 29, 1776, Colonel Glover was stationed at Beverly, Mass., and with Master Master General Stephen Moylan (an Aid of Washington, took charge of the equipment and manning of vessels and cruisers sailing from that port and from Salem and Marblehead. These duties were faithfully and successfully discharged. Leaving Beverly he joined Washington on Long Island, and rendered invaluable services, when a retreat became necessary, in superintending the transportation of an army of nine thousand men, with all the field artillery and such heavy ordnance as was of most value, ammunition, provisions, etc., across the river to the main land in the space of thirteen hours. For gallant services at West Chester, October 18, 1776, he was complimented by General Lee, and also in general orders by Washington. He was commissioned a Brigadier General February 21, 1777, but at first declined the honor. Through the persuasion of Washington, who entertained a high opinion of his military ability, he finally accepted it. He was with Washington at Trenton, with Greene in New Jersey, and with Gates at Saratoga. After the surrender of Burgoyne, the important duty was assigned him of conducting the prisoners, five thousand seven hundred and ninety-one in number, to Cambridge. As already seen, he joined Sullivan in Providence, to cooperate with him in the campaign on Rhode Island. He was sent to Boston to engage two hundred or three hundred seamen or other persons well acquainted with boats, to act as boatmen in the expedition. The "Boston Independent Company," Colonel Hickborn, a Salem company, Captain Samuel Flagg, and many volunteers from Marblehead were secured.

After the retreat of the army from the Island, General Glover with his brigade returned to Providence, where he remained until July 7, 1779, when he left to join the main army. He was a member of the court martial before whom the unfortunate Andre was tried. From "Camp Peekskill, November 25th, he writes to General Hancock:

"The whole of the army has gone into winter quarters excepting General Nixon's and my brigades, who are now in the field (eight hundred of my men without shoes or stocking) enjoying the sweets of a winter's campaign, while the worthy and virtuous citizens of America are enduring the hardships, toils and fatigues incident to perdure, with good fires, and sleeping on beds of down. Who that loves his ease and wishes to enjoy a good constitution, and at the same time make his fortune, would not be a soldier?"

When the pecuniary sacrifices and the sacrifice of health made by General Glover, together with the suffering condition of his brigade, are brought into view, the irony of the above quotation will be pardoned.

General Glover remained in service until July, 1782, when, on account of increasing ill health, he resigned his commission. Congress accepted the resignation, and placed him on the half-pay establishment. The residue of his life was spent in Marblehead, where he died of a hepatic disease January 30, 1797, aged sixty-five years. His remains were deposited in the family tomb in the old burying ground in Marblehead. "In private life he was the warm and steady friend, free from every appearance of guile and dissimulation. He was the affectionate husband, the kind brother, and the best of fathers."

In 1875 Benjamin Tyler Reed presented to the city of Boston a bronze statue of General Glover. It is of heroic size, and represents him in continental uniform, with the heavy military overcoat hanging in graceful folds from his shoulders. It stands on Commonwealth avenue, upon a granite pedestal, upon which is inscribed a summary of his military career.

require. Two hundred men properly officered and commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel, to be taken from Whitney's and Wadsworth's regiments, and march this afternoon at 4 o'clock, to Butts' Hill and put themselves under command of Colonel Evans to assist the men now on the ground in constructing the necessary works; those men should be principally such as are acquainted with boats, that they may be able to man them when called upon for that purpose. The Quartermasters and Commissaries are to remove all their heavy stores not immediately wanted to the north end of the island. All the heavy baggage should be sent off, that the army may not be encumbered with it in time of action. The men from General Titcomb's brigade which have joined Colonel Lawrence's corps are immediately to return to their respective regiments.

"As it gives much trouble to furnish the light horsemen and dragoons with passes to cross the ferry every time they are sent on business, they are to pass and repass without written passes. The picket which lies in rear of the battery now erecting on the right, are to move down the road in front of the battery every evening at dark, and return again at daybreak" . . . .

It was the intention of General Sullivan, after having established his lines at Butts' Hill, to assault the enemy in his trenches. August 12th was the day designated for his army to move. On the 11th he issued a patriotic general order, in which he said:

"The Commander-in-Chief of the army on Rhode Island having issued orders for the army to move on towards Newport to-morrow morning [at] six o'clock, takes this opportunity to return his most cordial thanks to the brave officers, volunteers and soldiers, who have with so much alacrity repaired to this place to give their assistance in extirpating the British tyrants from their country. The zeal and spirit which they have discovered, are to him the most pleasing presages of victory, and he is happy to find himself at the head of an army far superior in numbers to that of the enemy, actuated by a sacred regard for the liberties of their country, and fired with just resentments against those barbarians who have deluged their country with innocent blood, and spread desolation on every part of the continent where they have been suffered to march. The prospect before us is now exceeding promising. The several corps have everything to animate and press them on to victory. The tried bravery of the continental officers and soldiers, and the idea they must have of the dependence placed upon their valor, must stimulate them to support the character they have justly acquired."

After expressing his confidence in the volunteers, State

troops and militia who had gathered to his support, he added:

"The General, on his part, assures his brave army that he, with the utmost cheerfulness, shares with them every danger and fatigue, and is ready to venture his life in every instance where his country calls for it."

A DISAPPOINTMENT.

On the evening of the day that General Sullivan with his army crossed over from Tiverton and took possession of the enemy's works on Butts' Hill, Admiral Howe with a fleet of thirty-six vessels, thirteen of them ships of the line, and seven of them frigates, was discovered off Point Judith, evidently intending to support the British land forces at Newport. When D'Estaing became aware of this fact, he immediately re-embarked the troops he had landed as a re-enforcement to General Sullivan, and put to sea, eager to meet his naval foe. The opposing fleets approached each other, and for an entire day manœuvred to obtain the weather gage. Had the weather been favorable, the skill and enthusiasm of the French commander would probably have been crowned with complete success, but unfortunately for the purpose of D'Estaing, the storm of unparalleled violence, already referred to, which so discomforted Sullivan's army, interposed a force more difficult to overcome than that presented by the enemy's squadron. But the determination of the French Admiral was not shaken. In the midst of the tornado an engagement was attempted. The winds, however, were mightier than the enemy's guns. The Admiral's ship, the Languedoc, was dismasted; the Tonnant met with a similar disaster, while the other vessels were, to some extent, damaged. After the storm abated, two fifty-gun ships that attempted to gain possession of the Languedoc and the Tonnant were beaten off, and two of the enemy's cruisers, the Senegal, sloop-of-war, and the bomb-ketch Carcass, were captured.

For several days nothing was heard from the French

fleet, but on the 20th of October, D'Estaing reappeared in Newport harbor, inspiring hope little short of certainty, that the enemy's army would soon be captured. The Admiral, in view of the dilapidated condition of his fleet, felt that it would not be advisable nor safe to engage in another contest until necessary repairs had been made. For this purpose he sailed the next day (21st) for Boston, and the hope raised sank not to rise again. When his decision became known, General Greene, who, with Lafayette and others went on board the Admiral's ship to persuade him to remain a few days, felt greatly disturbed at the turn of affairs. To his friend, Charles Pettit, the former thus gives vent to his feelings:

"I was on board the French fleet. I have only time to tell you the devil has got into the fleet. They are about to desert us, and go round to Boston. The garrison would be all our own in a few days if the fleet would only cooperate with us; but alas, they will not. They have got a little shattered in the late storm, and are apprehensive a juncture of Byron's and Howe's fleets may prove their ruin. I am afraid our expedition is now at an end. Like all the former attempts it will terminate with disgrace, because unsuccessful. Never was I in a more perplexing situation. To evacuate the island is death: to stay may be ruin."

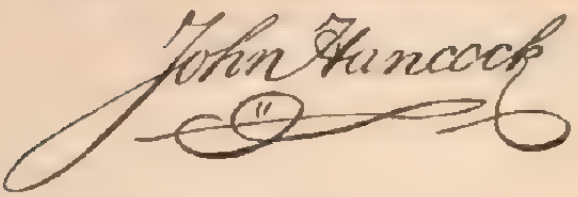
To Washington he writes:

"The departure of the Count D'Estaing with his fleet for Boston. . . . has, as I apprehended, ruined all our operations. It struck such a panic among the militia and volunteers that they began to desert in shoals. The fleet no sooner set sail than they began to be alarmed for their safety. This misfortune dampened the hopes of our army, and gave new spirits to that of the enemy."

General Sullivan and his officers, foreseeing the disastrous effect the departure would have upon the campaign, drew up a strong protest against this course, (which Lafayette declined to sign,) and despatched it after him by Colonel Laurens in a fast sailing vessel. But the protest failed of its design.* The Admiral continued his course for Boston,

* This protest proved an embarrassment to both Congress and Washington. It was judiciously placed in the hands of Monsieur Gerard, the French Minister, for his consideration

where he was cordially received. General Hancock, who went on to Boston to forward the repairs of the fleet and to prepare the Admiral for a speedy return, gave a grand ball in Concert Hall to the officers of the fleet, at which three hundred persons were present. To D'Estaing a superb



entertainment was given in Faneuil Hall, at which five hundred guests were present.

About forty French officers dined every day at Governor Hancock's table, for he was a generous host. On one occa-

tion, and was the occasion of a severe sarcasm in a secret dispatch sent by him to the Count de Vergennes, "Malheureusement, ce pays est peuple de fêtes exaltées."

"It is asserted that D'Estaing was disliked by his officers, not on account of personal considerations, but from the fact he had been a land officer, and they considered it an affront that he was placed over them. They therefore cast every impediment in his way, where opportunities were presented in which he might gain personal distinction."—*Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution*, I., p. 660 n.

sion an unusual number assembled to partake of the Governor's viands, when, in the language of Madam Hancock, "the common was bedizened with lace." The cooks were driven to despair, and the exigency was met only by milking the cows on the common. The Admiral requited the Governor's entertainments by a grand dinner on board his ship. The Governor's lady, seated near her host, was requested to pull a cord, which was the signal for a discharge of all the guns of the squadron. The good dame confessed herself surprised at this *coup de theatre.*[*]

HANCOCK MANSION.

Lafayette, pained by the departure of the fleet, always hopeful, and always prompt to meet an emergency, resolved to make one more attempt to secure its temporary return. By relays of horses he early reached Boston, and held an interview with the Admiral. But his powers of persuasion failing, he hastened back with all possible despatch, hoping to be in season to lead his command in the action. In six and a half hours he rode seventy miles, a feat paralleled only by the famous "Sheridan's ride from Winchester," at a critical period of the late war of the Rebellion. In his hope he was disappointed. To his great mortification and chagrin he reached the scene of action only in season to assume the honorable command of the rear guard on the retreat.

[*] Drake's Landmarks of Boston. While the French fleet lay in Boston harbor, a British fleet of twenty sail hove in sight. The Admiral immediately made preparations to meet it, but the enemy, after showing himself, drew off without making an attempt upon the town.

Notwithstanding the movement was retarded by the furious, cold storm, so disastrous to the French fleet, which commenced on the evening of the 11th and continued to the close of the 13th, during which time the troops were without shelter and suffered severely,* the General, by the 14th, had advanced his lines to within two miles of the enemy's defences, which extended from Redoubt Hill to Easton's point. For five days a heavy cannonading prevailed, and the enemy was driven from all of his outworks but one. It was the General's intention to have stormed his main works, but the withdrawal of nearly three thousand [illegible], whom it appears he could not retain, so [illegible] his rumours as to render an assault of doubtful success, and under the disadvantage of no naval support he fell back to his first position at Butts Hill.

Rear Admiral Lord Richard Howe.

WHAT SHALL NOW BE DONE?

When it was settled beyond a peradventure that no more co-operation was to be expected, there appeared to General

* [illegible]

[illegible] Lord Richard Howe, whose portrait appears above, was born March 8, 1726. He was educated at Westminster and Eton. Choosing a naval life he [illegible] a lieutenant at the age of twenty-one. In 1746 he was [illegible] a midshipman [illegible] with his father, Emanuel, Viscount Howe, he made several attempts to effect a reconciliation between the colonies and the mother-country. He succeeded in [illegible] opinion [illegible] the colonies, and [illegible] measures. The report of a reconciliation was frequently [illegible] by him, and on the contrary arrival of Sandy Hook, in

Sullivan "but one of three measures to pursue: to continue the siege by regular approaches; attempt the garrison by storm; or effect an immediate retreat, and secure our stores." On these points he sought the opinion of General Greene, who, with his usual clear insight, replied as follows:

"You further inform me that the enemy's collective strength is about 6,000, and that your own force is 8,174 rank and file, besides a well-appointed artillery, and that you expected a reinforcement in two or three days of 3,000 men.

"In this situation and under these circumstances you demand my opinion which of the three measures it is your duty and interest to pursue.

"It will be a folly to continue the siege by regular approaches. We are contiguous to New York: and their strength and security there enable them to detach such a force that upon joining the troops here they would be too formidable for your army. They will be mutinous, difficult to govern, and of little service in our future operations. There are many other reasons that urge a retreat, but these may suffice and would be sufficient in my humble opinion to justify you in effecting one immediately.

"However, as our forces are all collected and in pretty good health, and there will be no additional expense to the public to attempt to possess ourselves of the town by surprise, I shall take the liberty to suggest a plan for your consideration. I am sensible that neither the number nor quality of our troops would justify an attack upon the enemy's lines by open storm; but as many advantages are lost for want of being attempted, it may be well for you to consider how far you can be justified in risking the consequences that may follow the attempt.

opened communication with the Doctor, hoping to enlist his active sympathy in the attempt before referred to. His letter was accompanied by "letters and parcels" indicating the nature of his mission. In reply Dr. Franklin said: "The official dispatches to which you refer me contain nothing more than what we have seen in the Act of Parliament, viz., offers of pardon upon submission, which I was sorry to find, as it must give your Lordship pain to be sent so far on so hopeless a business. . . . . Your Lordship may possibly remember the tears of joy that wet my cheek when at your good sister's in London, you once gave me expectations that a reconciliation might soon take place. I had the misfortune to find these expectations disappointed, and to be treated as the cause of the mischief I was laboring to prevent. . . . . I know your great motive in coming hither was the hope of being instrumental in a reconciliation, and believe, when you find that to be impossible, in any terms given you to propose, you will relinquish so odious a command, and return to a more honorable private station."

The position of the fleet under Admiral Howe's command when first seen on the 9th of August prior to the engagement with Count D'Estaing, is indicated by vessels in the right-hand corner of the map on page 68. On returning from America his naval career was marked with success. In 1787 he was made Admiral of the White, in 1788 was raised to an Earldom, and in 1791 received the Order of the Garter, and was made Admiral of the fleet. He died August 5, 1799. A monument to his memory may be seen in St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

"The garrison is said to be 6,000 strong; they are well fortified with lines, redoubts, and abattis; your strength is but little above 8,000. To attack 6,000 regular troops in redoubts, with an expectation of carrying them, would require 15,000 troops of equal or superior quality; you have but about 3,000 regular troops and 5,000 militia. Therefore it is a folly to think of effecting anything by open storm. If anything can be effected it must be by stratagem.

WHAT GREENE OBSERVES.

"Upon reconnoitering the works I observe a redoubt round a house at the head of Easton's beach, which commands the pass. If we could possess ourselves of this redoubt we might possibly open a passage within their lines by the way of the beach. I would pick out three hundred men of the best troops in the army, and give the command to a good officer, who should be provided with boats at Satchueset beach, all completely manned with good oarsmen, to land the party some distance south of the redoubt, which they should attempt to possess themselves of by fixed bayonets. I would have a body of troops ready at the entrance of the beach to push over for their support if they should succeed, and the whole army to follow in order and file off to the left and get upon the high grounds back of the town, and there form in good order.

"If the enemy should attack the column as it moved forward there must be detachments to check them and keep them in play while the troops are passing. In order to get a good and sufficient body of troops for the purpose, I would recommend a draft from the militia of all such soldiers as have been in service before and have them incorporated with the continental and State troops; or else to form them into separate corps, and pick a corps of officers to command them from among the militia, State, or continental troops as it shall be found they can be spared, and as they appear suitable to the command.

"With the rest of the militia I would make sham attacks along their lines from Tonomy hill to our batteries, in order to hold as much of the enemy's force upon the outlines as possible while we get footing within. The militia not to begin their attacks until we give them a signal by a rocket, and the column not to begin to move across the beach until the advance party fire a rocket, which will answer two valuable purposes; it will serve to direct our own motions, and make the enemy think there are other principal attacks to commence, which will leave them in doubt how to divide their forces.

"The troops posted along in front of the enemy's lines will answer another valuable purpose. It will prevent the enemy from sallying (if we should meet with a repulse) and attempting to cut off our retreat.

"The quartermaster should have as many teams provided as would take up all our baggage, stores, cannon, and mortars at once — which should move off for the upper end of the island the moment we begin our motions for the storm. I would recommend the forepart of the night for the

attempt as the enemy would be less upon their guard. If we should get footing it will give us time to make the necessary dispositions before they can attack us; and if we meet with a repulse, it will afford us an opportunity to draw off our men with more safety, as our disposition cannot be known in the night.

"If we were not situated as we are I could not recommend this attempt because the chance is not equal; but our particular situation demands every attempt that reason or common sense can justify. I think it, therefore, worthy your attention. I can only assure you, if you should think the measure eligible, I will cheerfully undertake any part of the execution, and will give you every possible aid in my power to render it effectual."

This plan General Sullivan approved, and the campaign was vigorously continued.

On the morning of the 29th the enemy marched out of his defences and offered battle. The offer was accepted, and then commenced a conflict pronounced by Lafayette "the best fought action of the war." For nearly seven hours the thunder of cannon and the ceaseless rattle of musketry told of the energy of the British and the determination of the Americans. The battle terminated in the retreat of the British, with a loss in killed, wounded and prisoners, of one thousand and twenty-three men. The American loss was two hundred and eleven.* Sullivan was left in possession of the field, which he held until the next day, when, learning that Sir Henry Clinton had arrived off Newport with heavy re-enforcements, and finding that he could not expect support from the fleet of D'Estaing, he decided, in council, to withdraw his forces to the main land. This he did without molestation or loss of any munitions of war.†

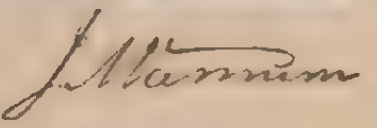
* M. Tousard, a member of the military family of Lafayette, had a horse killed under him and lost his right arm. For his bravery Congress granted him the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, by brevet, and a pension of thirty dollars a month for life.

† General Glover, whose efficiency had been thoroughly tested in the campaign on Long Island two years before, collected boats and superintended the operation.—Amory.

According to a general order issued at Tiverton by General Sullivan, August 31, the whole of the Rhode Island militia was dismissed. The regular army was disposed of as follows: General Cornell's brigade to be stationed on Tiverton shore. One-half of Daggett's regiment to be stationed at Fall River, the other half at Slade's Ferry, north side of the river. General Varnum's brigade to take post at Bristol and Warren. General Glover's brigade and Jackson's corps to take post at Providence. Colonel Commandant

In the plan of battle the command of the right wing was given to Major-General Nathanael Greene, and the left to General Lafayette. Throughout the battle, the soldiers acquitted themselves like veterans. Generals Varnum, Glover, Cornell, Lovell, West, Hancock, Titcomb, Whipple and Tyler, Colonels Livingston, Laurens, Jackson, Wade, John

GENERAL VARNUM'S SWORD



Trumbull, (a volunteer aid on the staff of General Sullivan, who showed great valor on the field,) Fleury, Crane, Gridley, Jacobs, Bigelow, Sheppard, Langdon, Dyer, Noes, Sherburne, Pea-

Greene's brigade to take post in the neighborhood of East Greenwich, General Tyler's at Warwick, General Lovell's and Titcomb's at Pawtuxet. The troops on the western shore to be commanded by Major General Greene. Those on the eastern shore by Major General Marquis de la Fayette; the troops at Providence by Brigadier General Glover. The headquarters of General Lafayette were, for a time, in Bristol.

body, Slack, Long, Eben and James Sullivan, (both on the General's staff,) Thorndike, Wadsworth and Millard; Lieutenant-Colonels Hackett and Colemore; Majors Fosdick, Bradish, Wilson, Huntington, Griffin Greene, Morton, Lyman, Phillips, Crafts, Holden, Ward, Morris, Niles and Talbot, and the officers generally down to subalterns, won by their bravery deserved praise. Four of General Sullivan's Life Guard, viz.: Aaron Man, Levi Hoppin, George Potter and John Westcott, received promotions for gallant conduct in covering the retreat.

In this battle Anthony's hill and a thicket near the Portsmouth coal mine were special points of severe carnage. At the base of the former, sixty fell in one spot beneath a deadly fire. Not far distant, thirty Hessians filled a single grave.

Colonel Christopher Greene having been assigned to the command of a brigade, his regiment, or rather battalion, for in numbers it amounted to nothing more, of colored men, was led by Major Samuel Ward, whose military experience had placed him high as an able, energetic officer. The men were raw recruits of a few weeks standing, and as yet but imperfectly acquainted with military rule. None of them had ever before been under fire, and few of them had any clear idea of the necessity of exact and prompt obedience to orders on the battle-field. While it is stated by the historian Arnold that they fought with great bravery, and three times repelled the furious charges of the Hessians, it is said that a report was circulated in camp that Major Ward was dissatified with their conduct, and that he more than once rebuked them in severe terms for palpable signs of timidity. I do not propose to harmonize these conflicting statements, though I find no evidence that Colonel Greene ever complained of the conduct of his men. That a carnage such as they never before witnessed should, to some extent, have unnerved their courage, and have caused them to shrink from a close and bloody contest with the enemy, is not surprising. White soldiers have often done no better. Discipline and experience make

good soldiers, and in the war of the Revolution, as in the late Rebellion, a deserved meed of praise was often won by colored men.*

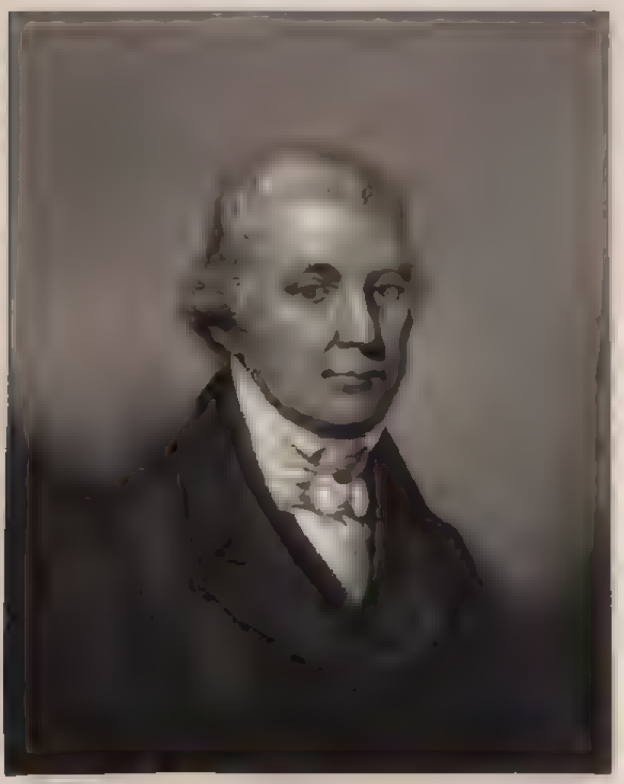
* The exact language of Arnold is "It was in repelling these furious onsets, that the newly raised black regiment, under Colonel Greene, distinguished itself by deeds of desperate valor. Posted behind a thicket in the valley, they three times drove back the Hessians who charged repeatedly down the hill to dislodge them, and so determined were the enemy in these successive charges, that the day after the battle the Hessian Colonel upon whom the duty had devolved, applied to exchange his command and go to New York, because he dared not lead his regiment again to battle, lest his men should shoot him for having caused them so much loss." [*Hist. R. I.*, ii., *p. 428.*] Arnold was a careful and thorough student of records and of verbal history, and was distinguished for accuracy. It would be an unwarrantable reflection upon him as an author, to intimate that the foregoing statement was made without what he believed to be sufficient evidence of its correctness.

Judge Durfee, speaking of the same battle scene, says, giving "tradition" for authority, "There it was that our Black regiment, with their cocked hats, and black plumes tipped with white, moved with charged bayonets as a single man, twice or thrice rushed on the hundred force of British and Hessians, and as often drove them from the ground."—[*Works, p. 307.*]

General Sullivan, in "after orders," issued the day following the battle, alluding to a report in circulation of dissatisfaction with the conduct of the black troops, says that upon inquiry of Major Ward and other officers in action with them, "there was not the least foundation for censure," and that he thinks them "entitled to a proper share of the honor of the day."—[*R. I. Hist. Tracts, No. 10, pp. 23, 24.*]

The attempt to raise two black battalions in Rhode Island was made at the instance of General Varnum. Tod in chief, Colonel Christopher Greene, Lieutenant-colonel Jeremiah Olney, and Major Samuel Ward was assigned this duty. The work of raising one was soon accomplished. The recruits were divided into four companies, commanded respectively by Captains Ebenezer Flagg, Elijah Lewis, Thomas Cole and John Dexter. The battalion numbered, including officers, one hundred and eighty seven men.—[*Spirit of '76, pp. 185–189.*] By a law of the General Assembly, passed at the February session, 1778, "every able-bodied negro, mulatto or Indian man slave," was authorized to enlist in either of the two battalions proposed to be raised. On passing muster before Colonel Christopher Greene, they were to be immediately discharged from the service of their masters or mistresses "and be absolutely FREE," as though they had never been encumbered with any kind of servitude or slavery.—[*Col. Rec., viii., pp. 359, 360.*] Provision was also made for compensating their owners. In the "Rhode Island Historical Tracts," No. 10, may be seen "An account of the Negro Slaves Inlisted into the Continental Battalions and to whom they did Belong, with the valuation of Each Slave and Notes Given, 1778." The valuation ranged from £30, as in the case of Battle Gardner, owned by Nicholas Gardner, of Exeter, to £120, the sum at which Cato Greene, owned by His Excellency William Greene, of Warwick, was valued. Primus Babcock, of Hopkinton, Primus Rhodes, of Cranston, Prince Rodman, of South Kingstown, Primus Brown, of Johnston, Jack Minturn, of Newport, Thomas Letsayour, of Bristol, Warren Mason, of Warren, Query Sweeting, of Providence, and thirty-six others, were valued at the same rates. Cato Vernon, owned by William Vernon, of Newport, was valued at £114, Jack Greene, of Warwick, at £65, Ebenezer Gray, of Little Compton, at £90, Boston Wilbour, of Little Compton, at £110, Prince Vaughan, of North Kingstown, at £114, and Sigby Talbot, of Providence, at £100.

Hamilton was in favor of raising levies of negroes at the south, on the Rhode Island plan. His views were seconded by the elder Laurens, who was ready to take command of black forces when organized. "If we had," he writes, "3,000 arms for 3,000 such black men as I could enlist in Carolina, I should have no doubt of success in driving the British out of Virginia, and subduing East Florida before the end of July." That many of the



Samuel Ward

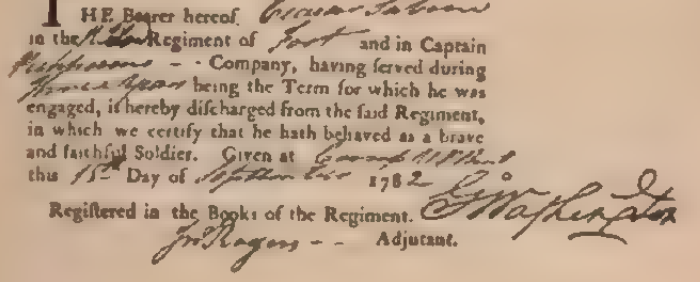
Of this battle and its results, General Sullivan thus writes to Congress from Tiverton under date of August 31:

"Upon the Count D'Estaing's finding himself under a necessity of going to Boston to repair the loss he sustained in the late gale of wind, I thought it best to carry on my approaches with as much vigor as possible against Newport, that no time might be lost in making the attack upon the return of his fleet, or any part of it, to cooperate with us. I had sent expresses to the Count to hasten his return, which, I had no doubt, would at least bring part of his fleet to us in a few days. Our batteries played upon the enemy's works, for several days, with apparent good success, as the enemy's fire from the outworks visibly grew weaker, and they began to abandon some of those next us; and, on the 27th, we found they had removed their cannon from all the outworks except one."

DEFENCES OF NEWPORT.

"The town of Newport is defended by two lines, supported by several redoubts connected with the lines. The first of these lines extends from a large pond, called Easton Pond, near to Tonomy Hill, and then turns

blacks of Rhode Island who enlisted in the army proved to be good soldiers, their records, so far as known, show. Among the men selected by Colonel Barton for the capture of General Prescott was Jack Sisson. Another black, Guy Watson, served in the expedition against Oswego in 1783. Ichabod Northup was serving under Colonel Christopher Greene, at the time of his lamented death near the Croton river, May 14, 1781. He was taken prisoner and held for more than two years. Scipio Brown, of South Kingstown, was a drummer in the company commanded by Captain John Holden. He was in the Oswego expedition. Cuff Gardner and Richard Cozzens were fifers in the same company. Bristol Rhodes, owned by Joseph Rhodes, of Cranston, enlisted in Colonel Christopher Greene's battalion. He was in the battle on Rhode Island, August 29, 1778, and served at the siege of Yorktown, where he lost an arm and a leg. Thomas Brown was a drummer, and James Northrup a fifer, in Captain Elijah Lewis's company. Sharpe Champlin and Prince Jinks were drummers, and Cato Brown fifer, in Captain John S. Dexter's company. Cæsar Sabin, owned, I think, by James Sabin, of Providence, enlisted and served under Colonel Greene. The following reduced facsimile copy of his discharge is an honorable testimonial to his bravery and fidelity as a soldier:


THE Bearer hereof Cæsar Sabin in the Regiment of Foot and in Captain - - Company, having served during three years being the Term for which he was engaged, is hereby discharged from the said Regiment, in which we certify that he hath behaved as a brave and faithful Soldier. Given at Camp at West Point this 15th Day of September 1782. G. Washington

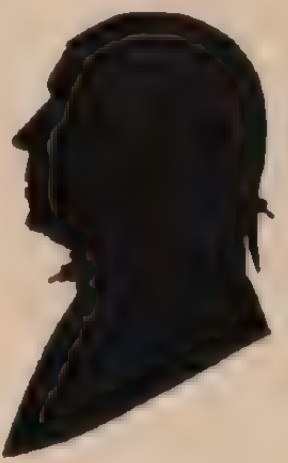
Registered in the Books of the Regiment. Jno Rogers - - Adjutant.

[illegible] on the north side of Windmill Hill. This line was [illegible] front. The second line is more than a quarter [illegible] and extends from the sea to the north side of the island, [illegible] the north battery. On the southern the entrance by [illegible] the line terminates in a redoubt which commands [illegible] about twenty rods in the front. There [illegible] between the lines which render [illegible] of the east side, without a new force to [illegible] should have attempted carrying the works [illegible] I found they had withdrawn their cannon from their [illegible] and I had found to my great surprise, that the volunteers, [illegible] great part of my army, had retreated and required my [illegible] more than that of the enemy. Between two and three [illegible] in the space of twenty-four hours, and others were [illegible] upon a supposition that nothing could be done before the [illegible] of the East [illegible] reinforcements, and the apprehension of [illegible] with a reinforcement to relieve the garrison. I [illegible] the heavy articles that could be spared [illegible] a large party was detached to get the works in repair [illegible] of the island, to throw up some additional ones, and put [illegible] the batteries at Tiverton and Bristol, to secure a retreat in case of necessity. On the 28th a council was called, in which it was unanimously determined to remove to the north end of the island, fortify our camp, secure our communication with the main, and hold our ground on the island till we could know whether the French fleet would soon return to our assistance.

"On the evening of the 28th we moved, with our stores and baggage, which had not been previously sent forward, and, about two in the morning, encamped on Butts' Hill with our right extending to the west road, and left to the east road; the flanking and covering parties still farther towards the water, on right and left. One regiment was posted in a redoubt advanced off the right of the first line; Colonel Henry B. Livingston, with a light corps, consisting of Colonel Jackson's detachment and a detachment from the army, was stationed in the east road.* Another light corps, under command of Colonel Laurens, Colonel Fleury, and Major Talbot, was posted on the west road. These corps were posted nearly three miles in front: in the rear of these was the picket of the

* Colonel Henry Jackson was born in Boston in 1748. He was very gentlemanly in his manners, strongly attached to military affairs and took a peculiar pride in the discipline and martial appearance of his regiment, which consisted of about four hundred men. On the 16th of August, 1779, he, with his regiment, left Providence to join the Penobscot Expedition, and reached Boston in twenty-four hours. Colonel Jackson and his officers were cordially received by the gentlemen of the town, and entertained in elegant style at the Bunch of Grapes tavern. After the unsuccessful expedition, Colonel Jackson with his command returned to Providence, and thence joined Washington at Morristown. He gained distinction at Rhode Island and at Springfield, N. J. He died in Boston, January 4, 1809.

army, commanded by Colonel Wade. The enemy having received intelligence of our movement, came out, early in the morning, with nearly their whole force, in two columns, advanced in the two roads, and attacked our light corps. They made a brave resistance, and were supported for some time by the picket. I ordered a regiment to support Colonel Livingston, another to support Colonel Laurens, and, at the same time, sent them orders to retire to the main army in the best order they could. They kept up a retreating fire upon the enemy, and retired, in excellent order, to the main army. The enemy advanced on our left very near, but were repulsed by General Glover. Then they retired to Quaker Hill. The Hessian column formed on a chain of hills running northward from Quaker Hill. Our army was drawn up, the first line in front of the works on Butts' Hill, the second in rear of the hill; and the reserve near a creek and nearly half a mile in rear of the first line. The distance between those hills is about one mile. The ground between the hills is meadow-land interspersed with trees and small copse of wood.



COLONEL NATHANIEL WADE.

THE BATTLE.

"The enemy began a cannonade upon us about nine in the morning, which was returned with double force. Skirmishing continued between the advanced parties until near ten o'clock, when the enemy's two ships of war and some small armed vessels having gained our right flank and begun a fire, the enemy bent their whole force that way, and endeavored to turn our right under cover of the ships fire, and to take the advanced redoubt on the right. They were twice driven back in great confusion, but a third trial was made with greater numbers and with more resolution, which, had it not been for the timely aid sent forward, would have succeeded. A sharp contest of nearly an hour ensued, in which the cannon from both armies, placed on the hills, played briskly in support of their own party. The enemy were at length routed and fled, in great confusion, to the hill where they first formed, and where they had artillery and some works to cover them, leaving their dead and wounded, in considerable numbers behind them. It was impossible to ascertain the number of dead on the field, as it could not be approached by either party without being exposed to the cannon of the other army. Our party recovered about twenty of their wounded, and took nearly sixty

[illegible]

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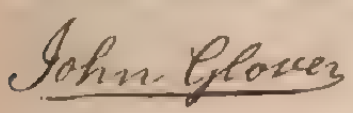
equal, if not superior, to ours. Not more than fifteen hundred of my troops had ever been in action before. I should before have taken possession of the hill they occupied, and fortified it; but it is no defence against an enemy coming from the south part of the island, though exceedingly good against one advancing from the north end towards the town, and had been fortified by the enemy for that purpose.

GOOD CONDUCT OF THE TROOPS.

"I have the pleasure to inform Congress that no troops could possibly show more spirit than those of ours which were engaged. Colonel Livingston, and all the officers of the light corps, behaved with remarkable spirit. Colonels Laurens, Fleury, and Major Talbot with the officers of that corps, behaved with great gallantry. The brigades of the first line—Varnum's,* Glover's, Cornell's, and Greene's—behaved with great firmness. Major-General Greene, who commanded in the attack on the right, did himself the highest honor, by the judgment and bravery exhibited in the action. One brigade only



* James M. Varnum was born in Dracut, Mass., in 1749. He entered Rhode Island College, then located in Warren, and graduated with the highest honors of his class, the first with which the college opened, in 1769. For a short period he kept a classical school, and then studied law with Oliver Arnold, Attorney General of the Colony. In 1771 he was admitted to the bar, and settled at East Greenwich, where he at once entered upon an extensive practice. His forensic powers gave him great popularity in his profession. These were displayed on many occasions with marked effect, and especially in 1780 in the celebrated trial of Trescott vs. Weeden, arising from the latter (a butcher of Newport) refusing to receive the paper money tendered him in payment for meat purchased by the former.

Mr. Varnum had a taste for military life and early joined the "Kentish Guards," of which company he was appointed Commander in 1774. Soon after the commencement of hostilities with the mother country, he was appointed Colonel of the first Rhode Island regiment, and subsequently put on the continental establishment. In 1777 he was made a Brigadier-General, was detached to Red Bank, and commanded all the troops on the Jersey side of the Delaware, when the British and Hessians took possession of Philadelphia. Under his direction Major Thayer made the gallant defence of Fort Mifflin, for which Congress, through a misapprehension of the case, presented a sword to Colonel Smith, who had relinquished the command the day before the attack. In 1786 the General wrote a letter relating all the circumstances of the defence, and showing the injustice done to Major Thayer in bestowing upon Colonel Smith the honor due to him. General Varnum spent the winter with Washington at Valley Forge, and shared in the distresses of that terrible season. He took part in the battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778. His valuable services under Sullivan in Rhode Island have already been noticed. In 1779 he resigned his commission in the army, and in May, of the same year, the General Assembly of Rhode Island elected him Major-General of the State militia. In 1780 he was elected a delegate to the Confederated Congress. In 1786 he was again elected to the same position.

After the war, General Varnum returned to the practice of the law in East Greenwich, with increasing reputation, and discussed the questions of paper money, taxation, etc., in the public papers and elsewhere, with great vigor, which did much to mould popular opinion. In 1787 he became interested in the operations of the Ohio Land Companies, and was chosen a director. In 1788, having been appointed one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the Northwest Territory, he left his home in Rhode Island for Marietta. His

of the second line was brought to action, commanded by Brigadier-General Lovell. He, and his brigade of militia, behaved with great resolution. Colonel Crane and the officers of the artillery deserve the highest praise. I inclose Congress a return of the killed, wounded and missing on our side, and beg leave to assure them, that from my own observation, the enemy's loss must be much greater. Our army retired to camp after the action: the enemy employed themselves, through the night, in fortifying their camp.

"In the morning of the 30th I received a letter from His Excellency General Washington, giving me notice that Lord Howe had again sailed with the fleet, and receiving intelligence at the same time, that a fleet was off Block Island, and also a letter from Boston, informing me that the Count D'Estaing could not come round so soon as I expected, a council was called, and as we could have no prospect of operating against Newport with success without the assistance of a fleet, it was unanimously agreed to quit the island until the return of the French squadron."

THE RETREAT.

"To make a retreat in the face of an enemy, equal, if not superior, in number, and cross a river, without loss, I knew was an arduous task, and seldom accomplished if attempted. As our sentries were within two hun-

health was then declining, and for the comfort of his remaining days this journey, with a view of settling in the then "far west," may be regarded as the great mistake of his life. The transition from the comforts of a New England home to the exposures and deprivations of a pioneer life was too extreme for one enfeebled by disease. On the fourth of July after his arrival at Marietta he by request delivered a brief oration replete with "many beauties both in sentiment and language," which was published at Newport, by order of the directors and agents of the Ohio Land Company. His last public act was signing a treaty with the Indians at Fort Harmar. He died the day following, January 19, 1789, at the age of forty years, and was buried with military honors, on which occasion an appropriate oration was delivered by Dr. Solomon Drowne. His career was active, but brief. "That General Varnum was a fine scholar, that he was a professional lawyer, that he was an accomplished gentleman, and that he was as brave and an orator as the age or country produced, are facts established by testimony that does not have the trace of a doubt." In early life he married Martha, the eldest daughter of Colonel Child, of Warren, R. I., who survived him forty-eight years, and died at Bristol, without issue, October 16, 1837, at the advanced age of eighty-eight years.

This sketch of General Varnum has been in part condensed from Updike's "Memoirs of the Rhode Island Bar."

The portrait of General Varnum, seen on page 81, copied from a miniature painted on ivory, was obtained for the purpose from the owner, a gentleman of Bristol, through Henry Thayer Lummis, Esq., President of the New York National Insurance Company. For the loan of the original from which the engraving accompanying the portrait is made, I am indebted to the courtesy of Henry L. Tucker, M. D., of Newport.

"The storm ruined most of the ammunition and rendered arms useless. To meet the wants thus created, seven thousand cartridges, temporarily on hand in Providence, were promptly forwarded, and about three hundred pounds of powder, as that the State could then supply, were quickly made up into cartridges. General Heath upon requisition, forwarded ten barrels of powder and a small quantity of cartridges. At this time about half a ton of powder was in the mill, but not sufficiently dry for use.

dred yards of each other, I knew it would require the greatest care and attention. To cover my design from the enemy, I ordered a number of tents to be brought forward and pitched in sight of the enemy, and almost the whole army to employ themselves in fortifying the camp. The heavy baggage and stores were falling back and crossing through the day; at dark the tents were struck, and the light baggage and troops passed down; and, before twelve o'clock, the main army had crossed, with the stores and baggage. The Marquis de Lafayette arrived about eleven in the evening from Boston; where he had been, by request of the general officers, to solicit the speedy return of the fleet. He was sensibly mortified that he was out of action; and, that he might not be out of the way in case of action, he had ridden hence to Boston in seven hours, and returned in six and a half,— the distance nearly seventy miles. He returned in time enough to bring off the pickets and other parties which covered the retreat of the army, which he did in excellent order: not a man was left behind, nor the smallest article lost.

"I hope my conduct through this expedition may merit the approbation of Congress. Major Morris, one of my aids, will have the honor of delivering this to Your Excellency. I must beg leave to recommend him to Congress as an officer who, in the last as well as several other actions, has behaved with great spirit and good conduct; and doubt not Congress will take such notice of him as his long service and spirited conduct deserves.

P. S. – The event has proved how timely my retreat took place, as one hundred sail of the enemy's ships arrived in the harbor on the morning after the retreat. I should do the highest injustice if I neglected to mention that Brigadier-General Cornell's indefatigable industry in preparing for the expedition and his good conduct through the whole, merit particular notice. Major Talbot, who assisted in preparing the boats, and afterwards served in Colonel Lauren's corps, deserves great praise."

* Ezekiel Cornell was born in Scituate, R. I., and became a prominent actor in the scenes of the Revolution. In 1775 he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in Colonel Daniel Hitchcock's regiment in the "army of observation." He was made Brigadier-General of the State troops by the General Assembly, and showed military energy and ability wherever his services were called into requisition. Those who served under him spoke of him as a man of good common sense, cool, deliberate, and a thorough disciplinarian. His services were of great value while the British held possession of Newport and of the sound. His brigade, after a service of three years and three months, was disbanded March 11, 1780. On retiring from the army he was elected a member of Congress, and in that body held the important and responsible position of chairman of the military committee, the arduous duties of which office he discharged with great fidelity. He was a warm friend to the cause of education, and was chiefly instrumental in establishing a public library in Scituate. His closing years found him engaged in the cultivation of his farm. In life he was much respected, and in death he was deeply lamented.

Ezek Cornell —

A SECOND DISAPPOINTMENT.

WASHINGTON, GREENE AND CONGRESS APPROVE THE RETREAT. - D'ESTAING DISTURBED. - RESOLUTIONS OF CONGRESS IN HIS FAVOR. - CONCILIATORY LETTERS. - D'ESTAING'S LETTER. - HARMONY RESTORED. INCIDENTS OF THE WAR.

THE manner in which this second expedition terminated was a deeper disappointment to many who had been sanguine of its success than even Spencer's failure. Censure was open mouthed. Criticisms, not warranted by a dispassionate review of events, were loud and condemnatory. But for the failure of a well-devised campaign the commander-in-chief could not fairly be held responsible. The elements and military circumstances could not be subordinated, and withdrawal from the island became the dictate of wise generalship. Washington so viewed it, and in words of commendation approved the act. Congress sanctioned it by a vote of thanks to the General and his army for gallantry in the field, and for skill displayed in the retreat.*

* The resolutions, passed by Congress, September 9, 1778, were as follow:

"*Resolved*, That the retreat made by Major-General Sullivan, with the troops under his command, from Rhode Island, was prudent, timely and well conducted, and that Congress highly approve of the same.

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of Congress be given to Major-General Sullivan, and to the officers and troops under his command, for their fortitude and bravery displayed in the action of August 29th, in which they repelled the British forces and maintained the field.

"*Resolved*, That Congress have a high sense of the patriotic exertions made by the four Eastern states on the late expedition against Rhode Island.

"*Resolved*, That His Excellency Count D'Estaing hath behaved as a brave and wise officer, and that His Excellency and the officers and men under his command have rendered every benefit to these states which the circumstances and nature of the service would admit of, and are fully entitled to the regards of the friends of America."

This last resolution was ordered to be transmitted by the President to the Admiral, with assurances "that Congress entertains the highest sense of his zeal and attachment, manifested in repeated instances, and especially in his spirited offer to lead the troops under his command from Boston and to cooperate against Rhode Island." It will be borne in mind that this offer came too late to be of service.

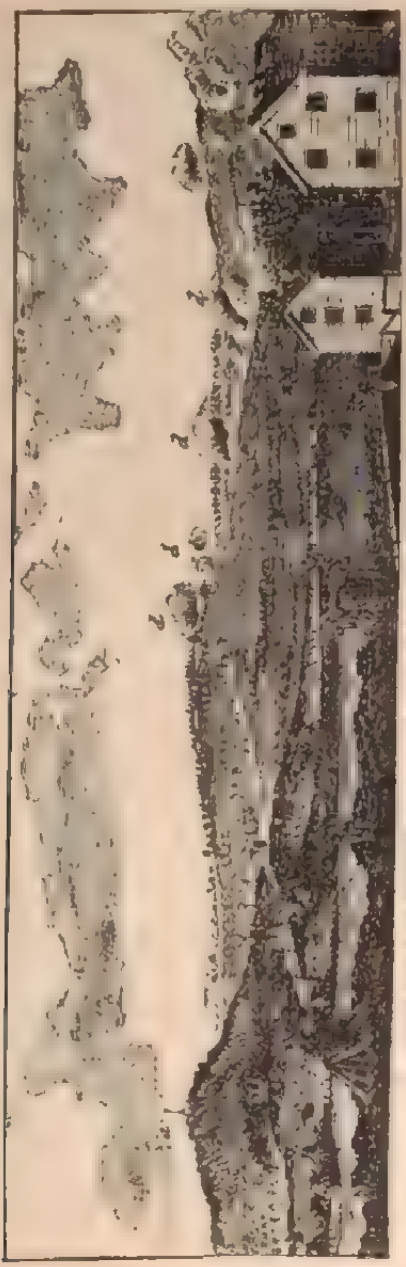
General Greene also wrote a very earnest letter to an influential gentleman in Providence, vindicating the expedition as having been "prudently concerted and honorably and faithfully executed." The retreat was a necessity growing out of unforeseen causes.

"Our numbers," Greene says, "at the time we left the enemy's lines, were not much superior to the garrison. We knew they expected a reenforcement hourly. Had any considerable force arrived the night we retreated, landed and marched out with the old garrison, we should have met with a defeat. The smallness of our numbers, the dispirited state all troops are in on a retreat, together with the probability of the enemy's having received reenforcements, determined the general not to risk a general action, when he was sure of an advantage in a partial one; and by risking a general one he exposed the whole of the troops to certain ruin.

"I have seen as much service almost as any man in the American army, and have been in as many or more actions than any one. I know the character of all our general officers as well as any one; and if I am any judge the expedition has been prudently and well conducted, and I am confident there is not a general officer, from the Commander-in-Chief to the youngest in the field, that would have gone greater lengths, to have given success to the expedition, than General Sullivan. He is sensible, active, ambitious, brave and persevering in his temper; and the object was sufficiently important to make him despise every difficulty opposed to his success, as far as he was at liberty to consult his own reputation, but the public good is of higher importance than personal glory, and the one is not to be gratified at the risk and expense of the other.

"People from consulting their wishes rather than their reason, and by forming a character of the spirit and firmness of irregular troops, more from general orders sounding their praise, than from any particular knowledge of their conduct, are led to expect more from such troops than is in the power of any person to effect with them."

Whatever doubts may have been raised concerning the real object of Spencer's expedition, there can be none in the minds of historians in regard to this second expedition under Sullivan. It carried on its face an obvious design,—the capture of the British army at Newport, or its expulsion from the island. Had it not been for the disastrous effect of the storm upon the fleet of D'Estaing, before mentioned, which cut off necessary naval co-operation, and left Narragansett and Mount Hope Bays in control of the enemy's war



* The Attack on Rhode Island, 1778. Taken from Mr. Brindley's House, on the 25th of August, 1778.

vessels, the forces under General Pigot must have soon surrendered or been speedily withdrawn.

D'ESTAING DISTURBED.

There were expressions in the protest and

* This engraving is reproduced from one published in the London "Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle," Vol. 49, 1779. It was unaccompanied with explanations, although the letters *a* and *d* indicate that explanatory notes were intended. General Pigot's narrative, comprehending the operations from the 8th to the 28th of August, was published, as will be seen, in 1778, and it is possible the engraving was prepared to illustrate it, but from some unknown cause was omitted. I have given the title as it stands in the original. The "Mr. Brindley," or *Brinley*, as the name should have been there written, was Thos. Brinley, Esq., whose ancestry is traced to Thomas Brinley, Esq., born in the city of Eton, England, and who was "Auditor-General of the Revenues of King Charles ye First and Second." He was the eldest son of Colonel Francis Brinley, of Roxbury, Mass., and grandfather of the present Hon. Francis Brinley, of Newport, President of the Redwood Library. He settled in Newport, where he acquired a large landed estate, and where he died April 23, 1816, aged eighty-eight years. He was buried in Trinity Church-yard. The house shown in the engraving was built, according to reliable authority, on what is now Touro street, near to the Jewish cemetery, and probably from its top the artist made his sketch, on the 25th of August, about which time General Sullivan contemplated storming the enemy's works near Newport. On

in a general order issued after the fleet left that the Admiral felt to be unjust in their application to himself, and which

this subject a gentleman of Newport, distinguished for historical research and for familiarity with the history of the island during the Revolution, thus writes:

"NEWPORT, April 6, 1881.

"MY DEAR MR. [FRANCIS] BRINLEY: — I have just received your note desiring to know the location of the house occupied by Mr. Brinley during the Revolutionary war, and from which a view of the battle of the siege was given in one of the volumes of the Gentleman's Magazine. That view can be obtained of Mr. Williams, the photographer.

"Mr. Brinley occupied the house of Nathaniel Kay, belonging to Trinity church during the Revolutionary war. Subsequently he lived in a house of his own, part of which is still occupied by Madame Robinson in Catherine street. The Kay house stood on the site of the Governor Eng's house, now Hastamus, but was taken down long since.

"In the view given in the Magazine the Americans attacked the British in their entrenchments at Tonomy Hill, at Benjamin's Hill, (now Bailey's,) and at Green end road, and from their fortifications on Honeyman's Hill.

"The view was taken from the top of Mr. Brinley's house. The artist gives a northern and eastern view. The action took place on the ground in near neighborhood to Newport.

"When the Americans subsequently retreated the British were the assailants and finally engaged in battle at Quaker Hill, at Turkey Hill, and at Butts' Hill; and the Americans remained masters of the field on Butts' Hill, and the slopes around; the English encamping on Quaker Hill and at Turkey Hill.

"So much did it end in a drawn battle, that on the subsequent day, Col. Campbell sent to the Americans to grant him liberty to search for the dead body of his nephew killed in the battle. I have not seen any engraving giving a sketch of the battle of Quaker Hill or Butts' Hill."

"I am very truly yours,

"DAVID KING."

Another careful and learned antiquary of Newport adds to the foregoing testimony as follows: "In regard to the engraved plate, in the Gentleman's Magazine, of the battle of 1778, the title reads, 'taken from the Brindley house,' which stood near the Jewish cemetery. Over a fortnight ago I mounted on the top of a building which stands on the same spot formerly occupied by the Brinley mansion, but the height of the trees obscured the view. I am strongly of opinion, the battle represented, is when the English threw up a large fort on Honeyman's Hill, from which, on the 29th and 23d of July, they cannonaded the American batteries situated a little over a mile off. A few days before, the British troops burnt all the houses within two miles of Newport. The stack of chimnies on the left of the picture I presume are the remains of the Malbone mansion, destroyed by fire in 1766. I think in engraving the subject on copper the print has been reversed."

Mr. Lossing, in his Field Book of the Revolution, presents a reduced copy of the engraving, and explains it thus: "The three eminences, Butts', Quaker, and Turkey Hills, are seen on the picture, the former on the left, its slopes covered with American tents, Quaker Hill in the centre, and Turkey Hill on the right. The house in the foreground, on the right, belonged to a Mr. Brindley, now near the site of the residence of Mr. Anthony." These several hills are on the northern end of the island. After diligent inquiry of the oldest and most intelligent persons living in their neighborhood, I have failed to find one who has any personal or traditional knowledge of a "Brindley house" situated on that part of the island, while at Newport such a house was well known. Besides, the artist being British, would not be likely to come into the American lines, in the midst of battle commotion, to make a sketch looking south. Until better advised, I must therefore concur in the testimony of my learned correspondents, accepting the theory of one of them,— James Eddy Mauran, Esq.,—that "In engraving the subject on copper, the print has been reversed", and hence the error.

with becoming self-respect he repelled. Greene thought them unnecessarily strong. So did Washington. Both regretted that they had been uttered, fearing they might prove seeds of alienation. Greene recommended the modification of the language, which was made in a second general order.

Greene, for whom D'Estaing cherished a warm friendship, wrote him a conciliatory letter, which served to check a rising asperity. Washington also wrote soothingly to Lafayette, who, like the Admiral, took exceptions to what seemed to him a reflection upon the allies and upon the French nation. He entreated him to take no exceptions to unmeaning expressions, uttered perhaps without consideration, and in the first transport of disappointed hope, and urged him to afford a healing hand to the wound that unintentionally had been made. He likewise wrote to D'Estaing:

"If the deepest regret that the best concerted enterprise and bravest exertions should have been rendered fruitless by a disaster which human prudence was incapable of foreseeing or preventing can alleviate disappointment, you may be assured that the whole continent sympathizes with you. . . . . Though your success has not been equal to your expectations, yet you have the satisfaction of reflecting that you have rendered essential services to the common cause."

In the Admiral's reply to Greene, there seems a carefully meditated yet almost imperceptible vein of sarcasm. He says:

"It is from you and what you are, that it is doubtless suitable and flattering to judge of the respectable and amiable qualities of the American general officers whom I have not the honor of knowing by correspondence or personally, it is with cordial warmth that I render homage to the truth in assuring you that on every occasion I have had reason to admire their zeal and talents, and to feel personal satisfaction for their behavior with regard to me; and to add to the motives of duty those of inclination and attachment which I shall always profess to have for them. I shall be enchanted if the assurance and the homage of these sentiments appear to you of any value."

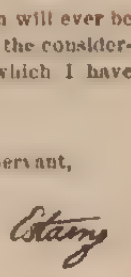
* * * * * * * * *

"I hope that Your Excellency and your respectable colleagues will not

disapprove my conduct. To merit that it should please them will ever be one of my desires, as well as to prove to you particularly all the consideration which I have for you and them, and the respect with which I have the honor of being,

"Sir, Your Excellency's

"Most humble and most obedient servant,



With all parties sober second thought prevailed, so that Sullivan wrote to Washington:

"I have the pleasure to inform Your Excellency, that, though the first struggles of passion, on so important a disappointment, were scarcely to be restrained, yet, in a few days, as it subsided, I found means to restore the former harmony between the American and French officers of the army. The Count D'Estaing and myself are in the same friendship as heretofore. The reason of the protest has been explained to him, and he is now perfectly satisfied. He has offered to come on with his land forces, and do everything which I may request of him and his troops; but the step has become unnecessary.

"The reason of drawing the protest was this: The Count himself wished to remain with us, but was, by his captains, overruled in council. To have deviated from the advice of his council would have been attended with ill consequences to him, in case of misfortune. It was supposed that the protest might justify him in taking the part agreeable to his own sentiments and those of the cooperating army."

That Lafayette should have withheld his signature from the protest, as already mentioned, was natural. D'Estaing was a relation and friend, and, as can readily be supposed, did not wish to place himself on record as censuring him. Looking back through the vista of a century, the student of Revolutionary history will be strengthened in his belief that but for the storm which led to the withdrawal of the French fleet to Boston, the battle on Rhode Island would virtually have terminated the War for Independence. This was Washington's belief. He writes:

"If the garrison of that place, [Newport] consisting of nearly six thousand men, had been captured, as there was, in appearance at least, a

hundred to one in favor of it, it would have given the finishing blow to the British pretensions of sovereignty over this country, and would, I am persuaded have hastened the departure of the troops in New York as fast as their canvas wings could carry them away."

The convictions of Lafayette were in accordance with those expressed by Washington. He said:

"When I again saw the French fleet sail out of the port for the last time, and abandon the capture of the British army, I felt this to be the most bitter disappointment of all, for I believe that this capture would have produced the same decisive result of speedily terminating the American war, as was subsequently accomplished by the capture at Yorktown, by the successful cooperation of the French fleet under Count DeGrasse, under similar circumstances."

"In answer to my inquiry for the reason of this second obstinate refusal to cooperate with their allies, the General replied that it was said in the council of officers that they held it to be their first duty as naval commanders to sustain the superiority of the French fleet on the ocean, to escape being shut up in port, and subjected to destruction by fire ships whilst at anchor in their disabled condition. This all important object could only be accomplished by losing no time in sailing for Boston, before the return of the British fleet, to which port they had been ordered to go for repairs in case of necessity."*

INCIDENTS OF THE WAR.

During the time that the British occupied the island many incidents, amusing and serious, occurred. The farmers were subjected to great trials by raids upon their crops and cattle, and by abusive treatment of their families. Yet they were faithful to the cause of freedom, and with great circumspection evaded the suspicious watching of the enemy, and used their opportunities to communicate important information to the American army stationed at Tiverton and Little Compton. Among these was Isaac Barker, a farmer in Middle-

* Conversation with Hon. Zachariah Allen. Mr. Allen and Colonel Ephraim Bowen were appointed by the town council of Providence a committee to meet General Lafayette at Plainfield, Conn., and escort him to Rhode Island, when on his tour through the States in 1824. The conversation here quoted took place in the carriage while on the journey. It was embodied in a paper read before the Rhode Island Historical Society in 1881.

town, living about three miles from Newport, and near whose farm a regiment of the army was stationed.

"He was a warm hearted 'liberty man,' yet cool and deliberate in his conduct, and shrewd when necessary. Not a great distance from his house was an eminence of rising ground, over which ran a stone wall; on the top of the hill was a set of bars, for a cart passage from one field into another, and near them a stake and crotch. A Colonel of a regiment of the enemy's cavalry, quartered at his house, and Isaac by his *pretended toryism* and by his little attentions in supplying his table with poultry and other choice things, so ingratiated himself into the good graces of the Colonel, that he reposed the greatest confidence in him, and would at any time give him a 'pass' to go anywhere on the Island, and would often urge him to get all the information he could from the 'rebel camp.' As might be expected, Isaac used this liberty with the greatest caution and prudence. He found out a way of establishing a correspondence with a Lieutenant Chapin, of Colonel Sherburn's regiment, stationed nearly opposite his farm in Little Compton; with a common spy-glass Chapin could distinctly discover the 'bars, the stake, and crotch,' and stone wall on the hill. When Barker moved the stake in a certain direction, it had a significant meaning; and when he moved the crotch and stake, it had another — every move had a distinct meaning. Barker told us there were as many as a dozen different changes, all of which had their meaning. Not over a mile from this was 'North Point,' running out some distance towards the eastern shore, and near the end of the point was a ledge of rocks, and in them a certain hole or crevice,— this hole was the 'post office,' where Isaac would go in the evening and deposit a letter, and then would the next day communicate by *telegraph* the fact, so that in some favorable night it could be sent for; but the greatest caution was necessary on such occasions, as a guard was always kept near the shore. Isaac said that he came very near being caught one night, returning from the 'post office;' he was overtaken by two light horsemen, and a 'pass' or 'countersign' was demanded. It so happened he had neither; he managed however to get them to return with him to his house instead of making him a prisoner; on their arrival he made up a story to the Colonel, who ordered him to be released. But there was one time when he had great difficulty to retain his self-possession. The Colonel was one day at dinner when he called Barker to come into the room; 'Barker,' said he, 'there is a traitor or spy among us — there is no mistake — not a single thing transpires on this island but the rebels know all about it almost as soon as we ourselves. This traitor must be found out. Let me but see him, and the rascal shall soon go into eternity.'" *

This declaration brought the matter very closely home, but

* "Spirit of '76."

Barker, suppressing all outward signs of agitation, responded in strong language that "the traitor ought to be hung," and promised to help search him out. "After this he was more of a *tory* than ever."

The late Seth Anthony, in a letter to the Hon. Benjamin Cowell, says that during the battle of August 29th, some Hessians entered his father's house, and plundered everything they could. "They took my father's silver knee buckles; I saw one of them take hold of my father and demand his money and threatened his life, but he did not get it. My father had about two thousand dollars in gold and silver, but he had taken the precaution to bury it under an old stone wall. The Hessians also searched my mother's pocket, turned it inside out, but there was no money in it." Other families were invaded, and individuals mal-treated. Captain Burrington Anthony, who commanded a company in Portsmouth at the time of the invasion of the island of Rhode Island, was taken prisoner and confined in prison for more than a year at Newport. He was repeatedly offered a release from prison if he would take the oath of allegiance, but he peremptorily refused.

"When the Count D'Estaing's fleet appeared near the British batteries in the harbor of Rhode Island a severe cannonade was commenced, and several shot passed through the houses in town and occasioned great consternation among the inhabitants. A shot passed through the door of Mrs. Mason's house, just above the floor. The family were alarmed, not knowing where to flee for safety. A negro man ran and sat himself down very composedly, with his back against the shot-hole in the door, and being asked by young Mr. Mason why he chose that situation, he replied, 'Massa, you never know two bullet go in one place.'" *

"HEADQUARTERS, RHODE ISLAND, August 10, 1778.

"Stolen, or taken through mistake, yesterday, from Mr. Thomas Browning's, a Portmanteau belonging to Major Jeremiah Hill, Commissary of Prisoners, containing 3 shirts, 3 pr. stockings, 2 stocks, 2 waistcoats, 1 pr. brushes, 1 pr. shoes, 1 pr. silver shoe buckles. Whoever has got said Portmanteau and clothing, and will return them to the owner, shall be generously rewarded, and no questions asked."

* Thatcher.

INCIDENTS OF AUGUST 28TH AND 29TH.

Colonel John Trumbull, who, as mentioned on page 107, served on Rhode Island as volunteer aid to General Sullivan, has left in his "Reminiscences of his own Times," a graphic account of his personal experiences on the memorable 28th and 29th days of August, 1778. He says:

"Soon after daybreak the next morning, the rear-guard, commanded by that excellent officer, Colonel Wigglesworth, was attacked on Quaker, otherwise called Windmill Hill; and General Sullivan, wishing to avoid a serious action on that ground, sent me with orders to the commanding officer to withdraw the guard. In performing this duty I had to mount the hill by a broad, smooth road, more than a mile in length from the foot to the summit, where was the scene of conflict, which, though an easy ascent, was yet too steep for a trot or a gallop. It was necessary to ride at a leisurely pace, for I saw before me a hard day's work for my horse, and was unwilling to fatigue him.

'Nothing can be more trying to the nerves than to advance deliberately and alone into danger. At first I saw a round shot or two drop near me, and pass bounding on. I met poor Colonel Tousard, who had just lost one arm, blown off by the discharge of a field piece, for the possession of which there was an ardent struggle. He was led off by a small party. Soon after, I saw Captain Walker, of H. Jackson's regiment, who had received a musket ball through his body, mounted behind a person on horseback. He bid me a melancholy farewell, and died before night. Next, grape shot began to sprinkle around me, and soon after musket balls fell in my path like hailstones. This was not to be borne. I spurred on my horse to the summit of the hill, and found myself in the midst of the melée. 'Don't say a word, Trumbull,' cried the gallant commander, 'I know your errand, but don't speak, we will beat them in a moment."—'Colonel Wigglesworth, do you see those troops crossing obliquely from the west road towards your rear?'—'Yes, they are Americans, coming to our support.'—'No, sir, those are Germans; mark, their dress is blue and *yellow*, not buff; they are moving to fall into your rear, and intercept your retreat. Retire instantly—don't lose a moment, or you will be cut off.' The gallant man obeyed, reluctantly, and withdrew the guard in fine style, slowly, but safely.

"As I rode back to the main body on Butts' Hill, I fell in with a party of soldiers bearing a wounded officer on a litter, whom I found to be my friend H. Sherburne, brother of Mrs. John Langdon, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, a fellow volunteer. They were carrying him to the surgeons in the rear, to have his leg amputated. He had just been wounded by a random ball, while sitting at breakfast. This was a source of lasting mor-

tification, as he told me afterwards — 'If this had happened to me in the field, in active duty, the loss of a leg might be borne, but to be condemned through all future life to say I lost my leg under the breakfast table, is too bad.' Mr. Rufus King was acting that day as a volunteer aid de camp to General Glover, whose quarters were in a house at the foot and east of Quaker Hill, distant from the contested position of the rear guard a long mile. The general and the officers who composed his family were seated at breakfast, their horses standing saddled at the door. The firing on the heights of the hill became heavy and incessant, when the General directed Mr. King to mount, and see what and where the firing was. He quitted the table, Sherburne took his chair, and was hardly seated, when a spent cannon ball from the scene of action bounded in at the open window, fell upon the floor, rolled to its destination, the ankle of Sherburne, and crushed all the bones of his foot. Surely there is a providence which controls the events of human life, and which withdrew Mr. King from this misfortune.

"Soon after this, as I was carrying an important order, the wind, which had risen with the sun, blew off my hat. It was not a time to dismount for a hat. I therefore tied a white handkerchief round my head, and as I did not recover my hat until evening, I formed, the rest of the day, the most conspicuous mark that was ever seen on the field — mounted on a superb bay horse, in a summer dress of nankeen — with this head dress, duty led me to every point where danger was to be found, and I escaped without the slightest injury. It becomes me to say with the Psalmist, 'I thank thee, O thou Most High, for thou hast covered my head in the day of battle.' For never was aid de camp exposed to more danger than I was during that entire day, from daylight to dusk.*

"The day was passed in skirmishing, and towards evening a body of the enemy (Germans) had pushed our right wing, and advanced so far as to endanger themselves. I was ordered to take General Lovell's brigade of Massachusetts militia, and aid in repulsing them; this brigade was very much weakened by the withdrawal of many officers and men, in consequence of the army having been left by the French fleet. For this reason I drew up the brigade in line, and disregarding their original distinction of regiments and companies, told them off into ten divisions; assigned their officers among them, wheeled them off into column, and advanced towards the scene of action, intending to pass beyond the enemy's flank, and to attack his rear. As we advanced, the noise of the conflict seemed to retire, until we approached a small wood skirting the open fields, which lay in the direction of our march. This wood was occupied

*"As soon as the enemy discovered you, and probably suspecting your object, they opened a fire upon you from six or seven pieces of their cannon, and I, and others around me, were every instant looking to see you fall, as it seemed impossible that you should escape. On your return from this most adventurous exploit, General Sullivan said, 'your escape has been most wonderful.'"—*General Mattoon, who was present at the battle, to Colonel J. Trumbull.*

by a party of the enemy, whom it concealed from our view, while the fire which they opened upon us as we advanced, marked their position. As was common, they fired too high, and their shot passed over our heads, doing no harm. In front of the wood, at the distance of thirty or forty yards, ran a strong stone fence, such as are common in Rhode Island. Generally, on such an occasion, this fence would have been made use of as a breastwork to protect us from the enemy's fire; but as my men had hitherto kept their order perfectly, and seemed to be in no degree disconcerted by the sound of the balls which whistled over their heads, (perhaps they did not understand it,) I became elated with the hope of doing something uncommon and therefore determined not to make use of this wall for defence, but to attack. For this purpose it was necessary to remove such an obstacle, for in attempting to climb over it all order would infallibly be lost. I therefore moved on until the front division of the column was within ten yards of the wall, and then gave the word of command as if on parade — 'Column, halt — leading division, ground your arms — step forward, comrades, and level this fence — it stands in our way — quick, quick!' The order was obeyed with precision, the fence was levelled in an instant and we resumed our forward march without having a man hurt. From that moment the firing from the wood ceased, and we could find no enemy; they had already been engaged with, and overmatched by other troops, before we approached, and when they saw our cool manœuvre, they probably mistook us for veterans coming to the rescue and prudently withdrew.*

"Still I hoped to be able to strike an important blow, and requested General Lovell to incline his march to the right, (by which means his movement would be screened from the view of the enemy by the form of the ground,) to move slowly and carefully; and to keep the men together in their actual order. I rode forward to reconnoitre and ascertain the position of the enemy. As I rose the crest of the hill I saw the German troops who had just been repulsed, in evident disorder, endeavoring to reform their line, but fatigued, disconcerted, and vacillating. I thought it a glorious moment, and hurried back to my brave column, with the intention of heading it, (under cover of the ground,) into the rear of the enemy's flank. Judge of my vexation, when I found my men, not in slow motion and good order, as I had directed, but halted behind another strong fence, dispersed, without the shadow of order, their arms grounded or leaning against the fence, exulting in their good conduct and success in having made the enemy run. I was cruelly disappointed, but as the

* "Seeing the order and rapidity of this movement, General Sullivan exclaimed, 'that movement would do honor to the oldest regiment of the army.' 'The enemy engaged with Colonel Greene, perceiving this bold and successful adventure, instantly retreated, and thus escaped a capture. Your preservation in each of these most daring enterprises,' he refers to Trumbull's bearing orders to Quaker Hill, also, 'I have ever considered little short of a miracle, and a most remarkable interposition of Providence for your safety.'" — *General Mattoon to Colonel J. Trumbull.*

success of the blow which I had meditated depended entirely upon rapidity of movement, and much time would be wasted before we could recover our original order, and be prepared to move I gave up my projected attack, and returned to make my report to my general.

"The next day the army kept their ground on Butts' Hill, collected our wounded, buried the dead, and while we made a show of intending to maintain our position, were really busy in preparing for a retreat, which was effected during the following night, across Howland's Ferry to Tiverton, without the loss of a man, or of the smallest article of stores."

FINAL GENERAL ORDERS.

The last two General Orders issued by General Sullivan prior to the retreat were dated respectively August 28th and 30th. They were as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS, RHODE ISLAND, August 28, 1778.

. . . . "The Boston Independent Company, commanded by Colonel Hichborn, having remained on the ground much longer than was expected they would be under a necessity of doing, and their private business demanding their return home, the General dismisses them with his thanks for their soldierly conduct and faithful services."

"HEADQUARTERS, RHODE ISLAND August 30, 1778

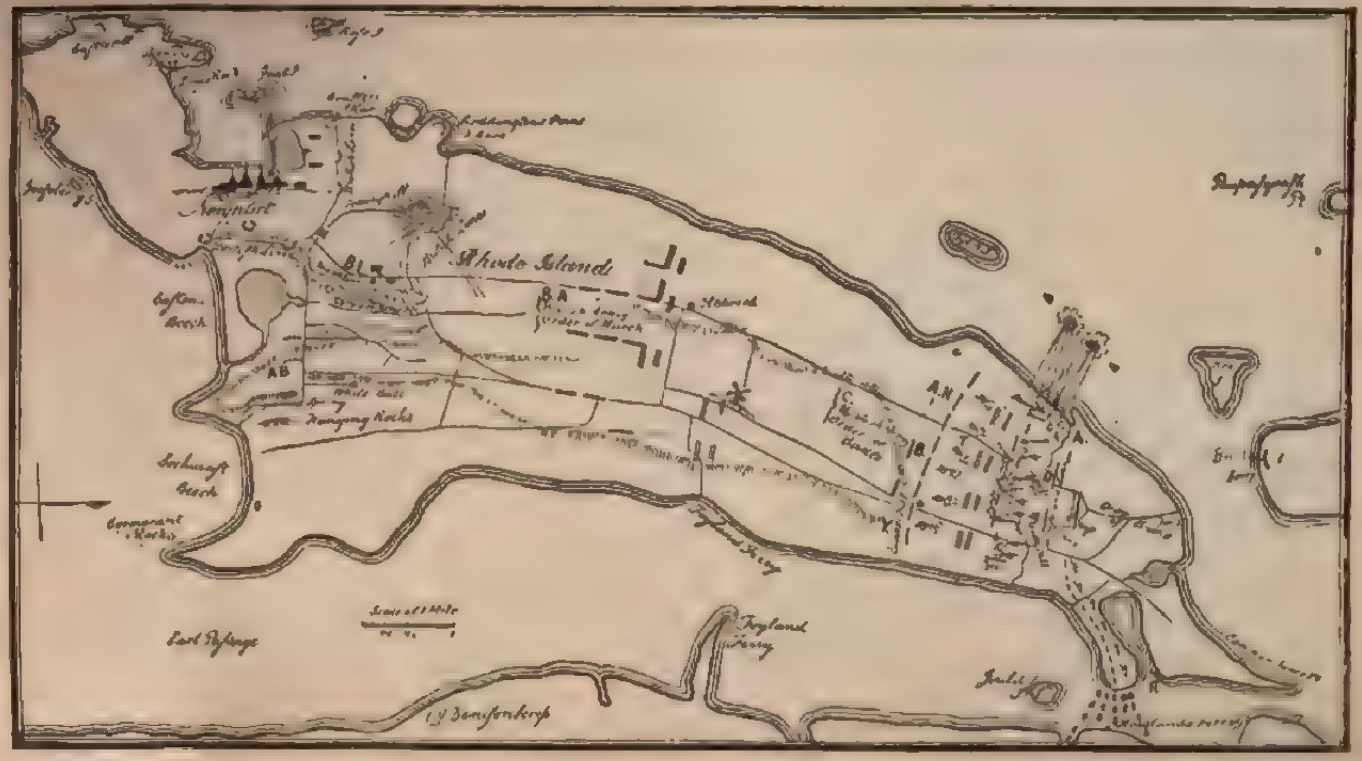
. . . . "With inexpressible satisfaction the Commander-in-Chief views the heroic fortitude and firmness of his army in the action of yesterday. He most sincerely thanks Major-General Greene, the Brigadier-Generals and Commandants of the first line, with the brave officers and soldiers under their command and Brigadier-General Lovell, of the second line, with his brave officers and soldiers, for their intrepidity, which they showed in repeatedly repulsing the enemy, and finally driving them from the field of action. Colonel H. B Livingston and Colonel Lawrence, with the officers and soldiers of their respective corps, are entitled to the General's warmest thanks. Colonel Crane and the officers and men of the corps of artillery under his command, truly merit the applause and thanks of the General and all the officers of the army, for the great support afforded to the troops by the well served and directed fire of the artillery. Those who were not concerned in action, the General has the satisfaction of saying that their ardor for action seemed to equal those brave men who attacked, and in his opinion, nothing but want of opportunity prevented their giving the most ample proof of their valor and firmness. The General congratulates the army upon the victory obtained, and directs that the brave officers who nobly fell in action, be interred with all the honors of war. The Commissary to apply to Dr Tillotson for directions where to send on mutton and other necessaries for the use of the wounded officers and soldiers. The General expects that those who have charge of them will not suffer them to want for any comforts of life which can be obtained for any price" . . . .

THE LINE OF RETREAT.

ON what line did the army retreat? Captain Frederick von Malsburg, a Hessian officer, says it crossed the strait [Bristol Ferry] "and encamped on the other side of Bristol." General Pigot reports that the army in the night of the 30th, "retreated over Bristol *and* Howland's Ferry." That some of the heavy stores deposited at the north end of the island may have been transported across Bristol Ferry, and that the men employed in the labor were "encamped beyond Bristol," is possible. But that the main army retreated over Howland's Ferry, covered by the guns of the fort on Tiverton Heights, is beyond question. The flat boats to be used for ferrying were, by general orders, concentrated there, to be in readiness for use when needed; and August 27th, Captain Flagg, commander of the Salem volunteers, with his company, was detached to take charge of them at that place. August 30th, Colonel Thomas Seers, Major Rogers, and Major Hiller, of Colonel Wadsworth's regiment, were detailed "to repair to Howland's Ferry, and assist Captain Flagg in the department of the boats." *

Colonel John Trumbull, who served as a volunteer aid to General Sullivan, in the battle of August 29th, and performed the part of a brave and efficient officer, says explicitly, that the retreat was across Howland's Ferry. As he accompanied the army his authority may be received as valid. On the map printed on page 108 and explained on page 109, and which was prepared by the order of General Sullivan for the use of the Governor and General Assembly of Rhode Island, at the point noted as "Howland's Ferry,"

* Memoir of General John Glover, p. 51.


Newport
Rhode Island
Hanging Rocks
East Passage

is this record, already quoted: "Here the American Army landed Aug. 9th, 1778, beginning after 6 o'clock, A. M., and Retreated the 30th in the evening." This statement is confirmed by the course given to the boats and the artillery, as seen on the main land. August 31st, the day following the retreat, General Sullivan issued a general order from his headquarters in Tiverton, assigning stations to the several brigades of his army. It cannot be supposed, had the main army retreated by way of Bristol Ferry that he

NOTE.—*Campaign Map.*—After the retreat from Rhode Island, General Sullivan caused a map of the campaign to be prepared, showing the positions and movements of both contending armies from the 9th to the 30th of August, 1778. This he presented to the Governor and General Assembly for their information. The map is on a scale of one mile to an inch. It was doubtless intended to enlighten the public authorities, and through them the public generally, upon points concerning which misapprehensions existed, by making clear every step taken by the American army from the time of its crossing over at Howland's Ferry until its return to the main land. The original, of which the map on the opposite page is a reduced copy, is thirty-eight inches in length, measuring from "Common Fence Point," north of Howland's Ferry, to "Brenton's Reef." It is a neat specimen of pen drawing, and highly creditable to "J. Denison, Scrip." The existence of this map was not known until during Governor Charles C. Van Zandt's administration, 1878-'80, when, in making some changes in the office of the Secretary of State in the State house in Providence it was discovered and brought out of the hiding place where it had probably been for half a century or more concealed. For permission to make the foregoing copy, I am indebted to the kind consideration and interest of the Hon. Joshua M. Addeman, Secretary of State, in whose care this valuable relic of Rhode Island in the Revolution is preserved. In reducing it to the size here presented, it became necessary to omit, for want of room, several of the longest descriptions of movements found in the body of the map. These are given in the following "*Explanation*," and the localities may readily be traced by reference to the initial letters:

EXPLANATION.

A. "American Army under the command of the Hon'ble Gen'l Sullivan."
B. "British lines"
B. L. W. "British lines and Works."
B. A. "British Army. Order of March."
{ "Here a severe Cannonading and Bombarding on both sides began Aug. 17th, 1778, and continued till the 27th."
C. "British Army. Order of Battle."
D. Durfee's Hill, (not "Daify Hill," as on the map).
Y. Turkey Hill.
[]. Butts' Hill.
A. H. Almy's Hill.
O. "British Redoubts," north of Easton's Pond.
Windmill. "Here the British Army came up with the Light Corps of General Sullivan, which was in advance, Aug. 29th, 1778, 7 o'clock, A. M., when the battle of that day began."
A. B. "American batteries and covered way."
R. Howland's Ferry. "Here the American Army landed Aug. 9th, 1778, beginning after 6 o'clock, A. M., and Retreated the 30th in the evening."

would so soon, and in view of the possible movements of the enemy, have separated himself from it by making his headquarters so far away. After the army had reached the main land by Howland's Ferry, it crossed the Taunton river at Slade's Ferry, and its brigades proceeded to the stations assigned them.

Of this fact the testimony of the Hon. Theodore Foster relieves all doubt. He had been sent to Tiverton on public business, and remained there until September 2, 1778. Under that date he writes: "This morning, having finished taking an account of the public stores at Tiverton, about 10 o'clock, A. M., I got up my horse and chaise and set away from Mr. Samuel Durfee's for Providence. I was hindered sometime at Slade's Ferry, where they were transporting the baggage of the army, and having heard that part of the army were passing the lower ferry, I came over the upper ferry." These testimonies, it is hoped, will make clear a subject obscured to some minds by Malsburg's statement.

NOTE.—*Retreat of Rhode Island.*—The above engraving is copied from a *bas-relief*, constituting one of the ornaments upon a sword presented by the American Congress, through Dr. Franklin, to Lafayette in 1779, "as a small mark of their grateful acknowledgments" for his distinguished services in the cause of American Freedom. "Lafayette is represented as surrounded by a number of American officers, and protecting the rear guard. He is placed in the foreground of the *bas-relief*."—*Project*, p. 27.

To save this sword from the vandalism of the reign of terror, it was buried, but when disinterred some years after, the blade was found to have been completely eaten and destroyed by rust. Lafayette subsequently had adjusted to the hilt the blade of a sword presented to him by the National Guards of Paris, manufactured from the iron bolts and bars of the Bastile.

GENERAL SIR ROBERT PIGOT'S NARRATIVE.

IMPARTIAL history authorizes a hearing of both sides: and as supplementary to the foregoing account by General Sullivan, General Pigot's narrative of the campaign, written from a British stand-point, is here given. It was addressed to General Sir Henry Clinton, and bears date Newport, August 31, 1778.* It was printed in the London "Gazette Extraordinary," October 15, 1778, and republished in "The London Gentleman's Magazine" for November, the same year. It also appeared in "The Remembrancer." The text of "The Gentleman's Magazine" is here followed:

GENERAL PIGOT'S NARRATIVE.

"Though by my several letters since the 29th of July last, more especially that I had the honor of writing by Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, and the accuracy of his intelligence, Your Excellency will have been informed of the state of affairs here to the 28th instant, yet as many of these letters, from the uncertainty of the communication may not have reached you a summary of the transactions since the 29th of July, when the French fleet arrived, to the last period, will not be unnecessary, and may help to explain events.

"From the first appearance of the fleet to the 8th instant our utmost exertions were directed to disposing every thing for resisting the combined attack of the French and rebels upon us; and I immediately withdrew from Connanicut Brown's Provincial Corps and two regiments of Anspach, which had been stationed there. The next morning the guns on the Beaver Tail and Dumplin Batteries, the former of which were directed

* Sir Robert Pigot was born in England in 1720. He took to the profession of arms, and passed through the grades of Major, 1758, Lieutenant-Colonel, 1761, Colonel, 1775, Major General, 1777, to that of Lieutenant-General, in 1782. He distinguished himself at the battle of Bunker's Hill. As the successor of General Prescott, he failed to gain a higher place in the esteem of the citizens of Newport than was entertained for Barton's captive. In the battle on Rhode Island, August 29th, 1778, General Pigot rode to the field of action in a carriole, from which he gave his orders. It would have been better for his reputation in history, had he, during his military administration on the island, exhibited more magnanimity, and a more exact observance of the rules of war. He died August 1, 1796.

with some effect against two line-of battle ships that entered the Narragansett Passage, were rendered unserviceable, as the fleet entering the harbor would cut off all communication with the island; of which the French Admiral soon after took a temporary possession, and landed the marines of his squadron. During this period, the King's Fisher and two galleys were obliged to be set on fire; and afterwards, on the 5th, the four advanced frigates, after saving some of their stores, and securing the landing of the seamen.

"When it was evident the French fleet were coming into the harbor it became necessary to collect our forces, and withdraw the troops from the north part of the island, which was accordingly done that evening. I likewise ordered all the cattle on the island to be driven within our lines, leaving only one cow with a family.

"On the 8th, the French fleet, which, from its first appearance, had continued with little variation at anchor, about three miles from the mouth of the harbour, got under way, and standing in, under a light sail, kept up a warm fire on Brenton's Point, Goat Island, and the North Batteries, which returned with equal spirit, and in a good direction.

"The next morning we had the pleasure to see the English fleet, and I immediately sent on board to communicate to Lord Howe our situation, and that of the enemy. By nine o'clock the following day the French fleet repassed our batteries, and sailed out of the harbour, firing on them as before, and having it returned with equal spirit on our side. By this cannonade from the ships on both days, very fortunately, not one man was hurt, or any injury done, except to some houses in town.*

"I shall now proceed to inform Your Excellency of the movements of the enemy from the 9th instant, when they landed from Howland's Ferry.

"The badness of the weather for some days must have prevented their transporting of stores, or being in readiness to approach us, as they did not make their appearance near us till the 14th when a large body took possession of Honeyman's Hill.

"To repel any attempt from that quarter, a breastwork was directed to be made along the Heights from Green End to Irish's Redoubt, which was strengthened by an abbatis.

"On the 17th the enemy was discovered breaking ground on Honeyman's Hill, on the summit of which, and on their right of the Green End Road, they were constructing a battery; the next day another was commenced by them for five guns to their left and in a direct line with the former, which was prepared for four. On this day a line of approach was likewise begun by them from the battery on the right to Green End Road, which works we endeavored to obstruct by keeping a continual fire on

*Admiral Howe hoped to have landed the troops on board his fleet in such a manner as to render the retreat of General Sullivan precarious, and that an opening would have been made for an attack on Providence, but thwarted in both particulars, he turned his attention to New Bedford and Fairhaven, where much damage was inflicted.

them. The 19th the enemy opened their left battery, which obliged our encampment to be removed further in the rear. This day we began another line, for the greater security of our left, from Irish's Redoubt to Formin* Hill; and I directed a battery of one twenty-four and two eighteen pounders to be raised on our right breastwork, to counteract those of the enemy, which was opened the following day, when they were observed busied in forming a second approach from the first, to a nearer distance on the road.

"At noon the French fleet again came in view, much disabled, and anchored off the port, where it continued till the 22d, when it finally disappeared.

"This day the rebels were constructing two other batteries much lower down the hill than the former, one on the right for five, the other on the left of Green End Road for seven guns, both of which were opened the next day, when I found it necessary to attempt silencing them, and therefore ordered a battery for seven heavy guns on commanding ground, near Green End, which from the obstructions given by the enemy's fire could not be completed till the 25th, when the rebels thought proper to close the embrasures of their lower batteries, and make use of them for mortars. During this time they had been constructing, on the height of the East Road, another one of thirteen inches; and this day began a third approach in front, and to the right of their lower batteries.

"The 26th, discovering the enemy to discontinue their works, and learning, from deserters, that they were removing the officers' baggage and heavy artillery, I detached Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce, with one hundred men of the fifty-fourth regiment, in the night, over Easton's beach, in quest of intelligence, who, with great address, surprised and brought off a piquet of two officers and twenty-five men, without any loss. Some of Colonel Fanning's corps, at different times, exerted themselves in taking off people from the enemy's advanced posts, but little intelligence to be depended upon was ever obtained from them, nor were other attempts to procure it more efficacious, as from all that could be learned it was doubtful whether their intentions were to attack our lines or retreat.

"On the 27th the Sphynx and two other ships of war arrived; and I had the honor of being informed by Colonel Stuart of Your Excellency's intention to reenforce this port.

"On the following day the Vigilant galley took a station to cover the left flank of the army; and at ten o'clock that night the rebels made an attempt to capture a subaltern's piquet from the Anspach corps, but were repulsed, after killing one man and wounding two others.

"On the 29th, at the break of day, it was perceived that the enemy had

* Tonomy.* *Tonomy* is a contraction of *Wonnamatonomy*, the name of the last Sachem of the Aquidnecks. The hill takes its name from that chief, and not from *Miantonomo* the Narragansett Sachem, as some have supposed. It is sometimes called *Tonomy*, but *Tonomy* is the more usual form of abbreviation.

retreated during the night, upon which Major-General Prescott was ordered to detach a regiment from the second line under his command over Easton's Beach, towards the left flank of the enemy's encampment, and a part of Brown's corps was directed to take possession of their works. At the same time Brigadier-General Smith was detached with the twenty-second and forty-third regiments, and the flank companies of the thirty-eighth and fifty fourth by the East Road, Major General Lossberg marching by the West Road, with the Hessian Chasseurs and the Anspach regiments of Vort and Seaboth, in order, if possible, to annoy them in their retreat, and upon receiving a report from General Smith, that the rebels made a stand, and were in force upon Quaker's Hill, I ordered the fifty-fourth, Brown's corps, to sustain him; but before they could arrive, the perseverance of General Smith, and the spirited behaviour of the troops, had gained possession of the strong post on Quaker's Hill, and obliged the enemy to retire to their works at the north end of the island. On hearing a smart fire from the Chasseurs engaged on the West Road, I dispatched Colonel Fanning's corps of Provincials to join General Lossberg, who obliged the rebels to quit two redoubts made to cover their retreat, drove them before him, and took possession of Turkey Hill. Towards evening, an attempt being made by the rebels to surround and cut off the Chasseurs, who were advanced on the left, the regiments of Fanning and Huyn were ordered up to their support, and after a smart engagement with the enemy, obliged them to retreat to their main body on Windmill Hill.

"This night the troops lay on their arms on the ground they had gained, and directions were given for bringing up the camp equipage. Artillery were likewise sent for, and preparations made to remove the rebels from their redoubts; but by means of the great number of boats they retreated in the night of the 30th over Bristol and Howland's Ferry; thus relinquishing every hold on the island, and resigning to us its entire possession.

"The prisoners taken on the 29th are not many in number; but I have reason to believe the killed and wounded of the rebels is greater than that in the return I have the honor to enclose you of ours; the total of which was 1 captain, 1 volunteer, 4 sergeants, 31 rank and file, 1 driver, killed; 2 captains, 5 lieutenants, 7 ensigns, 13 sergeants, 1 drummer, 180 rank and file, 2 drivers, wounded, 1 lieutenant, 1 sergeant, 10 rank and file, missing.*

* *Names of the Officers killed, wounded and missing.*

"Flank companies, Lieutenant Swiney, thirty-eighth, prisoner; Lieutenant Layard, fifty-fourth, wounded.

* Arnold's account differs widely from this statement. He says "A return of the killed, wounded and missing shows the whole loss of the Americans in the action to be two hundred and eleven. That of the British was at first supposed to be about seven hundred, but was afterwards found to amount to one thousand and twenty-three, including those taken prisoners."—*Hist. R. I., ii., p. 428.*

"Twenty-second regiment, Lieutenant Cleghorn, Ensigns Borland, Proctor and Adam, wounded.

"Forty-third regiment, Ensigns Roche and Afflick, wounded.

"Royal Artillery, Second Lieutenant Kemble, wounded

"Huyn's regiment, Captain Schalleru, killed; Captain Wagener, wounded.

"Hessian Chasseurs, Captain Noltenius, Burton's regiment, Lieutenant Mesarius, Langrave's, wounded

"King's American regiment, Lieutenant Campbell, Ensigns Eustick and Purdy, wounded.

"Volunteer Eustace, King's American regiment, killed.

"R. PIGOT."*

It will be seen that this report of General Pigot is very carefully drawn, with most of the features of the campaign unfavorable to himself kept out of view, and with an evident design to leave an impression that a victory had been achieved by his forces; keeping out of sight, also, the fact that General Sullivan held his ground until all his plans for evacuating the island had been completed. The pushing of the British back to their redoubts on the hill, where they were covered from further pursuit, and the retreat of the Americans from the island, made without serious molestation, placed the feather of triumph in the cap of General Sullivan.

GENERAL SULLIVAN RETIRES.

LAFAYETTE IN BRISTOL.

AFTER the retreat from Rhode Island, General Sullivan re-established his headquarters in Providence, where he remained, watching over the safety of that town, and of other coast towns of the State, until the spring of 1779,

* Prior to the evacuation, General Pigot retired from the command of the army and was succeeded by General Prescott.

when he was called to lead an expedition against the Indians in western New York. Before leaving, the town, March 19, 1779, through Theodore Foster, Town Clerk, His Honor Deputy-Governor Jabez Bowen, Mr. John Brown and Mr. David Howell, presented to him the following address:

"*To the Honorable John Sullivan, Esq., Major-General in the Armies of the United States:*

"Sir:—As you have sustained the high office of Commander-in-Chief of this Post for about a year past, and during that whole time have carefully attended to and cordially promoted the peace interest and safety of the State in general, and of this town in particular; all that prudence could suggest, that diligence could effect, or valor attempt, has been done for us. But as the service of America is now to deprive us of your further continuance here, and calls you to fill the same high office in more important commands, we can do no less than honestly return you our sincere thanks and most grateful acknowledgments. Wishing you the blessings of heaven, success in all your efforts to serve your country, that you may happily tread the courts of virtue, and finally reach the temple of fame,

"We are, Sir, with every sentiment of gratitude and the highest respect, Your Honor's most obedient, humble servants

"Signed by the unanimous order and in behalf of the town of Providence, assembled on the 19th day of March, 1779.

Theodore Foster

"*Town Clerk.*"

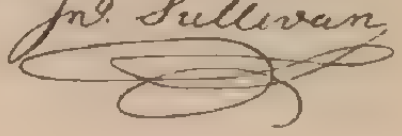
To this the General replied:

"*To the respectable freemen and inhabitants of the town of Providence:*

"Permit me, Gentlemen, to return you my most sincere and cordial acknowledgments, for your very polite and affectionate address. The unanimous voice of so respectable a number of my fellow-citizens, approving my conduct as Commander-in-Chief of this department, affords me unspeakable satisfaction; and it is with great truth and sincerity, I assure you, that the parting with so spirited and virtuous a people, whose efforts to support me in my commands, and to oppose the common enemy, have so well witnessed their zeal for the interests of America, gives me the most sensible pain, and in a great degree damps the pleasure arising from

a prospect of rendering my country essential service in the department to which I am called.*

"I have the honor to be, with the most lively sentiments of esteem and gratitude, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,



*General John Sullivan was born in Somersworth, N. H., February 18, 1740, and received a good practical education. After making a voyage to the West Indies, he entered the law office of the Hon. Isaac Livermore, of Portsmouth, N. H. Having completed his studies, he commenced the practice of his profession in Durham, N. H., and by his ability, industry, learning and eloquence, took a distinguished position at the Bar of his native State. He enjoyed the friendship of the Wentworths, of the Langdons, of Lowell, Adams, and Otis, and early promoted the introduction of manufactures into New Hampshire. In 1772 he held a colonial commission of Major, and by military force took from Fort William and Mary, near Portsmouth, one hundred barrels of gunpowder and fifteen cannon, besides small arms and stores. The gunpowder was used at the battle of Bunker's Hill. In 1774 he served as a member of the New Hampshire Provincial Assembly. After the battles of Lexington and Concord, he marched with his company to Cambridge, carrying with him the unchaneed powder, before mentioned. His military ability was appreciated by the Continental Congress, who appointed him, June 22, 1775, a Brigadier General, and as such he commanded on Winter Hill, at the siege of Boston. He was engaged, 1776, in the expedition against Canada, and after the unsuccessful attack on the British at Three Rivers, effected a skillful retreat. He afterwards joined Washington, was made a Major General, and acted under Putnam on Long Island, where he was taken prisoner. While detained he was paroled by General Lord Howe to visit Congress at Philadelphia as the bearer of a proposition from that General, having for its object the composing of the difficulties between Great Britain and the Colonies,—a movement that failed of success. After his exchange he was with Washington at West Chester, and after the capture of Lee he took command of his division, was engaged at Trenton and Princeton, and during the next six months was busily occupied in front of the main army, which lay during the winter at Morristown.

In August, (23d.) 1777, General Sullivan made a descent on Staten Island, which but for a mistake of Smallwood's guide, would have been successful. For this failure he was exonerated by a Court of Inquiry, and the decision received the sanction of Congress. At the battle of the Brandywine he led the right wing, and was exonerated by Washington and Lafayette from the charge of being responsible for that defeat. The former, in his report to Congress, compliments General Sullivan and the whole right wing of the army, who he says acted immediately under his eye, for "a degree of gallantry that did them the highest honor."

In the winter of 1777, General Sullivan was with Washington at Valley Forge. In August, 1778, he was appointed to the command of the expedition to Rhode Island. His services there and their results are recorded in the preceding pages. His principal after military service was an expedition against the Six Nations of Indians, in which he laid waste their settlements, and defeated the Indians under Brant, and the Tories under Sir John Johnson. In November, 1779, owing to seriously impaired health, he tendered his resignation to Congress, which was at first declined but finally accepted, and that body expressed its appreciation of his services by a vote of thanks. On this occasion, Washington wrote in reply to a friendly letter from Sullivan, "I flatter myself it is unnecessary for

Complimentary votes were passed by the legislatures of Rhode Island and New Hampshire. Addresses were also presented to the General by the officers in the State military, medical and staff, and by the order of Free Masons. A voluntary escort attended his departure from Providence as far as Johnston, where a public dinner was given him by his late companions in arms.*

LAFAYETTE'S HEADQUARTERS AT BRISTOL.

When Lafayette was stationed at Bristol by General Sullivan, (page 84,) he expected lively times with the enemy. Writing to Washington, soon after he established his headquarters there, he says:

"I am now intrusted by General Sullivan with the care of Warren, Bristol, and the eastern shore. I am to defend a country with very few troops, who are not able to defend more than a single point. I cannot answer that the enemy wont go and do what they please, for I am not able to prevent them, only with a part of their army, and yet this part must land not far from me. But I answer, that if they come with equal or not very superior forces to those I may collect, we shall flog them pretty well; at least I hope so."

The headquarters of Lafayette in Bristol, around which the memories of a century cluster, are thus minutely described:

me to repeat to you how high a place you hold in my esteem. The confidence you have experienced, and the manner in which you have been employed on several important occasions, testify the value I set upon your military qualifications, and the regret I must feel, that circumstances have deprived the army of your services."

In 1780 he took a seat in Congress, and was made chairman of an important committee. Returning to the practice of the law, he took an active part in public affairs, and was elected to various offices of trust and honor, among them those of Attorney General and President of the State. He was a member of the Masonic fraternity. He received from Harvard University the degree of A. M., and from Dartmouth College the degree of LL. D.

At the date of his death, January 23, 1795, he was United States Judge of the State of New Hampshire. A Life of General Sullivan, by the Rev. O. W. B. Peabody, is printed in Spark's American Biography. Another has been written by Hon. Thomas C. Amory. To both of these the reader is referred for interesting particulars concerning a true patriot and an energetic military commander.

* Life of Sullivan, p. 96.

"The 'Reynolds House,' Lafayette's headquarters in Bristol during the war of the Revolution, is located on the east side of the main road leading to Warren, about three fourths of a mile north of the compact part of the town. It fronts to the west, with the front door in the center. The main house is 42 x 40 feet, three stories high, with an L in the rear. The windows of the upper story in front are one pane short. Joseph Reynolds owned the house when it was occupied by Lafayette, and his lineal descendant, John Post Reynolds, is the present owner. Lafayette's sleeping room was the north west chamber on the second floor. This room has not been changed in any particular, except a change of furniture, since it was occupied by him. His dining-room and office was the south-west room on the lower floor.

"The house is a substantial structure of wood, and its general appearance to day is very similar to what it was in the time of the Revolution. The paint upon it was white, or of a very light color, but has been somewhat browned by time." *

Prior to September 24th, General Lafayette removed his station to Warren, as being a safer position. While here his indignation was awakened by the language of an address signed by Lord Carlisle, President of a Board of British Commissioners, which he considered disrespectful and insulting to France. In the heat of warm blood, contrary to the counsel of Washington, he sent his Lordship a challenge, which he declined to accept, holding that for his public official conduct and modes of expression he was responsible only to his King and country. In his subsequent cooler moments Lafayette coincided with the opinion expressed by Washington.

Concerning the action of the 29th of August and the retreat, Lafayette writes:

"From what I have heard from sensible and *candid* French gentlemen, the action does great honor to General Sullivan; he retreated in good order; he opposed, very properly, every effort of the enemy: he never sent troops but well supported, and displayed great coolness during the whole day. The evacuation I have seen extremely well performed, and *my private opinion* is, that if both events are satisfactory to us they are very shameful to the British generals and troops; they had so many fine chances to cut us to pieces; but they were a very good people." †

* For this description of Lafayette's headquarters I am indebted to William J. Miller, Esq., of Bristol.

† Memoirs, i., p. 200.

The General did not remain long in Warren. On the 13th of October he was in Philadelphia, anxious to return to France, yet unwilling to sever his connection with the American cause. Congress, understanding his feelings, voted, October 21st, to permit him to visit France, to return "at such time as was most convenient to him," and thanking him "for that disinterested zeal which led him to America, and for the services he has rendered to the United States." He was also made the bearer of an appreciative letter from the President of Congress to the French King, recommending him to the Royal notice "as one whom we know to be wise in council, gallant in the field, and patient under the hardships of war." Washington also wrote to Dr. Franklin, the American minister in France, complimenting Lafayette for "proofs of his zeal, military order and talents." All this he gratefully appreciated.

MORE ABOUT ADMIRAL COUNT D'ESTAING.

SAILS FOR THE WEST INDIES.—CAPTURES ST. VINCENT AND GRENADA.—RETURNS TO AMERICA AND CO-OPERATES IN THE SIEGE OF SAVANNAH.—REPULSED.—RETURNS AGAIN TO THE WEST INDIES, AND THENCE TO FRANCE.—RECEPTION BY THE KING.

ON page 78, Admiral D'Estaing is noticed as being still in Boston, enjoying the hospitalities of its citizens.

"The behaviour of the French officers and sailors, the whole time that their fleet lay in port, was remarkably good, far beyond anything of the kind ever before, when several men-of-war were present. The Count made a point of always lying on board at night. The officers conducted with the greatest regularity and decorum. An unpleasant affray took place between some seamen captured in British vessels, and some of Bur-

goyne's army who had enlisted in privateers just ready to sail, and a number of French. In attempting to suppress the fray, two French officers were wounded, and one of them, the Chevalier de Saint Sauveur, so badly, that he soon after died. The Massachusetts legislature voted to erect a monumental stone to his memory. Count D'Estaing was much grieved for an occurrence easily misinterpreted, but had too much calmness and good sense to charge it upon the body of the inhabitants, who were no less concerned at it than themselves. It therefore created no dissentions between them." *

"The Admiral and all the French officers are now upon exceedingly good footing with the gentlemen of the town [Boston]. General Hancock takes unwearied pains to promote a good understanding with the French officers. His house is full from morning till night." †

Having completed the repairs of his damaged fleet, D'Estaing sailed in November, 1779, with a land force of four thousand men,‡ on an expedition to the West Indies. He took St. Vincent and Grenada, and then sailed for the United States to co-operate with General Lincoln in the reduction of Savannah. On the 9th of September he appeared off that city. He landed first on Tybee Island, on which was a fort designed to guard the entrance to the Savannah river, and found it had been evacuated by the enemy. General Lincoln had not yet arrived. Count Pulaski with his command soon joined D'Estaing, who, flushed with his success in the West Indies, at once summoned the British commander, "His Excellency General Prevost, to surrender himself to the Arms of His Majesty the King of France." The General obtained a truce of twenty-four hours, when, having been re-enforced by Colonel Maitland with six hundred Scotchmen, brought from Beaufort, he notified D'Estaing that he had decided to defend himself, and that the firing of the evening gun an hour before sunset would be the signal for recommencing hostilities.§ The granting of this truce was

* Gordon, ii., 394–396. † Greene to Washington.

‡ Marshall says six thousand men.

§ Colonel Maitland, finding on arriving at Dawfuskie that the French fleet held the passage up the river, reached Savannah unperceived, by a passage called Wall's cut, through Skull creek, by which small boats could pass at high water. During the late Confederate struggle this Wall's cut afforded the United States gunboats the means of entering the

D'Estaing's serious mistake. Such was the weakness of the British forces, that had he made an immediate assault, the town could easily have been taken. Says an officer present at the siege: "The bravery and stubbornness exhibited by our troops, and their firmness in defeat, assure us that Savannah would have been ours if, instead of besieging, we had attacked it, sword in hand, the very day of our arrival." But the golden opportunity was lost.

"In addition to the garrison between four and five hundred negroes were put to work upon the lines; and so rapidly did the labor progress, that before the French and American batteries opened fire, the British had raised around the town thirteen substantial redoubts and fifteen gun batteries, mounting eighty pieces of cannon" besides field pieces that were distributed along the line.*

General Lincoln having now arrived from Charleston, and General McIntosh having with his command arrived from Augusta, a union of the French and American forces was formed September 16th, and the siege of Savannah was fairly commenced. The French troops numbered 4,456; the Americans numbered 2,127. Both displayed great courage. The bombardment opened with fifty-three pieces of heavy cannon and fourteen mortars, and continued daily with more or less vigor. The fire was returned by the enemy with no less spirit, and often with fatal effect. Skirmishes, sorties and repulses were frequent. On one occasion the French firing was bad, the mis-directed bombs falling in great numbers in the trench commanded by the Viscount de Noailles, occasioned by a mistake of a ship's steward who sent to the cannoneers a keg of rum instead of a keg of beer; — the mis-direction of the guns soon making visible the demoralizing effects of the rum. Another incident of the siege is thus related:

Savannah river in the rear of Fort Pulaski, without encountering the fire of its batteries, thereby completely isolating that fortification, and covering Federal working parties engaged in the erection of investing batteries at Venus's Point, and on the north end of Bird's Island. — *Siege of Savannah, Journally annotated by Charles C. Jones, Jr., p. 18.*

* Siege of Savannah, p. 39.

"On the 23d of September the English made a sortie upon our working parties. M. de Rouvré, who commanded the trench, having under him Lieutenant-Colonel M. O'Done, repulsed them vigorously. M. O'Done was drunk. His natural courage and the excitement caused by the wine carried him beyond the proper limits which had been prescribed. His indiscreet importunity cost us one hundred and fifty men placed *hors de combat*, of whom forty were killed, struck down in their retreat by the enemy's artillery. To replace this loss, the General ordered up four hundred marines from the fleet, under the command of their own officers. This weakened the fleet still more. From that time it was in no condition to fight, even if an occasion had presented itself and Biron [the English Admiral] had made his appearance." *

The siege continued until October 9th, when a desperate but unsuccessful assault was made upon the enemy. On this occasion D'Estaing led three or four hundred grenadiers, who made the air ring with shouts of "*Vive le Roy*," up to a strong defence of the enemy's intrenchments, where a hand to hand encounter ensued. Here he received two severe wounds, but was able to mount his horse and in person order a retreat. He rode to the village of Thunderbolt, where a hospital had been established, in company with Major-General de Fontanges, who had received a gun-shot wound through the body. Here the Admiral remained until October 18th, when he returned to his ship. The brave Count Pulaski, who commanded a legion of horse, that "sped like Knights into the peril," received a mortal wound. He was taken on board the United States brig "Wasp," to be conveyed to Charleston, but just as the vessel got out of the Savannah river, (being detained several days,) the wound gangrened, and he died. His remains were consigned to a watery grave. The repulse was complete, and the siege now practically terminated, the besiegers being forced to abandon an enterprise which opened with promise of success.

The casualties experienced in this siege were: French, killed, 377; wounded, 444; total, 821; Americans, killed,

* Siege of Savannah, p. 63.

12; wounded, 300; total, 312; grand total, 1,133. The American officers killed or wounded in the assault of October 9th, as far as appears, were the following:

KILLED.

Major John Jones, aid to General McIntosh.

Second Regiment.— Major Motte, and Lieutenants Hume, Wickham and Bush.

Third Regiment.— Major Wise and Lieutenant Bailey.

General Williamson's Brigade.— Captain Berand.

Charlestown Regiment.— Captain Shepherd.

South Carolina Artillery.— Captain Donnom, Charles Price, a volunteer, Sergeant Jasper *

WOUNDED.

Brigadier-General Count Pulaski, mortally.

Major L'Enfant, Captains Bentalou, Giles and Ragowski.

Second Regiment.— Captain Roux, and Lieutenants Gray and Petrée.

Third Regiment.— Captain Farrar, and Lieutenants Gaston and DeSaussure.

Sixth Regiment.— Captain Bowie.

Virginia Levies.— Lieutenants Parker and Walker.

Light Infantry.— Captain Smith, of the third; Captains Warren and Hogan, of the fifth; Lieutenant Vieland, of the second; and Lieutenant Parsons, of the fifth.

South Carolina Militia.— Captains Davis and Treville, Lieutenants Bonneau, Wilkie, Wade and Wardel, Lieutenant Edward Lloyd, Mr. Owen.

The number of the French officers killed during the progress of the siege was six; in the attack on the 9th of October, ten; viz.:

M. M. Devermont, Q. M., of the regiment of Gatinois.
De Malherbe, officer of the regiment of Champagne.

* William Jasper was a native of South Carolina, and was born about 1750. He entered the revolutionary service as a Sergeant in the second South Carolina regiment. He distinguished himself at the assault upon Fort Moultrie, June 28, 1776, by recovering from the ditch outside of the works the flag and staff which had been shot away, and by attaching the flag to a sponge staff, and replanting it on the parapet. In attempting a similar feat at the siege of Savannah, October 9, 1779, he received a mortal wound. His services as a brave soldier were recognized by the presentation to him of a handsome sword by Governor Rutledge. He declined a higher position than that of sergeant, feeling that his education was not sufficient to warrant a promotion. General Moultrie gave him a roving commission, under which he captured many of the enemy. A county in Georgia, and a public square in Savannah, perpetuate the name of this gallant patriot.

Blandeau, Lieutenant of the regiment of Augenois.
Justamon, Lieutenant of the regiment of Augenois.
Fondprose, Second Lieutenant of the Volunteer Grenadiers.
DeSencé, Captain of Artillery.
Total, 6.

M. M. Brow, Major of Dillon's regiment, Colonel of Infantry.
Balheon, Midshipman.
Destinville, Second Lieutenant of the Navy.
Molart, Lieutenant of the regiment of Armagnac.
Stancey, Second Lieutenant Dragoons of Condé.
Taf, Lieutenant of the regiment of Dillon.
Guillaume Lieutenant of the Grenadiers of Gaudeloupe.
DeMontaign, Captain of the Chasseurs of Gaudeloupe.
Boisneuf, Lieutenant of the regiment of Port au Prince.
DuPerron, Captain of Staff-duty.
Total 10.

The officers wounded in the attack of the 9th of October were:

M. M. Count D'Estaing, General.
DeFontanges, Major-General.
DeBetizi, Colonel, and second in command of the regiment of Gatinois.
DeSteding, Colonel of Infantry.
Derneville, Aide-Major of Division, mortally wounded.
Chaliguon, Aide-Major of Division.
Boulan, Captain of Grenadiers of Armagnac.
Grillere, Captain of regiment of Armagnac.
Barris, Captain of regiment of Augenois.
St. Sauveur, Lieutenant of regiment of Augenois.
Chaussepied, Lieutenant of the regiment of Augenois.
Morege, Second Lieutenant of the regiment of Augenois.
Chamson Lieutenant of the regiment of Cambresis.
Coleau, Lieutenant of the regiment of Cambresis.
Boozel, Lieutenant of the regiment of Cambresis.
Oradon, Second Lieutenant of the regiment of Hainault.
Labarre, Lieutenant of the Dragoons of Condé.
Ouelle, Captain of the regiment of Dillon.
Doyon, Lieutenant of the regiment of Dillon.
Deloy, officer of the regiment of Dillon.
Ch' de Termoi, Cadet of the regiment of Dillon.
Dumouries, Lieutenant of the regiment of the Cape.
Desombrages, Lieutenant of the regiment of the Cape.
Delbos, Second Lieutenant of the regiment of the Cape.
Desnoyers, Major of the regiment of Gaudeloupe.

Roger, Captain of the regiment of Gaudeloupe
Noyelles, Captain attached to the staff of the regiment of Gaudeloupe.
D'Anglemont, Lieutenant of the Chasseurs of Gaudeloupe.
De Rousson, Second Lieutenant of the Chasseurs of Gaudeloupe.
Bailly de Menager, Lieutenant of the regiment of Port au Prince, prisoner.
Duclos, of Port au Prince Volunteer Chasseurs.
Total, 31.

October 16th the dangerously wounded were embarked for Charleston, and those who were suffering from slight wounds were placed on board the various vessels of the fleet. D'Estaing sailed for the West Indies, and General Lincoln returned to Charleston. While on the coast of Georgia the French fleet captured a number of armed and transport vessels. Among them was the "Experiment," of fifty guns, commanded by Sir James Wallace, conspicuous in 1775 in the Narragansett waters for his marauding practices.* On board were Major-General Garth, thirty thousand pounds sterling, and a large quantity of army stores.†

Although the failure of this expedition proved a disappointment to well founded hopes, and, doubtless, a mortification to D'Estaing, it was not altogether fruitless. Besides the British vessels captured above referred to, which furnished subsistence to the French fleet and army, the resources which the English could have drawn from the province for besieging Charleston were destroyed, and their design against that city was so retarded as to afford opportunity for placing it in a position of defence. Whether the advantage thus obtained was an equivalent for the cost, is a question for the reader to consider.‡

* Sir James Wallace became an Admiral, and in 1793-5 was governor of Newfoundland. He died in London, March 1, 1885.

† Siege of Savannah, p. 51

‡ Nine prizes were taken by D'Estaing and sold in Providence. The net proceeds of these sales in continental currency were $417,065. The pilots who brought the fleet from New York to Newport, in July, received three hundred livres each. The larger vessels had two pilots.

" The loss of the French squadron in the campaign of 1778 was fifty-three killed, of whom three were officers, and forty-seven soldiers, besides the crew of a prize brig lost at sea.

" The expenses of the hospitals, including the transportation of the sick to Boston in 1778, were $57,573."—*Arnold, ii., p. 420*

Sir Henry Clinton evidently felt that D'Estaing's operations on the American coast had been highly disastrous to British interests. Writing to Lord George Germain, January 30, 1780, he says:

"I do not reckon among the lesser misfortunes of the last year the operations of D'Estaing on the American coast; the vast relief thereby given to the rebel trade, and the injury which it brought upon ours; the impression it carried home to the minds of the people of our lost dominion of the sea, and the disposition of the French to give them every assistance reconcilable with the general objects of the war to complete our ruin on the continent."

Of the character and ability of D'Estaing as a commander the unknown officer, who served under him, already quoted, thus writes:

"If zeal, activity, eagerness, and ambition to accomplish great deeds are worthy of recompense, never will France be able sufficiently to acknowledge her obligations to Count D'Estaing. With much intelligence, he possesses the enthusiasm and the fire of a man of twenty years of age. Enterprising bold even to temerity, all things appear possible to him. He fancies no representations which bring home to him a knowledge of difficulties. Whoever dares to describe them as formidable, is ill received. . . . . The sailors believe him inhuman; . . but this is a reproach incident to his austere mode of life, because he is cruel to himself. . . . . When I am now asked if he is a good General, it is difficult for me to respond to this inquiry. He committed much to chance, and played largely the game of hazard. But that he was energetic adventurous almost to rashness, indefatigable in his enterprises, which he conducted with an ardor of which, had we not followed him, we could have formed no conception; and that to all this he added much intellect, and a temper which imparted great austerity to his character, we are forced to admit."

Count D'Estaing returned to France, and reached Paris December 7, 1780. A letter written in that city under that date, says:

"We are very impatient to see the Count D'Estaing, who is expected this evening at Versailles. It is given out that His Majesty expresses so great a desire to see that General, that he has sent a carriage to meet him on the road for despatch, and for the greater conveniency, as the wounds he received in America are worse than was at first reported, since he has been obliged to make use of crutches.

"The Count D'Estaing, it is said, wrote from Brest to M. de Sartine, to desire he would ask of the King his leave to fall at his feet, to thank His Majesty for the confidence he has vouchsafed to honor him with. 'At my feet,' replied the Monarch; 'Oh, no! it is in my arms that I will receive him.'"

A letter dated Paris, France, December 23, 1779, says:

"Yesterday, about 10 o'clock in the morning, Count D'Estaing arrived at Versailles. He went immediately to the house of the Minister of the Marine, where he stayed about two hours. M. de Sartine then conducted him to the King's palace, and presented him to his Majesty, who expressed his extreme satisfaction at his conduct, in the most gracious manner. M. D'Estaing in speaking afterwards to one of his friends of the reception the King had given him, said: 'I met with a reception infinitely beyond my merits.' This modest remark shows how greatly he was affected by the King's goodness. Messrs. de Vaudreuil and de Bougainville, Captains of ships in Mons. D'Estaing's fleet, are just appointed Admirals."*

Thus closed the participation of the Count in an effort to secure for the thirteen American colonies political freedom as an "Independent Federal Republic."

* Charles Hector, Count D'Estaing, was born at the Château of Ravel, Auvergne, in 1729. He chose the military profession, and obtained the rank of Brigadier-General. He served in the East Indies, and was taken prisoner at the siege of Madras. He was subsequently placed in command of two French men-of-war, with which he inflicted much damage upon the English in the East. On his return home he was captured and thrown into prison at Portsmouth, but was released, and in 1763 received the appointment of Lieutenant-General in the navy. His arrival in America in 1778, and his services here, have already been described. In 1783 he commanded the combined fleets of France and Spain, and was made a Grandee of Spain.

In 1787 he was elected a member of the Assembly of Notables, as a friend to national reforms. He was appointed Commandant of the National Guards, and in 1792 was chosen Admiral. He was strongly attached to the Royal family. His friendly letters to the Queen, becoming known, gave offence to the revolutionary authorities, and led to his arrest and imprisonment. His favorable testimony at the trial of Marie Antoinette gave further offence. In 1793 he was tried, condemned and guillotined at the age of seventy-five years.

NOTE.—Until the year 1783, the capital of South Carolina was known as Charlestown; subsequently the *w* was dropped. In the preceding quotations, where the name occurs, the original spelling has been preserved.

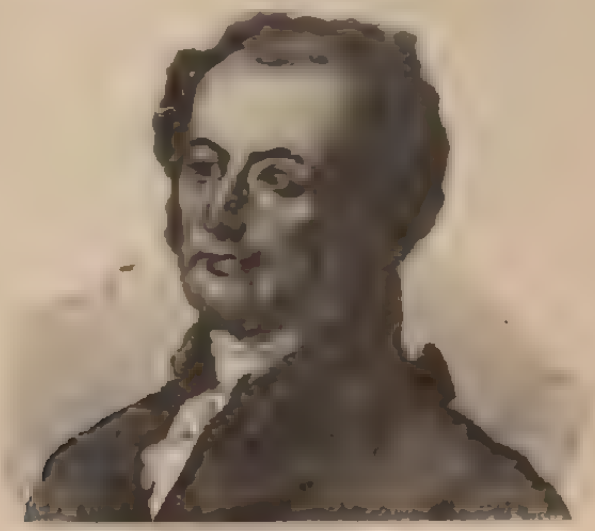
PART IV.

GENERAL GATES SUCCEEDS GENERAL SULLIVAN.

GENERAL GLOVER'S BRIEF COMMAND.—GENERAL GATES ARRIVES IN PROVIDENCE.—THE CONWAY CABAL.—WASHINGTON'S FEELINGS.—ARRIVAL OF GENERAL STARK.—CORRESPONDENCE OF GENERAL GATES.—TORY RAIDS.—ASSAULTS ON SOUTH KINGSTOWN.—ARRIVAL OF THE BARON STEUBEN.—COUNCILS OF WAR.—ASSAULT ON NEWPORT CONSIDERED INEXPEDIENT.—THE ENEMY DEPART.—GENERAL CORNELL RESIGNS HIS COMMISSION.

GENERAL SULLIVAN retired from the command of the Department of the State of Rhode Island, as already mentioned, and departed from Providence to conduct an expedition against the Indians in western New York, March 29, 1779. General Glover held the command until April 3d, when Major-General Horatio Gates arrived and assumed the duties of a Commander-in-Chief. His headquarters were in a house hired for the purpose belonging to Judge Jenckes, which stood on the site now occupied by the Roger Williams Bank, fronting on Market square. The social attractions of the neighborhood,—the near proximity to the homes of Lieutenant-Governor Bowen, Arthur Fenner, and William Jones,—were doubtless gratifying to him.

General Gates was an able officer, and his name will ever be associated with the capture of Burgoyne and his army at Saratoga. His weakness [illegible] was manifested in his conniving at intrigues to supersede Washington in command of the American army. [illegible] the same



John Glover

it was generally understood that he united with Generals Conway, Lee and others in a Cabal to displace the man "first in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen," and found Providence a convenient place in which to meet and consult with New England men who favored the project. One such interview, with a prominent civilian of an adjacent State, is known to have occurred. But he

lived to witness the futility of the attempt and the ruin to which the reputation of Conway and other Catilines of the period came. The General was, however, warmly received, and complimented with an elegant entertainment.

Washington felt keenly the course pursued towards him by the Cabal. Writing to his friend Henry Laurens, he says:

"I was not unapprised that a malignant faction had been for some time forming to my prejudice; which, conscious as I am of having ever done all in my power to answer the important purposes of the trust reposed in me, could not but give me some pain on a personal account. But my chief concern arises from an apprehension of the dangerous consequences which intestine discussions may produce to the common cause. . . . . My enemies take an ungenerous advantage of me. They know the delicacy of my situation, and that motives of policy deprive me of the defence I might otherwise make against their insidious attacks. They know I cannot combat their insinuations, however injurious, without disclosing secrets, which it is of the utmost moment to conceal. But why should I expect to be exempt from the unfailing lot of an elevated station! Merit and talents, with which I can have no pretensions of rivalship, have ever been subject to it. My heart tells me, that it has been my unremitted aim to do the best that circumstances would permit."

A correspondence on this subject was opened between Washington and Generals Gates and Conway. The letters of the former were frank and dignified as became his position; but whatever may have been his opinion of the parties addressed, he never sought to undermine the reputation of either, nor did he permit personal feeling to affect his official intercourse. Differences of opinion are entertained in regard to the connection which General Gates held with the Cabal, and it appears quite certain that its latent purpose was discovered and revealed before its plans were fairly crystallized. Sparks says: "That a factious spirit prevailed in Congress and the army, that this spirit was fomented by a few intriguing persons, and that a small party, at least, entertained views hostile to the Commander-in-Chief, cannot be doubted. But in my opinion there is not sufficient evidence to prove

that there was any concerted plan of action, or any fixed design among the leaders." *

The following incident related by Dr. James Thatcher, who as a military surgeon obtained a transfer to Colonel Jackson's regiment in Providence, represents very fairly the feeling that prevailed in the army towards the Cabal:

Horatio Gates

"An ensign in our regiment has for some time discovered symptoms of mental derangement. . . . . Yesterday he intruded himself at General Gates' headquarters, and after some amusing conversation, he put himself in the attitude of devotion, and prayed that God would pardon General Gates for endeavoring to supersede that God-like man, Washington. The General appeared to be much disturbed, and directed Mr. Pierce, his aid-de-camp, to take him away."

* Washington's Writings, v., p. 517, appendix.

In manners General Gates was affable, and in conversation interesting. His headquarters being in the vicinity of the barber's shop, visited daily by leading gentlemen of the town, it was his practice, whenever he received letters containing information allowable to be made known, to send them to the shop for their perusal. These and other courtesies gained for him favorable consideration while in command of the Rhode Island department. On his arrival in Providence, Newport was still in possession of the British, the naval forces of the enemy held control of Long Island Sound, and the vulnerable points of the coast line of the State were liable to assault at any moment. In view of possibilities, General Gates kept a watchful eye upon the foe, and actively co-operated with the Council of War in all measures calculated to ensure safety to an exposed population. Councils of war were frequent. At one held May 20, 1779, at which was present Generals Gates and Stark, Lieutenant-Governor Bowen, Colonels Sheppard and Vose, and Lieutenant-Colonels Sprout and Ward, a case then acted upon is thus related:

"The General upon representing the character and circumstances of George Smith, late a Captain in Colonel Vose's regiment, formerly a deserter from the British army; requested the opinion of the Council what was immediately proper and necessary to be done with the said George Smith, as he judged it highly dangerous to the public service to suffer the said Smith to remain at an advanced Post so near the enemies lines; and more especially so, considering the connection he has made with a woman of bad reputation lately sent from Newport by the enemy.

"The Council are unanimously of opinion that George Smith, late Captain in Colonel Vose's regiment, be immediately ordered to retire at least forty miles from Providence or any of the Posts in that State. That unless he complies with this order, he be apprehended and sent prisoner to Casco Bay, there to take his trial for the bigamy he is accused of."

General Stark, who had distinguished himself at Bennington, and served under Gates at Saratoga, arrived in Providence, April 22d, to take the command vacated by General Varnum. At the time the British withdrew from Newport

he was stationed at Tiverton, and the morning following their departure crossed over to the island and took possession of the town.

In May a raid was made upon Point Judith by a body of Tories from Rhode Island, who robbed the farmers of a large number of sheep and cattle. In the same month South Kingstown was assailed by a party of British who landed from a fleet of nine vessels, then making depredations along the coast wherever opportunity afforded. After burning a house, robbing two others, and making several prisoners, they were driven off, and one of their sloops captured. Another foraging raid on Point Judith was made in June following, which was repulsed by Colonel Jackson; but not dismayed, they, the next day, landed in South Kingstown, and burnt two houses.

The departure of General Glover's brigade for the main army, early in July, weakened materially the defensive power of General Gates, who exerted himself vigorously to secure a sufficient number of troops to fill its place, and thus be in readiness for any emergency; but subsequently from the date of General Glover's departure to the termination of the official dates of General Gates in Rhode Island, no military movement of special importance took place. Early in November, having been in the State seven months, he was called to active service with the grand army, and was succeeded by General Ezekiel Cornell, who held the command until May, 1780, when he resigned his commission, and was elected by the General Assembly a member of Congress in place of Ex-Governor Stephen Hopkins, no election having been made by the people.*

From the correspondence of General Gates while in Providence, the following extracts and memoranda are made:

*Ante, p. 93, note

"PROVIDENCE, April 5, 1779.

"I am informed by Colonel Proud, of Tiverton, that ten sails of small vessels, mostly sloops and schooners, have appeared off Bedford and Falmouth, and are supposed to be intended to plunder Nantucket, finding they would meet with too much opposition at either of the other places. But this has the appearance of a feint, to divert our attention from the main design. I have in consequence written to the Council of Massachusetts Bay, and endeavored to prevail on them to stimulate the good subjects of their government to be ready at the shortest notice to defeat any invasion of these States. I have also recommended the immediate re-establishment of the beacons between this and Boston, and I wish Your Excellency would direct the same to be done from the boundary between Connecticut and this State, upon proper heights along the south side of your coast. . . . . I foresaw this in May last, and I did all in my power to prevent it. When will it please God to banish inordinate avarice and all its baneful effects from this our earth? I am with every sentiment of esteem and respect,

"Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

"H. G.

"To His Excellency Governor Trumbull."

"PROVIDENCE, April 12, 1779.

"The troops are uneasy for want of their pay, being upwards of five months in arrears. The Paymaster-General's deputy has been gone more than a month to Philadelphia to get money.

"I am, Sir, &c.,

"H. G.

"To General Washington."

"PROVIDENCE, April 13, 1779.

"I have this moment received the enclosed from General Cornell. I entreat you to immediately detach a reënforcement to sustain the post attacked, the instant you are certain that event has taken place. You will likewise serve our country by immediately giving the earliest intelligence of the enemy's movements.

"I am, Sir, your affectionate humble servant,

"H. G.

"To Colonel Greene."

"PROVIDENCE, April 16, 1779.

"I have just received your letter of 15th. I entirely approve of your ordering one-fourth part of the militia of Little Compton immediately on duty, and I shall instantly dispatch an express to Boston to hasten them in replacing their militia, whose term of service has expired, and request a further reënforcement for the guard of the eastern coast. I

desire you will direct Lieutenant Chapin to seize the negroes on their return from Newport, and search them to their skins, and further recommend it to him to send them to you with any suspected persons he may at any time apprehend for examination.

"I am, &c.,

"H. G.

"To Brigadier-General Cornell."

"PROVIDENCE, April 19, 1779.

. . . . "Colonel Crary's and Colonel Topham's regiments are under marching orders to reinforce the posts below. There are, the Colonel assured me, near four hundred men engaged in those regiments. I shall only send officers in proportion to men on duty. The rest of the officers shall remain to recruit. . . .

"I am, Sir, your affectionate humble servant,

"H. G.

"To General Cornell."

"PROVIDENCE, April 25, 1779.

. . . . "I shall immediately order General Glover's brigade to be in readiness to march at the shortest notice. Unfortunately for our safety, Your Excellency is as much deceived as I am disappointed, in the number expected to be raised for the defence of this State. Neither Providence, Massachusetts, nor Connecticut will for many months raise any number of men adequate to the purpose of defending even this State alone. . . . Connecticut has done nothing. Massachusetts has voted one regiment to be raised for one year. This State have ordered their regiments of artillery and the two State regiments to be embodied, but when these three will make 500 men instead of 1500, their proper quota, is as uncertain as the probability of that event is remote. Whatever Your Excellency's orders may be they shall be punctually obeyed, at the same time duty bids me to represent the true state of our affairs and submit it entirely to your wisdom how the troops are to be disposed to the best advantage for our general defence. . . . .

"I have the honor to be with great respect, Sir,

"H. G.

"To General Washington."

"PROVIDENCE, April 30, 1779.

"There has been two mutinies these few days since. Dreads consequences of another. Send at least three hundred barrels flour to pacify the troops for the instant and more as soon as you can.

"To Major-General Heath."

"PROVIDENCE, May 4, 1779.

"Not a penny of money arrived for the payment of the troops."

"To the President of Congress."

An Order for a Cruise.

"PROVIDENCE, May 4, 1779.

"SIR:—You will proceed with the ship Friendship under your command to the harbor of Newport, where you will do your utmost with the seamen and troops under your direction to make capture of His Britannic Majesty's ship Renown. When you have effected that service you will use your own discretion, to carry your prize either to Boston, New London, or to Pawtuxet. I recommend it to you to disembarque your prisoners the instant you have leisure and a good opportunity offers to land them at a proper place for their being secured and marched under a guard to Providence.

"H. G."

"PROVIDENCE, July 20, 1779.

"Deficient clothing. Troops suffer for shoes."

"Mr. Winslow permitted by General Prescott to have an interview with his son upon the south end of Prudence island, Thursday morning at 7 o'clock."

"PROVIDENCE. July 5, 1779.

"General Glover ordered to march without delay to join main army. to proceed to Fishkill."

"PROVIDENCE. July 10 and 11. 1779.

"Powder needed and military stores: has no ammunition; fifty barrels powder needed."

"PROVIDENCE, 20th July, 1779.

"SIR:—In obedience to the orders of Congress I armed and fitted the sloop Argo for sea, and gave the command to Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Talbot. He is just returned from a successful cruise against the enemy. Inclosed is his letter to me from Bedford. The sloop is since arrived at Providence, where she is refitting with all possible expedition. Much honor is due to Colonel Talbot, and his officers and seamen for their gallant behavior.

"I am, Sir, &c.,

"H. G.

"His Ex. John Jay."

Talbot's success in the Argo so greatly alarmed the enemy, and so particularly disturbed the equanimity of the Tories in

Newport, that with the aid of the British a vessel called the King George was fitted out to cruise for his capture. The latter fell in with him between Nantucket and New York, and in the contest Talbot became the victor. This was the cruise and victory referred to in the preceding letter, concerning which the late venerable John Howland used to relate the following anecdote:

"Very early one morning, as I was passing towards the Market house, there were but two men to be seen in the street, Dr. Ephraim Bowen and Mr. John Jenckes, who were two of the earliest risers in the town. They were standing together in the middle of the street. As I was passing in the rear of them, General Gates opened the chamber window of his head-quarters on the east side of the street, with his old velvet night-cap on, and said, 'Good morning, gentlemen." They both answered, 'Good morning, General, good morning, General." The General said, 'we have good news.' 'Ah, what is it,' they both inquired. The General said with a strong voice, 'Talbot has taken the King George.' 'Has he?' they said with voices equally strong, at the same time advancing nearer to the General's house. The General said, 'I received a letter last night from Talbot. He has got her safe into New Bedford after a severe action.' 'That is good news, indeed,' they replied. I spread the news through the neighborhood, and to every passer-by, with great pleasure, as I heard it from the General himself. That day but little work was done. Joy was diffused through the town. People left their work to talk about it as much as if a great victory had been obtained by our army."*

June 7, 1779, the town appointed a committee to wait upon General Gates and request him to direct that suitable barracks be built at the expense of the continent for the troops in case any shall be barracked in this town next winter, and also that he "direct that the Work House which has been improved the winter past for barracks and damaged thereby, be repaired at the general expense."

ARRIVAL OF BARON STEUBEN.

In August, 1779, Baron Steuben, Inspector-General of the United States army, arrived in Providence on an official tour to inspect the corps of General Gates. The system of tactics which he had introduced into the regular army was

* Life of Howland pp. 41 and 45

Steuben
Maj: Gen:

adopted in the drill of the militia, and it is probable that this system was pursued by the Warren company, under the order for practice issued by General Gates. The Baron's method of inspection was as follows: The troops were paraded in a single line, with shouldered arms, every officer in his particular station. The Baron first reviewed the line in this position, passing in front with a scrutinizing eye; after which he took in his hands the musket and accoutrements of every soldier, examining them with particular accuracy and precision, applauding or condemning, according to the condition in which he found them. He required that the muskets and bayonets should exhibit the brightest polish; not a spot of rust or a defect on any part could elude his vigilance. He also inquired into the conduct of the officers towards the men, censuring every fault and applauding every meritorious action. Next he required of the surgeon a list of the sick, with a particular statement of their accommodations and mode of treatment, and even visited some of them.* Of the progress of the manual exercise under this system the Baron was exceedingly proud, and repelled with strong indignation any intimation of incapacity on the part of his great army of military pupils to acquire exactness in their motions. His work, of which three thousand copies were printed, was placed in the hands of officers throughout the army, so that improvement was simultaneously being made in every military department. Seldom was a work composed in such a manner as this. Every chapter was first roughly written in German, then translated into bad French, then put into good French, by Colonel Fleury, one of the Baron's sub-inspectors, translated again into bad English by Duponceau, the secretary of Steuben, afterwards written in good English by Captain Walker, a member of his military family; and when all this was completed, the Baron did not understand a word of it himself.

* Thatcher.

from his ignorance, at that time, of the English language. His confidence in his assistants, however, caused him to proceed successfully amid all these troubles.*

Having completed his inspection of troops in Rhode Island, the Baron went to Hartford to join the newly arrived French minister, M. de la Luzerne, whom he had known in Paris, and proceeded with him to Fishkill, where they met Washington, who had already arrived there to receive the representative of Louis XVI.

The pay of Baron Steuben, when he took a command in the American army, was fixed by Congress at two thousand dollars per annum; but paid often in a depreciated currency, that sum fell far short of defraying his expenses. He was almost constantly cramped in his finances, and not unfrequently perplexed in making provision for his table in a manner suited to his rank. To reciprocate the social courtesies of his brother officers, and to render assistance to friends not less in want than himself, he parted with his silver plate and watch, and even pledged his favorite horse for a sum sufficient to supply pressing needs. So heavy was the pressure upon him that he was compelled to ask Congress either to increase his pay or to dismiss him. As an intended relief, Congress allowed him two hundred and fifty Louisdors (at $3.83) to reimburse his expenses in coming to America, paid in bills of exchange which he negotiated at forty per cent. discount. When he came to Providence, he was destitute of means to defray his extra expenses, and a sufficient sum was advanced to him by Washington.

The troops quartered in the town having annoyed many of the inhabitants by trespassing on their gardens, orchards, and cornfields, a memorial was prepared by the town council, August 3, 1779, and presented to General Gates, calling his attention to the evil, and soliciting the interposition of his authority to prevent its continuance. They suggested

* Kapp's Life of Steuben, p. 211.

"That the proper officers may be directed to see that the troops are supplied with potatoes, turnips, corn, or other vegetables, so that the troops may be under no necessity of taking those articles indiscriminately from the gardens and fields of the inhabitants, whereby great waste is made, individuals greatly injured and distressed, and the army in general not so comfortable as if supplied in a regular channel;" and further beseeching His Honor "to issue the necessary orders for preventing the soldiers going, without proper cause, into the gardens, fields or enclosures of the inhabitants, in order that the mishaps before mentioned may be prevented, and that the orders for this purpose be published in the newspapers, that they, as well as the inhabitants, may be informed thereof." * Arthur Fenner, Esq., Captain Paul Allen, and Captain David Lawrence were appointed a committee to wait upon General Gates, with the memorial, and to confer with him upon the subject. How effective this memorial proved, the records do not show.

When, early in October, 1779, appearances indicated that Newport would soon be evacuated, the General on the 13th of that month held a council with his officers, and desired their opinion, whether in the present situation and circumstances of his army it was practicable "to make a landing upon Rhode Island, and gain any considerable advantage over the enemy sufficiently to compensate for the risk and probable disadvantages that the town and surrounding country might sustain thereby." The council consisted of Generals Gates and Stark, Colonel Sherburne, Colonel Jackson, Colonel Elliot, Colonel Tyler, Lieutenant-Colonel Peck, Lieutenant-Colonel Cobb, Major Huntington, Major Tyler, Major Trescot, and Major Lyman. After maturely considering the question, it was unanimously decided not to make the attempt. This decision was probably influenced by a regard for the inhabitants of Newport, saving them

* Council Records, 1779

from the destructive effects of an assault upon the town, and from further depredations of the enemy. It seemed hardly worth while to shake the tree when the fruit was ripe and ready to fall.

After the evacuation, General Gates decided to destroy the defences thrown up and so long held by the enemy, but upon examining them he found the undertaking more formidable than he had supposed. On this subject he thus wrote

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

"PROVIDENCE, 31st October, 1779.

"SIR:—After taking an exact view of the works the enemy erected to the northward and eastward of Newport, I find it will be a much heavier piece of labor to destroy them than I imagined when I first wrote to Your Excellency. I have therefore earnestly solicited the Governor and his council to give me such assistance as the State can be prevailed on to afford, toward effecting the destruction Your Excellency has so judiciously recommended: upon communicating that part of your letter to the Governor, and a select few of his council, I find them extremely averse to parting with any of the State troops at present; and are so pointed in their objections, that I shall defer thinking of removing them, until I receive your further commands. Nothing, indeed, but the immediate arrival of the fleet of our allies, would make it prudent directly to march any of the troops out of this State, as it too plainly appears, by the manner Newport has been evacuated that General Clinton has by no means lost sight of Rhode Island, or entirely renounced his pretensions there:—Other circumstances not only induce, but in a degree confirm this opinion; I shall not, therefore, remove any of the troops from this State, until I receive Your Excellency's particular directions upon that head, or, until I see a sufficient squadron of French ships of war to convoy the army to the post assigned for their debarkation. In the circumstance of the harbor of Newport being secured by the arrival of the fleet of our high allies, the objection of the government of this State to the removal of the whole of the army to the westward will vanish, and I doubt not of Your Excellency's being further reinforced by militia from hence. I am confident Your Excellency's candor will convince you that I shall continue to exert my utmost abilities, with the most becoming zeal, for the benefit of the public service.

"I am this moment stepping into the boat to return to Newport, having left it the day before yesterday to remove my papers, etc., thither. I shall write again directly from thence. It would be right now that General

Greene should place his stationed expresses in the road immediately leading from Little Rest to North Kingston, where I shall fix a whale boat ready to bring them to Newport."*

A prominent evil that presented itself to the observation of General Gates, and which had been familiar to his predecessor, was the exorbitant prices at which all articles necessary for the subsistence of an army were held by persons having them for sale. With many, cupidity was stronger than patriotism, and how to remedy the evil was a question that tested the ability of the most influential public men. An effort in that direction was made by the General through the following

CIRCULAR.

"HEADQUARTERS, PROVIDENCE, September 15, 1779.

"Various methods have been adopted by the several States in our Union to reduce the exorbitant prices, lately exacted amongst us, for all articles of merchandise, as well as labor, on account of the considerable emissions of continental bills of credit, which circumstances have made it indispensably necessary to issue for the defence of our natural rights.

"Those salutary measures have given our enemies just cause to fear that their incessant endeavors to increase our difficulties, by circulating bills of our currency, counterfeited to that effect by order of their King, and by employing emissaries to raise the price of all sorts of goods to a stupendous height, in consequence of their extravagant biddings at our public auctions, would, at last, prove fruitless.

"It is now discovered, that, nearly despairing of reducing us to a general bankruptcy, they have, as their last resource, sent spies of another kind to every one of the United States; and that such spies, pretending that they have come from this or that part of our territories, are audacious enough to insinuate 'that the plan of reduction never will take place, and that it is forcibly opposed' *at the place* they come from; and, unfortunately for us, they are but too well assisted in those wicked efforts to ruin us, by the extortioners of every denomination.

"Such artifices tending to destroy, throughout the United States, the generous and wise system of reduction, which legal publications demonstrate to be generally supported: I DO therefore hereby command all officers and others, serving in the army of the United States of America within this department, and the lines of the several posts of the division of the army under my command, to apprehend any person who shall be

*Gates papers, N. Y. Hist. Soc.

charged with propagating such reports, that every such offender may be dealt with as the case shall require. And it is recommended to all civil officers and such of the inhabitants who are sincere friends to their country to cooperate with me in detecting and bringing to condign punishment any person who shall be guilty of the said crime.

Horatio Gates

"Major-General."

[illegible] Horatio Gates, the son of a clergyman, was born at Maldon, Essex, England, [illegible] [illegible] He had [illegible] and was wounded in the [illegible] at Monongahela. He served under General Monckton, in the expedition against Martinique, in 1762. In 1765 he was Major of the 62d regiment of Foot. Upon the adjustment of the peace he had purchased in Virginia, where he engaged in agricultural labors until the opening of the war of the Revolution, which he [illegible] [illegible] congress and was appointed Adjutant-general with the rank of Brigadier-general. He was [illegible] Major-General, the second in command under Washington. Among his most [illegible] was the [illegible] of Burgoyne, which he compelled [illegible] Saratoga. He [illegible] Southern Department, which he [illegible] Camden, August 16, 1780. He [illegible] Saratoga, which, in the opinion of [illegible] was [illegible] to secure the [illegible] of Burgoyne's army. He was [illegible] President of the new Board of War, also [illegible] and a member of the [illegible] Department. After his defeat he [illegible] to his farm in Berkeley county, Va., to recall his fortunes, [illegible] he was recalled. He [illegible] to be commander-in-chief. He [illegible] to the war. [illegible] to New York, where he remained, the Board in the City [illegible] the State Legislature. He died in the city of New York. The dead remain the same before referred to, in Hagerstown, connecting with the Conway Cabal. In the correspondence the letters between General and Washington, he says, "I [illegible] the [illegible] of the battle, but [illegible] from the road of the little Dutch village of Chatham." The author of "Sketches," "and as Dr. [illegible] Gates would permit, it appears," the painful [illegible] has not been [illegible]

"The sculptor, a young German Jew, is a man with [illegible] intelligence; it which the former was wounded. [illegible] the young man appeared to be hearty. Under that belief he addressed a letter to Washington, [illegible] "[illegible] grief to be [illegible] the writer of such a thing disagreeable to His Excellency." "If [illegible] be [illegible] Therefore [illegible] and [illegible] enough me to declare my sentiments. You are [illegible] the great [illegible] man. May you [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] of these States, where [illegible] have [illegible] Congressional [illegible] [illegible] from the [illegible] [illegible] He was [illegible] who has [illegible] to be his friends, he [illegible] the [illegible] of his [illegible] and to the [illegible] in [illegible] in France, where he [illegible] to [illegible] Washington [illegible] He was also [illegible] [illegible] and at the [illegible] settlement in Illinois. [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible] and by the energetic efforts of the British authorities." He died about 1806.

A THIRD EXPEDITION.

GENERAL GATES AND A THIRD EXPEDITION.—COLONEL BOWEN TO GENERAL GREENE.—ACTION OF GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.—PLAN OF A THIRD EXPEDITION ABANDONED.—NEWPORT EVACUATED.—PROCLAMATION OF GOVERNOR GREENE.—GENERAL GREENE'S VIEW.—LETTER FROM GOVERNOR GREENE TO WASHINGTON.

IT appears by the following letter from the Deputy-Quartermaster-General, Colonel Ephraim Bowen, to General Greene, that a third expedition to Rhode Island was contemplated by General Gates, to be supported by D'Estaing:

TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

"PROVIDENCE, June 3, 1779.

"ESTEEMED GENERAL:—I send you by Captain William Tew my accounts for the last month, which is very small returns for stores on hand, and men employed for the present month. I have dismissed all that I could possibly spare. The list is yet large, but when you consider our extensive shore, I dare say you'll think they are all needed.

"General Gates ordered me to send a person to you with orders to wait for cash. I have sent Captain Tew, who acts as Brigade Quartermaster to General Stark. If you have not the money by you please to send him to Philadelphia to wait there, as the consequences would be disagreeable if he should return without any,—I mean from General Gates.

"It is astonishing to see the depreciation of the currency. Never did it fall so fast as at this time. A carpenter cannot be hired for less than fifteen to eighteen dollars per day, and all other labour in proportion. Carting, from twenty shillings to twenty-four shillings per mile and ton. In short, I will refer you to Captain Tew and Captain Littlefield for particular information. Mr. Olney will return in about ten days from this time.

"I have orders from the General to provide for another expedition to

SWORD AND PISTOLS OF COLONEL EPHRAIM BOWEN.

These pistols, flint locks and brass mounted, were manufactured by W. Kitland & Co., London. The trade mark, duplicated, is two battle axes crossed, surmounted by a crown. Length of barrels, nine inches, each bears the word "London" near the breech; chambers half an inch in diameter, on the stock of each pistol are stamped the initials "M. S." The workmanship is first class. They are in as good condition as when owned by Colonel Bowen one hundred years ago. The sword is of sabre pattern, the grip and guard are of silver or fine white metal, the blade is heavy and adapted to cavalry close encounter. The scabbard is of leather, protected at the point by polished steel. Where or by whom the sword was manufactured is not known. The pistols and sword may be seen in the cabinet collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society. To the courtesy of the Society I am indebted for permission to make drawings of them.

Rhode Island. He expects Count D'Estaing here in twenty days. I shall be in a poor condition for an expedition with cash as poor as it is.

"I am, with gratitude,

"dear General, Yours, &c.,

Ephm Bowen

At what time communication may have been held by General Gates with the French Admiral, on this subject, there are no present means of knowing. The plan of an expedition appears, however, to have been imparted to Governor Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut, who evidently felt authorized to act officially in the case, and who, with his accustomed promptness, took measures to support the movement.* A call for four thousand militia was made in

* Jonathan Trumbull was descended from John *Trumble*, as the name was spelled until 1700, who came from Cumberland county, England, and settled in Rowley, Essex county, Massachusetts, 1640-50. The father, Joseph, settled in Lebanon, Conn., where the subject of this notice was born, June 10, 1710. He entered Harvard college at the age of thirteen years, and graduated with full honors as a scholar. He studied divinity, was licensed to preach, officiated for a short time, then studied law, and afterwards engaged in business as a merchant. He took a prominent part in public affairs, was a member of the legislature, Lieutenant Governor of the State in 1769, and Governor from 1769 to 1784. He was a devoted patriot, and entered ardently into all wise measures for securing a National Independence. Governors Cooke and Greene, of Rhode Island, found in him a ready and valuable coadjutor. He received from Yale College and from the University of Edinburgh the degree of LL. D. Washington highly valued his judgment, and is reported as saying, in doubtful cases, "Let us see what *Brother Jonathan* says," a soliloquy long since and still employed in personifying the United States.

Governor Trumbull married Faith Robinson, daughter of Rev. John Robinson, of Dunbury, Massachusetts, and great-granddaughter of Rev. John Robinson, who gave his blessing and wise counsel to the Leyden pilgrim band when they set out to find a home in the Western World. In this earnest woman he found, in every emergency of the Revolution, a helpmeet, patriotic and energetic as himself,—ready at all times to sacrifice ease and substance in support of a hard-pressed, holy cause. In illustration of these characteristics, the following incident is related. It was customary in Connecticut, during the war, to take up contributions in the churches for the benefit of the continental army. These consisted of whatever the contributors had to spare,—money, jewelry, clothing, groceries, etc. "Upon one such occasion in Lebanon Meeting-House, after notice given that a collection would be taken for the soldiers, Madam Faith Trumbull rose from her seat near her husband, threw from off her shoulders a magnificent scarlet cloak,—a present, we hear on good authority, from the Commander-in-Chief of the French Allied Army, Count Rochambeau himself,—and, advancing near the pulpit, laid it on the altar as her offering to those who, in the midst of want and suffering, were fighting gallantly the great Battle of Freedom. It was afterwards taken, cut into narrow strips, and employed, as red trimming, to stripe the

Connecticut "to co-operate with Count D'Estaing — just when the fleet of the latter, after the attack on Savannah, was 'hourly looked for' on the northern coast, to renew, in conjunction with Washington, assaults upon the foe at Newport and New York." The Governor, in his proclamation, spoke of "the singularly noble and generous conduct of the French Admiral in leaving to hazard his acquisitions in the West Indies, and coming to our aid at the request of Congress, — and of the emotion he must feel if disappointed of

dress of American soldiers." — *Life of Governor Trumbull, p. 514.*) His three sons, John, Joseph and Jonathan, arrived at distinction. A portrait of Governor Trumbull, senior, may be seen on page 149.

Colonel John Trumbull, son of Jonathan, was born in Lebanon, Conn., June 6, 1756. He was a pupil of Nathan Tisdale, could read Greek at six years of age, and was a graduate of Harvard University in 1773. In 1775 he joined General Spencer's Connecticut regiment as Adjutant, and participated in the battle of Bunker's Hill. He was in the Canada expedition in 1775, and was one of the party that entered Quebec by St. John's gate. His skill as a draughtsman was observed by Washington, who appointed him his aid. He was afterwards, for a short time, a member of the military family of General Gates, as Adjutant-General, with the rank of Colonel. His voluntary services, under General Sullivan, have been noticed on previous pages. Abandoning the profession of arms, he devoted himself to art, and in 1780 went to London to study with West. Unfortunately for him, a bitter feeling then existed in that city, excited by the execution of Andre, and through the influence of Count Rumford, (Benjamin Thompson,) he was arrested on suspicion of being a spy or dangerous person, and kept in close confinement seven months. At one time appearances were strongly against his safety, but West, having explained to the King the exact condition of affairs, he was directed by his majesty to assure Mr. Trumbull, that while he had no power to release him, his life should be safe. Through the influence of Burke, Fox, West and Copley, he was released, and went to Amsterdam, where he found a home in the family of Mr. John De Neufville, whose acquaintance he made in London. The De Neufvilles were a banking firm friendly to America. In 1787 he visited Paris, and while residing with Mr. Jefferson, the American Minister, painted in his house the portraits of the French officers that appear in his great historical painting of the Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, October 19, 1781. Besides eight subjects of the American Revolution, among them the battle of Bunker's Hill, the Death of Montgomery, the surrender of Burgoyne, and the Resignation of Washington, Colonel Trumbull painted from life "near two hundred and fifty portraits of persons distinguished in that important period." The "*Trumbull Gallery*," owned by Yale College, is an honorable memorial of his genius and industry as a limner and as a historical delineator. Colonel Trumbull died in New York city, November 10, 1843. His remains were entombed in New Haven, Conn.

Colonel Joseph Trumbull was a Commissary-General of the Revolutionary army, a member of the Old Congress in 1774-5, and a Commissioner for the Board of War. Colonel Jonathan Trumbull was Paymaster to the Northern Department of the Army, and to Washington to the close of the war, and Governor of Connecticut, 1798-1809.

Governor Jonathan Trumbull, senior, died in his native town, August 17, 1783, honored and lamented as a dutiful son, a devoted husband, a tender father, a prudent counsellor, and an incorruptible statesman. Mrs. Trumbull preceded him to the grave by nearly five years, — she dying May 20, 1780, at the age of sixty-two. In honoring the memory of the chief magistrate let not his noble wife be forgotten.

spirited co-operation." He therefore urged "a free, cheerful and immediate enlistment." The men were enlisted. "But D'Estaing did not, as expected, sail for the North, but for the West Indies. The force, therefore, which the energy of Trumbull had thus collected for co-operation with the French, was, in December, disbanded." *

Jon. Trumbull

SENIOR.

Whatever private consultations may have been held between Gates, D'Estaing, and Governor Trumbull, on the subject, it appears that neither Washington nor Congress had been advised of the proposed enterprise. General Greene, writing to Colonel Bowen under date of June 28th, at which time D'Estaing was engaged in the reduction of St. Vincent and Grenada, says:

* Life of Governor Trumbull, pp. 435, 436.

"Since your letter upon the subject of the Rhode Island expedition, I have consulted General Washington upon the matter, and he says he

NOTE.—Colonel Ephraim Bowen, whose autograph appears on page 131, was the second son and seventh child of Dr. Ephraim and Lydia (Mawney) Bowen, and was born in Providence, R. I., August 20th, 1753. Of his childhood no traditions are preserved. His educational opportunities appear to have been carefully improved. He early became interested in public affairs, and in 1772, at the age of nineteen years, was one of the patriot band who took and burned the British armed schooner Gaspee. (*Ante, pp. 2, 3.*)

In 1775 he was made a Lieutenant in Captain Christopher Olney's company, belonging to Colonel Daniel Hitchcock's regiment, and Brigadier-General Nathanael Greene's brigade, raised for eight months' service as the "Army of Observation." Colonel Hitchcock died at Morristown, N. J., in January, 1777. While in the service he was selected by General Washington, then at Cambridge, to fit out an armed vessel to intercept supplies going to the British in Boston. In 1776 he was appointed to a Captaincy, and in the same year was appointed a Captain in the Rhode Island line of the continental army. From this position he was transferred to the Staff Department, and in 1777 acted as Assistant Quartermaster-General, under General Miflin. In 1778 he was appointed Quartermaster-General of the United States army, and in June of that year was commissioned Deputy-Quartermaster-General, to be stationary with the army in Rhode Island. This position was one of incessant care and anxiety. To provide for the wants of the army, horses, forage, clothing, ammunition and fuel, to manage the finances of his department with a fluctuating currency, and to meet and answer all the demands upon his time and resources, required a quick perception of his relation to the army, a ready forecast of coming wants, a calm, administrative mind, and a sound judgment. But he appears to have been equal to the requirements of his office, the duties of which he discharged with great fidelity until the close of the war.

Colonel Bowen was twice married, first, to Sally Angell, and second, in 1794, to Sarah Whipple. By his first wife he had five children, viz.: William H., Jesse, Nathaniel, (died young,) Sally, (died young,) and Elizabeth, who married the late Hon. John H. Clarke. By his second wife he had four children, viz.: Esther, George F., Sarah and Mary.

Colonel Bowen sustained several responsible and honorable civil offices, among them that of Sheriff of the county of Providence, and representative in the General Assembly from the town of Cumberland, where he passed many years of his long and useful life. His friendships were strong and steadfast, and his helpfulness to soldiers of the Revolution and their widows in applications for pensions was prompt and frequent. Colonel Bowen was a member of the Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati, and his Certificate of Diploma, signed by Washington, is in the possession of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

In 1824, when General Lafayette was making a tour of the country, Colonel Bowen was appointed by the town council of Providence a member of the committee who met the distinguished guest of the nation in Pawtucket Town, and welcomed him to the hospitalities of the town, in which, forty-six years before, his social and military qualities had been widely appreciated. The renewal of an old friendship was mutually gratifying. (*Ante, p. 131, note.*)

In personal appearance Colonel Bowen was tall and well proportioned, quick in his movements, dignified and affable in manners, and he retained his fund of conversation to advanced years. He was always generous to the needy, and took great pleasure in relating to them the stirring events of the War for Independence. He was on intimate terms with many of the leading American officers, and with the officers of our French allies, together with an extensive acquaintance here, made him familiar with the characteristics of the prominent men of the times, as well as with events yet remaining in many memories, even after half a century had passed. Colonel Bowen gathered about his venerable form a circle of admiring children, grandchildren and friends, to listen to the story of the Revolution, in company with Mr. John Brown and Dr. Brown, or some other survivors

[illegible]

knows of no such expedition either having been ordered by Congress, or by any other body authorized for the purpose. I wish you, therefore, to

of the Revolution. Of his services in the field no record has been preserved, but it is understood that he was in one engagement with the enemy.

He died in Providence September 2, 1841, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, having outlived his nine children. His funeral took place September 3d, from No. 21 Union street, where he resided at the time of his decease.

EXTRACTS FROM COLONEL BOWEN'S LETTERS.

To General Nathanael Greene, January 2, 1778:

"Your favor of the 12th *ultimo* I received per express, with one hundred and forty thousand dollars. . . . . The amount of my account as far as I have been able to collect through want of cash, is one hundred thousand nine hundred and ninety-three pounds, 8*s.* 6*d.*"

To the same, October 20, 1778:

"I have borrowed of General Sullivan one hundred and forty thousand dollars, which he wishes me to return as soon as convenient. If it is possible wish it might be sent forward, and at the same time should be glad to receive some for the department."

To General Sullivan, August 15, 1778:

"I wrote you yesterday morning that we had half a ton of powder in the mill. Upon sending for it we find it is not sufficiently dry, and cannot be made fit for use under three or four days of good weather. . . . . We have a considerable number of hands employed in making cartridges, and had we powder could engage many more. As you have ordered the heavy cannon from Pawtuxet, I have thought it best to direct the guard to join you forthwith."

To General Nathanael Greene, November 11, 1778:

"I have at length made up my accounts. . . . . The amount you'll see is seventy-two thousand seven hundred and thirty-two pounds, 17*s.* which, with the sums advanced, as per list of them, makes the whole amount one hundred thousand and thirty-six pounds, 6*s.* 9*d.*, and the amount of credit as per account, seventy thousand three hundred and one pounds, 13*s.* Have paid General Sullivan out of the money you last sent me, sixty-five thousand dollars."

To the same, February 8, 1779:

"Am sorry to inform you that I have had no success in procuring vessels to bring rice. There is not a vessel in the State suitable that can be had on any terms. . . . . I had put one hundred and fifty or sixty horses on Prudence by General Sullivan's advice, in the fall, supposing they would winter there without cost, which they would have done had not the tories from Newport taken off what of them were in tolerable case, and killed all the rest but one or two, a few days since. . . . . Have engaged Mr. Benson at $100 per month, till your pleasure can be known."

To the same, April 4, 1779:

"We are exceedingly badly supplied with cash in the forage department. Twenty-two thousand dollars is all that Colonel Biddle has sent. The F. M. [Forage Master] owes all round the country, and has at last lost his coat by reason of not paying his bills as he engaged. . . . . I have been obliged to lend the F. M. upwards of thirty thousand dollars, which I could illy spare."

To the same, September 3, 1779:

"I have an account presented and certified by Colonel Wall, for keeping the horses of the pilots to the French fleet, at Narragansett, and for provisions for the pilots, amounting

be very careful and not take a single step without written orders to justify your conduct, as it will be insinuated hereafter that you have precipitately

to about £150. General Gates declines ordering payment for it. Colonel Wall desired me to mention it to you, to know how it should be paid, or whether I could pay it without the General's order, as Colonel Wall will be obliged to pay it himself if the public does not."

To the same, October 3, 1779:

"I am taking every step to forward the completion of the barracks as soon as possible, but one grand article wanting is cash, which, if you have not to spare with you, please give directions to Mr. Pettit to send by my brother, who goes to Philadelphia."

To the same, December 3, 1779:

"I received a few days since a draft on the Commissioner of Loans, in this State, from Mr. Pettit, for sixty thousand pounds. . . . . General Cornell has directed barracks, to contain 1,000 men, to be built in this town, which we are now about."

To the same, December 17, 1779

"I am again under the necessity of begging of you a supply of cash for this department. . . . . I have hitherto been supplied beyond my expectation, and on that account my credit has always been good to borrow what sums I wanted, which I have declined as much as possible on account of the fluctuating and uncertain state of our currency."

To the same, February 6, 1780

"As forage is scarce and difficult to be procured at the North River and the camp in its vicinity, with your directions I will, as soon as the sound breaks up, transport a few vessel loads to Horse Neck or its neighborhood, that it may be moved whenever it is wanted. If there is a probability of horses being much wanted, which doubtless will be the case should there be another campaign, the present is the most favorable time to purchase them here, as forage in the country is exceedingly scarce and dear, and we have the means of keeping them on Rhode Island at little expense, comparatively . . . . This will be delivered to you by Captain Talbot, who is going to Philadelphia. If it should be convenient to hand me any cash he will bring it."

To Governor Greene, September 20, 1780:

"To purchase any more on credit, is almost impossible, and was it possible, I should dislike doing it without the strongest assurance of my being soon enabled to pay for what might be received in that way."

To Colonel Timothy Pickering, October 6, 1780:

"The troops I mentioned before are still doing duty in this State, and are greatly distressed for fuel. . . . . The French army are continually wanting assistance from my department, and a few days ago I had an application from the General Assembly of this State and the Quartermaster-General of the French army to appoint an assistant whose principal duty should be the barracking of the French troops, but as I was not authorized I declined making the appointment."

MEMORANDA OF COLONEL EPHRAIM BOWEN.

1772. June 9th. Assisted in the destruction of the British schooner Gaspee.

1775. Appointed Lieutenant in Colonel Christopher Olney's company, of the "Army of Observation," commanded by Brigadier-General Nathanael Greene.

1776. Chosen a Captain in the Second Rhode Island Battalion, Daniel Hitchcock, Colonel. "Recommended by General Washington for the New Establishment."

1779. As Deputy Quartermaster-General, applied to the General Assembly for seven hundred cords of wood "for the use of the army," to be delivered, four hundred cords in Providence, two hundred cords at Fulling Mill and East Greenwich, and one hundred cords at Updike's Newtown. Request granted.

gone into an unnecessary expense to swell your own commissions. Whatever General Gates orders you are warranted to provide, providing it is in the line of your department, but have all your orders so that they may speak for themselves. This will secure you in case any accident should happen to the General, and secure your family should any accident happen to you."

This friendly counsel furnishes an illustration of General Greene's forecast, but in this instance was unnecessary. No one engaged in the public service was more careful than Colonel Bowen in preserving evidences of all his pecuniary transactions, nor in refusing to transcend the legal powers conferred upon him.*

To capture the British at Newport, or compel them to evacuate the island, when two preceding attempts by other Generals had failed, would accord with the ambition of the hero of Saratoga, and it is easy to conceive of D'Estaing's willingness to once more identify his fleet with such an enterprise, and thus win for himself laurels that ten months

1780 July. Recommended to provide a suitable house for the residence of "Monsieur Lewis Elies de Corny, Commissary General of His Most Christian Majesty."

General Assembly "Voted and resolved that £1000 lawful money be advanced to Ephraim Bowen, Jr., Esq., Deputy Quartermaster General, out of the General Treasury, to purchase kimpancks, oars, wood, etc., for the troops, and to defray the expense of their marching."

Was empowered to advance money to Dr. James Craik, ordered to Providence by General Washington to provide hospitals for the French army.

" Empowered to draw £8,000, continental money, out of the General Treasury, to defray the expenses of transporting stores to Fishkill and Connecticut rivers, and to defray the expenses of Dr. James Craik.

" September 20. Received a letter from Governor Greene in regard to supplying the troops under General Heath on Rhode Island with fuel.

" October 9. Writes to Governor Greene in reference to an expected visit of the Duke de Lauzun.

1782. Appointed by the General Assembly Quartermaster General of the whole Militia of the State.

1783. Elected by the General Assembly Sheriff of Providence county.

1784. Elected Sheriff of Providence county.

" Elected Quartermaster General of the Militia of the State.

* In reference to the return of D'Estaing to the United States for another trial at Newport and New York, after his operations against St. Vincent and Grenada, the French Minister, M. Gerard, held several conferences with a committee of Congress, and also visited Washington in his camp, to consult with him upon the subject. But the failure to the siege of Savannah appears to have put an end to any other plans that may have been suggested; so it was true, as Washington said to Greene, that he knew of no authorized plan for such an expedition.

before seemed to await his acceptance, but which a tornado had swept beyond his reach.

This subject is involved in some obscurity. It is probable, however, that if D'Estaing contemplated engaging in an expedition which neither Washington nor Congress had sanctioned, the wounds he had received at the siege of Savannah, and other causes, led him to abandon his purpose, and sail, as elsewhere stated, to the West Indies, and thence to France. But at best, such an expedition would have been found entirely unnecessary. For more than two years and a half the British had held Newport, but had been unable to make advances on to the main land. For all that time, covered by the administrations of Governors Cooke and Greene, the State of Rhode Island had been a shield to Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and in a limited degree, to all the other New England States. These years had proved to Pigot and Prescott that the army could not pass north over the soil of Rhode Island; and that having denuded the island of its forests and valuable orchards, torn down hundreds of houses and other buildings for fuel, desecrated houses of worship, and committed almost every conceivable depredation upon the inhabitants, he would find it growing daily more difficult to subsist the army. Besides all this, the war movements of Sir Henry Clinton created a need of these forces elsewhere. And so necessity led to an evacuation of Newport and of the island, which took place on the 27th day of October, 1779, to the great delight of a war-oppressed and savagely-abused people. Seven thousand men, with their military stores, and about forty loyalists, who still wished the Royal protection, were embarked on board a fleet of fifty-two vessels, and sailed for New York. Before leaving, the barracks at Fort Adams and the Beavertail lighthouse were burned. The losses sustained by the citizens of Newport, during its occupation by the British, were estimated by a committee of the General Assembly appointed for the purpose, at £124,798 13*s* 5*d*, silver

money, leaving the town to resemble, as an eminent writer expressed it, "an old battered shield, long held up against the common enemy."*

The embarkation took place at Brenton's Point, and occupied the entire day, during which the inhabitants were forbidden, on pain of death, to appear in the streets. The bells of the Congregational meeting-houses were carried away, as were the town records. The latter were subsequently recovered in a dilapidated condition, the vessel on board of which they were carried having been sunk at Hurl-Gate.

Before the Revolution Newport could boast of a commerce that rivaled New York. At least two hundred vessels engaged in domestic and foreign trade, were numbered as belonging to that port, bringing wealth to foster local productive industry, and to supply the wants of a refined community. For the future the prospects were bright, and nothing appeared to stand in the way of constantly increasing prosperity. But the war changed the aspect of the

*The following "List of the Enemy's Army upon Rhode Island, before the Fleet sailed from thence on Fryday 25th May, 1779," is copied from "the Gates Papers," in possession of the New York Historical Society:

German Reg'ts	Detfurth,	636
	Landgraves,	500
	Hanau,	480
	Buhman,	530
	1st Anspach, / 2d Anspach,	1,350
	4 English Regiments,	1,200
	Fanning's & Brown's Tory Reg'ts,	400
	Artillerists,	100
		5,196

Sail'd in Fleet 25th May, 1779:

54th British Regiment,	500
Landgrave German,	500
Fanning's Tory,	400
Artillerists,	100
	1,500

If to these statistics are added the large number of liberated slaves "and such of the Tories with their effects as chose to follow the waning fortunes of the crown," the total would probably not vary much from the statement in the text.

town, and the ravages of the enemy obliterated the promise of the past. Says Arnold: "Newport never recovered from the cruel blow. More than half the population had forsaken the island, and the commerce that once filled the crowded wharves was either annihilated, or had sought less hazardous resorts, never to return. The Jews, whose enterprise had done so much for their adopted State, had all left the town. Aaron and Moses Lopez, who at one time owned twenty-seven square-rigged vessels, several of which were whale ships, besides many smaller craft, nearly all of which were lost during the war, moved to Providence, and afterwards to Leicester, [Mass.] Moses Hays, another eminent merchant, had removed to Boston shortly before the war, and was followed by the Riveiras and others of the Hebrew faith. Isaac Touro, with his two sons, fled to Jamaica, when the British came to Newport, and neither of them ever returned to reside there; although the munificence of Abraham, one of the sons, still keeps in repair the deserted temple of the God of Jacob, and guards with filial reverence the cemetery in which repose the ashes of their fathers. Aaron Lopez intended to return after the war, but was drowned [May 28, 1782,] in Scot's Pond, near Providence. His son Joseph was almost the only one of all this interesting and indomitable race who resumed business in the nearly ruined town of Newport."

In anticipation of the evacuation of Newport by the enemy, and to prevent any molestation of the inhabitants that might follow, Governor Greene, in the name of the Council of War, "forbid, in such case, the commanders, officers and mariners of all private armed vessels and boats, and all other private persons whatsoever, to land on the islands of Rhode Island and Jamestown, to molest the inhabitants, or to take or destroy their property, under any pretence whatsoever, upon the penalty of forfeiting and paying double the value of the property taken or damage done."

This proclamation drew from General Greene the following letter of commendation, which affords another pleasant illustration of his spirit:

GENERAL GREENE'S VIEWS.

"I was glad to see your proclamation forbidding all kind of plundering. This line of conduct will do the State great credit. If delinquents are to be punished let it be by due course of law. It is dangerous to let loose the rabble upon the people by way of punishment. Nothing tends more to unhinge government, and destroy the morals of society. Such as behaved unfriendly, bring them to a legal trial. But if I was to advise in this business, I would recommend moderation. Let none fall a sacrifice but such as may be dangerous hereafter, or are necessary to deter others from a similar conduct. I know your moderation and humanity, and therefore speak the more freely to you on this subject."

During the occupation of Newport by the British, the freemen of the town were deprived of the privilege of assembling in town meeting for the choice of general officers and of deputies to represent them in the General Assembly. A vote was passed by the latter-named body authorizing them to meet in the State House in Providence for that purpose. Immediately after the evacuation, the Assembly restored the original order of the elective franchise, as follows:

"Whereas the inhabitants of the town of Newport have, since the enemy were in possession of the island of Rhode Island (which is now evacuated by them) been deprived of their corporate powers; and whereas, it is necessary for the well ordering and conducting the prudential affairs of the said town, that a town meeting be held, and the usual town officers chosen; wherefore

"It is voted and resolved, that the inhabitants of the said town of Newport meet in town meeting on Tuesday, the 2d day of November next; and that they be, and are hereby, empowered to choose a moderator, town clerk, and other town officers, provided nevertheless, that every person within the said town, who hath signed the association, or taken an active part with the enemy, be excluded from electing, or being elected, to any office within the said town; and from voting or acting in the said town meeting; and that the said town meeting exclude such persons, accordingly."

The evacuation of Newport and the action of the General

Assembly in reference to the records of that town and of Middletown, carried away by the enemy, made it the duty of Governor Greene to address the following letter to General Washington on the subject:

"WARWICK, STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, &c.,
"November 3, 1779.

"SIR:—I most sincerely congratulate Your Excellency upon the enemy's having evacuated Rhode Island; but am sorry to be under the necessity of troubling you with a resolution of the council of war, of this State, which I take the liberty to enclose; by which you will please to observe the distressed situation the inhabitants of those towns must labor under for want of their records. That I doubt not you will take every necessary measure that may tend to convince General Clinton of his error in continuing to hold them, as they certainly cannot be of any use to the enemy, exclusive of the pleasure they enjoy in distressing mankind, who are not to be controlled by them.

"I am, with every sentiment of respect,

"Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

"To His Excellency General Washington, headquarters."

Immediately after the evacuation, the militia that had been employed to guard the shores of the State were dismissed, and the laws that prohibited the people of the State from going upon the islands of Rhode Island and Jamestown, holding correspondence and trading with the inhabitants thereof, while said islands were in possession of the enemy, were repealed.

LAFAYETTE'S VOYAGE TO FRANCE.

SICK AT FISHKILL. VISITED BY DR. THATCHER. RECOVERS AND SAILS FOR FRANCE.—VIOLENT STORM.—MUTINY DETECTED.—ARRIVES AT BREST. PROCEEDS TO VERSAILLES.—BRIEF BANISHMENT.—RECEIVED BY THE KING.—PLANS FOR CRIPPLING GREAT BRITAIN.—BON MOT OF MAUREPAS. INFLUENCE WITH THE KING AND MINISTERS. RETURNS TO AMERICA. TAKES A COMMAND. HIS GENEROSITY.—PRESENTS A SWORD TO CAPTAIN COLES. SKETCH OF THE LATTER.

LAFAYETTE on his journey to Boston, where he was to embark for France,* was detained at Fishkill several weeks by a fever induced by exposure and fatigue in Rhode Island and elsewhere. The threatening character of the disease greatly alarmed Washington, whose headquarters were but a few miles distant, and who by frequent visits and other attentions gave proof of his personal attachment. The best medical aid was also provided, and the fever was subdued. While convalescing he received a visit from Dr. James Thatcher, who described him as a man "nearly six feet high, large but not corpulent, being not more than twenty-one years of age. . . . . His forehead is remarkably high, his nose large and long, eyebrows prominent and projecting over a fine animated hazel eye. His countenance is interesting and impressive. He converses in broken English, and displays the manners and address of an accomplished gentleman. Considering him a French nobleman of distinguished character, and a great favorite of General Washington, I felt myself highly honored by this interview."

* Ante, p. 120.

When sufficiently recovered Lafayette resumed his journey to Boston, where he arrived December 11th, and embarked on board the frigate Alliance, commanded by Captain Landers. The feelings with which he left America are expressed in the following lines written to Washington at the moment of sailing: "Farewell, my dear General. I hope your French friends will ever be dear to you. I hope I shall soon see you again, and tell you myself with what emotions I now leave the land you inhabit, and with what affection and respect I shall ever be your sincere friend."

The Alliance sailed for Havre, January 11, 1779. A large portion of the crew consisted of renegade English sailors, who conspired to rise upon the officers and passengers, seize the vessel and carry her into an English port, hoping thereby "not only to fill their pockets with gold, but to secure the pardon of the King, and the safety of their forfeited lives." The plot, however, was disclosed just on the eve of its execution, and the conspirators were placed in irons. Except a violent gale on the banks of Newfoundland, which carried away the main-topmast of the frigate, nothing further of a marked character occurred on the voyage.

On arriving at Brest, Lafayette proceeded at once to Versailles, where he was warmly welcomed by his wife and family. He wished an immediate interview with the King, but M. Maurepas, the Prime Minister, informed him that before his wish could be granted, he must go for a few days into banishment to the Hotel de Noailles, in Paris, as a penalty for having disobeyed His Majesty by leaving France without permission after having been forbidden so to do. He did so. It proved, however, an easy penance of eight days. Surrounded by his family, and visited by many of his friends, the time passed pleasantly. The only annoyance to him was that he was prevented holding an early interview with Dr. Franklin, who had agreed to meet him at Versailles on the morning of February 14th, to communicate to

him some affairs of importance. Lafayette informed Franklin of the cause that detained him in Paris, and the desired interview was held in that city.

The days of banishment being over, Lafayette was admitted to an audience with the King. His Majesty really liked the young culprit, and all the more, perhaps, for the youthful impetuosity which prompted him to great social and pecuniary sacrifices in behalf of a cause with which the King himself was becoming more and more sympathetic. He received Lafayette graciously, conversed with him freely concerning affairs in America, and complimented him on his success and the distinction he had achieved. Thus cordiality was restored between monarch and subject, and Lafayette was placed in command of the King's regiment of dragoons. He showed his zeal for the glory of his sovereign and of France by projecting enterprises for crippling the power of Great Britain. One of these was to assail the coast of England by naval and land forces, and lay Liverpool, Bristol, and other large commercial towns under heavy contributions for the benefit of American finances. This enterprise, which was fully matured, was to have been conducted by the celebrated John Paul Jones, for whose use Dr. Franklin purchased the "Bon Homme Richard," a ship of fifty guns,* and by himself, in command of accompanying land troops; but the project was laid aside for one on a larger scale in which France and Spain were to unite, and in which Lafayette was to hold an important command under the Marshal de Vaux. In reference to this command, he writes to Washington:

"Since I had the honor of writing to Your Excellency I have ever been with Count de Vaux's army, which was divided into two corps at St. Malo and Havre and consisted of three thousand men. Another body has been stationed in Flanders, and two thousand dragoons are to embark at Brest. The project of invading England was at first retarded by the

* In this enterprise, Commodore Jones was to have been supported by another large vessel.

difficulty of effecting a union of the French and Spanish fleets, on account of contrary winds, by unavailing efforts to an engagement, and by the necessity of repairing into the harbor of Brest. How it will be possible to carry on the expedition in the autumn is yet undetermined, and it will be delayed perhaps till next spring. The ministry seem very anxious for acting this campaign."

Another of his projects was the emancipation of Ireland, which, he says, in a letter to Washington, "is a good deal tired of English oppression. In confidence I would tell you, that the scheme of my heart would be to make it as free and independent as America. God grant that the sun of freedom may arise for the happiness of mankind. I shall know more about Ireland in a few weeks, and I will immediately inform Your Excellency." But his ardent wishes were not realized. At the end of a succeeding century, Ireland is still a member of the British Empire, sadly torn with intestine troubles.*

Still another of his plans in aid of the United States was to obtain from the King of Sweden the loan to America of four ships of the line with half their crews, to be returned in a year upon certain conditions. This was submitted to Count de Vergennes in May, 1779, with the inquiry, would the step, in his opinion, "be advantageous for us?" He had sounded the Swedish ambassador, who appeared favorable. "The Swedish ambassador," he writes, "says the vessels may be here in two months and a half; consequently, including the rest of the fleet, the whole might be on the voyage in the month of August, and arrive at Rhode Island, Bermuda, or somewhere else in America, as soon as the month of October, which would be in good season." Again, under date of Havre, 9th July, 1779, he writes to the Count: "The Swedish ambassador has sent me, in the name of his King, the most flattering assurances, and well suited to

* In June, 1779, King George III. wrote: "Should America succeed in that, Independence, the West Indies must follow, not in independence, but dependence on America. Ireland would soon follow, and this Island reduce itself to a poor Island, indeed."—*Washington's Writings*, vi., *p.* 536.

awaken my gratitude; but the vessels are not forth-coming, and if we go to America we must go under the Spanish or French flag." How much further this plan was pursued does not appear, but from what subsequently occurred, it was probably dropped as less feasible than one in which France should act alone.

Though happy in his friends and family, and active in the service of his King, Lafayette did not forget the needs of the United States, nor fail of employing his influence in their behalf. The withdrawal of D'Estaing's fleet and four thousand well disciplined troops, at a moment when much had been anticipated from their active participation in the campaigns that succeeded the siege of Savannah, could not but be felt as a serious calamity. The few vessels composing the continental navy, though rendering invaluable service to the American cause, were feeble to cope with the heavy naval armaments of Great Britain that hovered along the Atlantic coast; neither could the privateers that swarmed the sea be expected to answer the purpose of an effective coast protection. This Washington undoubtedly felt, and even to his hopeful mind and eye, judging from the tone of some of his letters, the years 1778 and 1779 had their dark days,— days full of perplexity arising from the temper of Congress and the often distressed condition of the army. Lafayette, too, was not slow in comprehending the situation, and with what success he labored to supply the deficiency created by D'Estaing's withdrawal, the sequel will show. He was now a favorite with his countrymen, and his name was held in honor throughout France. No less had he become a favorite with the King and with his beautiful Queen, Marie Antoinette. Indeed, his influence with the former was so great that the old conservative Count de Maurepas, Prime Minister, remarked one day at a council meeting: "It is fortunate for the King that Lafayette does not take it into his head to strip Versailles of its furniture to send to his

dear Americans; as His Majesty would be unable to refuse it."

The warmth of affection for Washington, and a desire to return again to the American service, were not abated by absence, but rather deepened and strengthened. To his old commander, to whom he looked up as a second father, he wrote from Havre, October 7, 1779:

"If there is anything in France concerning which, not only as a soldier but as a politician, or in any other capacity, I can employ my exertions to the advantage of the United States, I hope it is unnecessary to say, that I shall seize the opportunity, and bless the fortunate hour, which shall render me useful to those whom I love with all the ardor and frankness of my heart."

And again:

"Nothing could delight me so much as the happiness of finishing the war under your orders. Be certain, my dear General, that in any case, in any situation, whether I act as a French or an American officer, my first wish, my first pleasure, will be to serve again with you. However happy I am in France, however well treated by my country and King, I have acquired such a habit of being with you, and am tied to you, to America, and to my fellow soldiers, by such an affection, that the moment when I shall sail for your country, will be one of the happiest of my life."

To the President of Congress he wrote:

"The affairs of America I shall ever look upon as my first business while I am in Europe. Any confidence from the King and ministers, any popularity I may have with my countrymen, every means in my power, shall be exerted in behalf of an interest I have so much at heart. What I have hitherto done or said relating to America, I think needless to mention, as my ardent zeal is, I hope, well known to Congress. . . . . In case Congress believe my influence may in any way serve them, I wish they would direct such orders to me, that I can the more certainly and properly employ the knowledge I have of this Court and country for obtaining a success in which my heart is so deeply interested."

It was in the spirit indicated by these extracts that Lafayette labored with the King and his ministers in behalf of the United States, and it was his happiness, within the year

he spent in France, to see arrangements made, with the sanction of the King, for sending a second time naval and military aid to the United States, to co-operate with the American troops. The ships of war and the transports were to be under the command of the Admiral Chevalier de Ternay, and the land forces were to be commanded by Lieutenant-General Count de Rochambeau.

It was by no means easy to bring about this result, and a less ardent and determined advocate of the interests of the United States than Lafayette might have given up in despair. But his courage was indomitable, and he was not to be put down by any obstacle thrown in his way. He knew his ground. His familiarity with the salient points of the enemy; his clear perception of what would ensure success, and therefore glory, to the French arms; his ability to answer any questions, of a military or political nature; his knowledge of the character of Congress, and of the views of Washington, all qualified him to plead in behalf of a people striving to throw off a burdensome yoke. His letter addressed to the Count de Vergennes, Minister of foreign affairs, dated at Havre, July 10, 1779, explaining the state of affairs in America, and the uses which might be made of the succor he sought, with entire certainty of success, was a paper remarkable alike for its clearness and vigor of expression. As an exposition to the French Minister, it could have been excelled, if at all, only by Washington himself. It evidently made a strong and favorable impression upon the cautious statesman. In the operations of the proposed expedition, Lafayette designated Newport, supposing it to be still in the hands of the British, as one of his objective points. As a local support in an attack upon that town by the French, there were some continental troops at Providence who might reach Bristol in a day. There were militia at Tiverton, who might also be mustered. There were troops at Greenwich and at Slade's Ferry, that could be made available. Two frigates should occupy the eastern channel, and

force the middle one, a thing of trifling danger. The vessels found there should be destroyed. Connanicut island should be seized and made a land rendezvous. The frigates or vessels necessary to protect the landing, either real or pretended, of the Americans, should anchor in these channels. The enemy would then be obliged either to disperse among the forts, and thereby to weaken his lines, or else to leave the field open to the Americans, who, by a diversion upon the lines, would force him to keep them fully manned, and prevent him from attending to their rear.

Newport, Lafayette further explains, "is strongly fortified on the side towards the land, but all the shore that lies behind the town offers good facilities for landing. It is, besides, too extensive to admit of being defended by batteries. There the French troops might easily disembark, and reaching at daybreak the heights, which command the town and the enemy's lines, might seize their outworks and sweep all before them, protected, if necessary, by the fire of the ships. The enemy scattered and confounded by these twin attacks on both sides of the island, would suppose that the system of the past year was resuscitated. The Sybiler [illegible] appears, the more confident we may be of the success. In war, all depends on the moment. The details of the attack would be quickly decided on the spot. I need only say here, that my thorough knowledge of the island leads me to think, that with the above mentioned number of troops, and a very slender assistance of the Americans, I might venture to gain possession of the island in a few days."

Such was his plan for accomplishing what the rampage of August, 1778, failed to do — but before the end of the year in which it was devised, the enemy as already seen, had withdrawn from the town and island, and left Newport free to welcome in its deliverer the men and more than were seen in wonderous dress, and "when the correspondence with the Grand ministers, mentioning the Count de

Vergennes, shall be published, it will appear that it was mainly the personal efforts and personal influence of Lafayette, idol of the French people, as he had made himself, which caused the army of Rochambeau to be sent to America,"* — a wonderful triumph for the young nobleman over whose head no more than twenty-two years had passed.

Having accomplished the purposes for which he visited France, Lafayette, under instructions from the French government, hastened back to America to communicate to Congress and to Washington "the secret that the King, willing to give the United States a new proof of his affection and of his interest in their security, is resolved to send to their aid at the opening of spring, six vessels of the line and six thousand regular troops of infantry," the convoy having orders "to land the troops in Rhode Island, where they may be at hand to join Washington's army, if he shall think it necessary."

Lafayette, eager to fulfil his mission, took his audience of leave of the King, wearing the uniform of an American officer, thereby indicating to His Majesty an unabated devotion to the cause of Freedom in a far-away land. On the 19th of March, 1780, he sailed from the island of Aix, in the French frigate Hermione, of thirty-six guns, commanded by Captain de Latouche, and arrived in Boston April 28th following. He landed at Hancock's wharf, and was received with the utmost enthusiasm. A civic procession was formed, which escorted him with loud acclamations to the residence of Governor Hancock, where the congratulations of the citizens awaited him. After this, he paid his respects to the legislature, then in session. In the evening, there were general rejoicings. The next day, the Marquis, accompanied by Captain de Latouche and by other officers, paid a visit to General Heath, and was hospitably received.

Subsequently the Chevalier entertained on board his ves-

* Sparks.

sel the President of the Massachusetts Council, the Speaker and several other gentlemen of both Houses of Assembly, General Heath and suite, the Consul of France, the Continental Navy Board, together with a number of other public officers and principal gentlemen and merchants of the town. The frigate was decked with the flags of different nations, the French and American flags being displayed in concert, as expressive of the mutual friendship of the two nations. "Nothing," says a Boston paper, "could surpass the appearance of one of the finest frigates in the world." At the dinner thirteen toasts were drunk, each followed by a military salute. That drunk to Washington received seventeen guns, "the number," adds the paper, "given to a Marshal of France." When the company took its leave, the yards were manned, and the barges conveying the company to the shore were saluted with thirteen guns.*

The Marquis immediately wrote to the Count de Vergennes:

"I do not know whether the reception which I have met with since my arrival, and the innumerable marks of kindness with which the American people have condescended to load me, have served to increase my enthusiasm; but I tell you the exact truth when I assure you, that I have been most highly gratified with the public sentiment in regard to all the circumstances of the French alliance; a fact which may be interesting to you. The British are apprized, it is said, of the approach of a French squadron of troops. I know not what is thought of it; but everybody agrees, that four ships of the line and three thousand men would produce an immense effect at this moment. I am on the road to headquarters, and hope before twelve days to be with General Washington in New Jersey."

The day before landing at Boston, the Marquis wrote a letter to Washington, to be sent off without delay. This was received by the General at Morristown, May 7th. He immediately replied as follows:

*The lodgings provided by the General Court for Lafayette while tarrying in Boston were on State street

"TO THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

"MORRISTOWN, 8th May, 1780.

"MY DEAR MARQUIS:—Your welcome favor of the 27th of April came to my hands yesterday. I received it with all the joy that the sincerest friendship could dictate, and with that impatience which an ardent desire to see you could not fail to inspire. I am sorry I do not know your route through the State of New York, that I might with certainty send a small party of horse (all I have at this place) to meet and escort you safely through the Tory settlements between this place and the North river. At all events Major Gibbs will go as far as Pompton, where the roads unite, to meet you, and will proceed from thence as circumstances may direct, either towards King's Ferry or New Windsor. I most sincerely congratulate you on your safe arrival in America, and shall embrace you with all the warmth of an affectionate friend, when you come to headquarters, where a bed is prepared for you. Adieu, till we meet, yours."

Washington wrote, also, to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, successor of M. Gerard:

"You will participate in the joy I feel at the arrival of the Marquis de Lafayette. No event could have given me greater pleasure on a personal account, and motives of public utility conspire to make it agreeable. He will shortly have the honor to wait upon Your Excellency, and impart matters of the greatest moment to these States. He announces a fresh and striking instance of the friendship of your court, which cannot fail to contribute greatly to perpetuate the gratitude of this country."

To the President of Congress he wrote:

"The Marquis de Lafayette will have the honor to deliver to you this letter. I am persuaded Congress will participate in the joy I feel at the return of a gentleman who has so signally distinguished himself in the service of this country. . . . . During the time he has been in France, he has uniformly manifested the same zeal in our affairs, which animated his conduct while he was among us; and he has been upon all occasions an essential friend to America. He merits, and I doubt not Congress will give him, every mark of consideration in their power."

M. de la Luzerne, a Colonel in the French service, came to this country in the same ship with the American Minister, John Adams, for whom he appears to have formed a high opinion as a man of learning, a good citizen, and "one of the most

zealous for the rights of America." On landing in Boston, after a passage of nearly two months, the Chevalier was received with a salute of thirteen guns, and with marked attentions from the public authorities.

Had Luzerne been willing, while in Boston, the Council of the State would have met him in his official capacity, and have bestowed upon him more distinguished honors; but he felt that it would be improper for him to accept them until after he had laid his credentials before Congress. The same view he held when, a short time after, he visited Washington at West Point. Writing to Lafayette, the General said:

"I have had great pleasure in the visit which the Chevalier de la Luzerne and Monsieur Marbois did me the honor to make at this camp; concerning both of whom I have imbibed the most favorable impressions, and I thank you for the honorable mention you made of me to them. The Chevalier, till he had announced himself to Congress, did not choose to be received in his public character. If he had, except paying him military honors, it was not my intention to depart from that plain and simple manner of living, which accords with the real interest and policy of men struggling under every difficulty for the attainment of the most inestimable blessing of life, *liberty*. The Chevalier was polite enough to approve my principle, and condescended to appear pleased with our Spartan living. In a word, he made us all exceedingly happy by his affability and good humor while he remained in camp."

M. de la Luzerne subsequently learned from the Count de Vergennes that he might with propriety have accepted the honors proposed to be conferred upon him, because, among other reasons, Massachusetts was itself a sovereign State, and the exercise and representation of its sovereignty were not deposited in the hands of Congress. He was introduced to Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia, by Messrs. Mathews and Morris, and presented his credentials from the King. In his address, he said: "I felicitate myself upon being sent to a nation whose interests are so intimately blended with our own, that I can be useful to neither France nor the American Republic, without rendering myself agreeable both to the one and to the other."* To this address the President of Congress made a suitable reply.

Anxious to deliver the information of which he was bearer, Lafayette hurried on to the headquarters of Washington, at which he arrived May 10th. The tenderness of

*Anne Cæsar de la Luzerne, was born in Paris in 1741. He first entered the army and was engaged in the Seven Years War, during which he obtained the rank of Colonel. He afterwards turned his attention to diplomacy, and became distinguished as an ambassador to various Courts in Europe. His official relations with the United States government were of four years' duration, and by his friendly services he gained the strong approbation of Congress, and the warm regard of Washington. In 1781 Harvard University conferred upon him the degree of LL. D. In 1783 he returned to France, and was sent ambassador to London, where he died September 14, 1791.

this meeting can easily be imagined. Four days of mutual enjoyment passed, when the Marquis proceeded to Philadelphia, where he conferred with M. de la Luzerne, and paid his respects to Congress. His arrival was hailed with great satisfaction. Congress passed a resolution declaring his return to America to resume his command "a fresh proof of the disinterested zeal and persevering attachment which have justly recommended him to the public confidence and applause, and that they receive with pleasure a tender of the further services of so gallant and meritorious an officer."

He was soon invested with the command of about two thousand men, constituting the vanguard of the army, and was again engaged in active service.

The Marquis was generous to his men, and took a special interest in their neat appearance on parades. Before returning to America he procured with his private funds a large supply of hats, shoes, swords and clothing, which were gratuitously distributed to his officers and men. Tents were also purchased and added to the means of comfort. "This corps was distinguished through the remainder of the war by the red-and-black plumes which their commander had purchased in France, and by being better and more uniformly clothed than any other,—a distinction which was also due to the same disinterested munificence." *

One day on parade, while reviewing a regiment, the Marquis noticed that an officer carried a broken sword. On inquiring why this was done, he received the answer, "Because I am not able to purchase a new one." The Marquis was touched by the reply, and loosing from his belt his own sword, presented it to the destitute officer, who received it with manifestations of warm gratitude. The recipient of this unexpected favor was Lieutenant Thomas Coles, of Providence.

Lieutenant Coles was the son of an English officer, and

* Cutler

was born December 9, 1752. At the date of his birth his father was stationed in Ireland. When twelve years of age he left his home in England, and as a sailor on board a merchant vessel, came to this country. After some years he entered the army, serving to the end of the Revolution. September 29, 1779, he was commissioned an Ensign in the fourth Massachusetts regiment, and at a later period was commissioned by Governor Hancock a Lieutenant in the Massachusetts line. In 1779 he was Captain of the third company in the first battalion of Rhode Island forces commanded by Colonel Christopher Greene. According to Drake, he became an Aid-de-Camp to General Lafayette, and towards the close of the war he held a similar position in the military family of General Patterson, with the rank of Major, receiving his commission from General Washington. It is also said that he was present at the siege of Yorktown. He ultimately held the commission of Colonel in the Rhode Island militia. After the close of the war he for some years sailed as Captain of a vessel belonging to the house of Clarke and Nightingale, of Providence.

Sword presented by General Lafayette to Lieutenant Thomas Coles.

April 27, 1806, Colonel Coles received notice from the Honorable Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, that himself, William Latham, and Jonathan Price, were appointed commissioners to survey the coast of North Carolina, between Cape Hatteras and Cape Fear. In a letter to his friend Richard Jackson,

Jr., Esq., of Providence, R. I., Colonel Coles says: "The business of the survey of this coast has been attended with many perplexing circumstances, a great deal of risk, and no small proportion of vexations. However, it is now completed, and in this country gives universal satisfaction; indeed, it is the best survey of the kind ever made in America, by order of the government."

June 27, 1808, Colonel Coles received from Governor James Fenner a commission as Commissary-General of the State of Rhode Island. He was one of the original members of the Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati, and for many years was its faithful Treasurer. His appointment, upon parchment dated January, 1784, signed by Henry Knox, Secretary, and George Washington, President, designates him as "Thomas Coles, Esq., a Captain in the late army of the United States." From 1809 to 1829 he was Collector of the port of Providence, from which office he was removed by President Jackson.

Colonel Coles was married to Sally Walker, daughter of Ephraim Walker, of Providence, R. I., by the Rev. Joseph Snow, February 21, 1779. His home was in a house long since removed, which stood on the corner of Westminster and Snow streets, next east of the present "Hoppin Homestead Building." He died October 13, 1844, lamented and honored by the entire community. Contemporaries who still survive describe him as a gentleman of the old school, of commanding presence and elegant manners. Three portraits of Colonel Coles, painted at different periods of life, are extant. One of these, painted by Young, is in the possession of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

The sword previously mentioned, so unexpectedly pre-

NOTE.—The fourth Massachusetts regiment of foot in the continental army, in which Lieutenant Coles served, was commanded by Colonel William Shepard. The commission of Lieutenant Coles, signed by Governor John Hancock, and countersigned by John Avery, Secretary, was dated at Boston, February 24, 1781.

sented to Lieutenant Coles by his noble commander, of which the engraving shown on page 173 is an exact copy, is still preserved in the possession of Frederick Street Hoppin, Esq., of Providence, the eldest son of the Honorable William W. Hoppin, Ex-Governor of Rhode Island. It came to him as a bequest from Colonel Coles, in these words: "I give to Frederick Street Hoppin, son of William W. Hoppin, and his heirs, my faithful sword 'Lafayette.'" It is cherished as an invaluable souvenir of "the times that tried men's souls," and of a representative patriot of America's French Allies.

The sword is of rapier form. The grip and guard are of silver; the sword knot is of heavy gold bullion; and the blade is handsomely ornamented in blue and gold. The spontaneity of the gift, and the circumstances under which it was made, awakened in the heart of the recipient a sentiment of affection for the giver, that strengthened with increasing years until the close of life. When the news of the death of Lafayette reached the United States, Colonel Coles draped the sword with black crape, as an expression of deep grief for the loss of a very dear and tenderly remembered friend. It remained thus decorated until after the Colonel's decease. When the centennial representatives of France — the guests of the Nation — visited Providence, November 1, 1881, great enthusiasm was excited among them by an inspection of the sword and by a relation of its romantic history. This examination took place at the Narragansett Hotel, where the distinguished party was introduced to Ex-Governor Hoppin and the "faithful Lafayette" by Colonel William Goddard. After a careful and eager examination of the venerable relic of one dear alike to France and America, one of the French delegation most deeply interested handed to the Ex-Governor his card, with a pencil note, the whole reading "FRANCOIS DE CORCELLE, Rédacteur au Département des Affaires Etrangères, great-

grandson of General Lafayette." This card will have an honored place with the honored sword.*

Another incident, no less touching than the foregoing, occurred at Roxbury, Mass., in 1824, while the Marquis, as the guest of the Nation, was making a tour of the United States, of which tour more will hereafter be said. While awaiting at the house of Governor William Eustis, his old friend and companion in arms, the completion of arrangements for a formal entrance into Boston, an aid-de-camp brought into the chamber and introduced to him a young man, who carried a sword in his hand, which he handed to the General. "Do you know that sword?" said he. "I see," replied the General, "that it resembles those I brought from France, to arm the subalterns of my light infantry." "It is in fact one of them," said the young man; "my father received it from your hands. He used it gloriously for the conquest of our Independence; he carefully preserved it in memory of his General, and he would have rejoiced to present it to you himself. Day before yesterday he still hoped to do it, and this hope comforted his last moments, but on that day he died. He was poor, and left me no wealth; but he has left me this sword, which will be the most precious possession, if you sanction the gift he has made me." While he spoke, the General had taken the sword from his hands, and examined it with interest. He returned it to him saying: "Take it, keep it carefully, that it may serve in your hands to preserve the rights, to the acquisition of which it so valiantly contributed in the hands of your father." The young man received the sword with transport, and departed pronouncing with tenderness the names of his father and Lafayette.†

Still another Revolutionary souvenir of the Marquis may properly be mentioned here. Once when passing through

* Of the visit of the French delegation to Providence, a more extended notice will be found in succeeding pages.

† Lafayette in America, I., 32, 33.

Rhode Island, he stopped for entertainment at the tavern in Cranston, then kept by Mr. John Fiske, for whom Fiskeville is named, the house standing on the estate now owned by the heirs of Mr. Henry Lawton. Here he met a charming girl, Miss Roby Knight, who afterward married Colonel Henry Whitman. So delighted was the Marquis with Roby, that he presented to her a beautiful lacquered, painted box, which she prized above gold, and of which she ever boasted with a loving pride. This souvenir is now the cherished property of her grand-daughter, Hattie W. Budlong, of Buttonwoods, Warwick, R. I., and will be sacredly guarded in the future as it has been in the past.*

The two following instances illustrate the readiness of the Marquis to draw upon his private fortune whenever by so doing the army or the government could be benefited. When, in 1778, he decided to accept the command of an expedition against Canada, said to have been planned at the instigation of General Gates, for the purpose of separating the Marquis from Washington, he resolved to supply the wants of his army by drawing private bills on France to the amount of five or six thousand guineas, and to present that sum to Congress as a proof of his love for America, and the rights of human nature. Insufficient means, and other causes, led to the abandonment of the expedition. In April, 1781, he borrowed £2,000 of merchants in Baltimore, with which he purchased shirts, linen, overalls, shoes and hats for his men,— making himself responsible for the loan at the risk of disposing of his estate in France to meet the obligation.

As the year 1779 closed, a heavy shadow rested upon the prospects of the country. The sufferings of the army were such that nothing but the most devoted patriotism could have held it together. "The situation of our army at this time," writes Washington to Governor Livingston, December 21, "compared with that of the enemy, makes it neces-

* Providence Daily Journal, November 3, 1881.

sary we should be very much upon our guard. They have more than double our force collected, and we are mouldering away daily. They have been sometime past making a show of embarkation; but whether it is sincere, or a mere feint to lull us into security, is not easy to tell; but if they really design to make large detachments, they must be restrained by their uncertainty of the motions of the French squadron; and if this or any other obstruction should continue, Sir Henry Clinton may think himself bound to improve the interval in an offensive operation against this army. He cannot justify remaining inactive with a force so superior, and so many temptations to action. . . . . He is not ignorant of the smallness of our numbers, and the distress of our magazines. He knows we have been obliged, for want of forage, to send the horses of the army to a distance for it. He cannot be insensible of the evils he would bring upon us by dislodging us from our winter quarters. The loss of our huts at this inclement season would be a most serious calamity. This loss would in all probability be accompanied by that of a great part of our baggage, and a number of our men by desertions. It is difficult to determine the extent of the evils, if at so critical a juncture we should experience a failure of provisions, which we should have every reason to apprehend."

The failure of Count D'Estaing in the attempt on Savannah, and the lateness of the season, convinced Washington that his hope of co-operation between the fleet and the army in any active operations must, for the present, be suspended, if not wholly abandoned, and all that remained to be done was to select suitable localities in which to quarter the troops for the winter. "I am now* using my best endeavors," he writes, "to set things in train for putting the army in quarters. The distribution of clothing, owing to its late arrival, the scantiness of the stock, the diversity in color

* November 24.

and quality, its not having been properly assorted when packed, and the absence of clothiers under various pretences for getting articles that would be deficient, have proved a source of the most irksome delay and difficulty." In describing his own situation at Morristown, January 22, 1780, he says: "I have been at my present headquarters since the first day of December, and have not a kitchen to cook a dinner in, although the logs have been put together some considerable time by my own guard. Nor is there a place at this moment in which a servant can lodge, with the smallest degree of comfort. Eighteen belonging to my family, and all Mrs. Ford's are crowded together in her kitchen, and scarce one of them able to speak for the colds they have caught." The army at headquarters, with respect to provisions, was in more extreme distress than had been experienced at any former period. "For a fortnight past," Washington wrote to the Magistrates of New Jersey, from whom he earnestly solicited relief, "the troops, both officers and men, have been almost perishing for want. They have been alternately without bread or meat the whole time, with a very scanty allowance of either, and frequently destitute of both. They have borne their sufferings with a patience that merits the approbation and ought to excite the sympathy of their countrymen. But they are now reduced to an extremity no longer to be supported. Their distress has in some instances prompted the men to commit depredations on the property of the inhabitants, which at any other period would be punished with exemplary severity, but which can now be only lamented, as the effect of an unfortunate necessity."

A similar destitution was felt in Rhode Island, both by soldiers and citizens, though to an extent less extreme. A depreciated currency, already noticed, the scarcity of specie, and the consequent high cost of living, threatening a famine in the State, bore heavily upon the laboring classes. While the inhabitants of Newport, Middletown and Portsmouth were suffering from the intensely cold winter of 1779–80,

which closed the bay for six weeks, from the deep snows that rendered the roads almost impassable, and from the great scarcity and high price of fuel, the soldiers scantily clad, and sometimes nearly or quite barefooted, were paying twelve dollars per pair for shoes, and six dollars per pair for stockings.* The tax-payers were also called upon to bear the burden of a tax of $100,000 for the payment of the State's proportion of the tax recommended by Congress. The committee to apportion this tax to the several towns within the State were William Richmond, Welcome Arnold, Rowse J. Helme, Thomas Holden and Nathan Miller. So ended the year in Rhode Island; but under all these trials the people clung to the legend upon the State seal.

[illegible]

PART V.

OUTLOOK OF THE FUTURE.

WILL THE BRITISH RETURN TO NEWPORT?—FRENCH AID COMING. THE SECRET REVEALED TO THE ENGLISH.—EXPEDITION AGAINST CANADA ABANDONED.—PHILADELPHIA EVACUATED.—WASHINGTON'S FEELINGS.—AN ADVISORY COMMITTEE APPOINTED.—NOTICES OF GENERAL SCHUYLER AND DR. NATHANIEL PEABODY.—CONDITION OF THE ARMY.—PREPARATION TO RECEIVE THE FRENCH ALLIES.—CRUISE OF THE HERMIONE.—HOSPITALS PROVIDED.

ALTHOUGH by the evacuation of Newport the British appeared to have abandoned all interest in it as a military and naval station, neither Gates nor Washington felt quite sure, that with the control of Long Island Sound, they might not suddenly appear and attempt to repossess themselves of the town and island as a strategic point, from which the coast and interior of the State could be constantly harassed. Were this to be done, it would become necessary to keep a considerable body of continental troops in Rhode Island, ready to check or repel any hostile movement of the enemy, in order to enable the farmers, of which the militia were largely composed, to attend to the cultivation of their crops, so essential to answer the pressing wants of the camp, and of the homes of the State. This, too, would

[illegible] from the regular troops needed for active service elsewhere, and hence there was an anxious looking for the speedy arrival of the French fleet and land forces — the latter comprising the regiments of Bourbonnais, Soissonnais, Saintonge, Royal Deux-Ponts, etc.

It was the intention to have kept the second expedition from France a profound secret. But the attempt to preserve it so met proved futile. The design of the French government became known to the English Court through Lord [illegible], whose the fleet sailed for its destination, and this was at once communicated by Lord George Germain to Sir Henry Clinton. "The Spanish minister respecting the destination of the armament preparing at Brest," he writes, "gives out for Newfoundland, Halifax, and Canada. The last is confidently believed to be the object of the enemy: for besides the expectations constantly entertained by the Americans of such an attack, the dispositions they have made for acting in concert with it and the hopes given to the Canadians of seeing French troops again in their country, the return of the Marquis de la Fayette to Boston, the nature of the clothing, arms, money, and necessaries provided to be sent with the troops, concur in pointing out that country as the ultimate destination of the armament. Measures have been taken to defeat this project. It is hoped that you have before this time reinforced General Haldimand with the troops, whom you were disappointed in sending the last year." The intelligence here cited found its way to the public through a New York paper.

However popular the idea of the conquest of Canada might have been, or to whatever extent it might have been entertained by the French government, the expeditions of Arnold and Montgomery into that country in 1775 had proved that the undertaking was not an easy one, and that the vacillating character of the native population and the little reliance that could be placed upon the Indians as allies, would render a second attempt, even with naval co-opera-

tion, a problem. At all events, for sufficient reasons, the plan of conquest was abandoned.*

Forewarned, Sir Henry Clinton, with the design of concentrating his forces before the arrival of the French, evacuated Philadelphia, and that city was restored to American rule. Then followed the battle of Monmouth, as the close of a second period in the war for Independence. In surveying the past, Washington wrote from White Plains: "It is not a little pleasing, nor less wonderful to contemplate, that after two years of manœuvering, and undergoing the strangest vicissitudes that perhaps ever attended any one contest since the creation, both armies are brought back to the very point they set out from, and that the offending party at the beginning is now reduced to the use of the spade and the pickaxe for defence. The hand of Providence has been so conspicuous in all this, that he need be worse than an infidel that lacks faith, and more than wicked that has not gratitude enough to acknowledge his obligations."

The expediency of preparing a plan of operations in conjunction with the French allies without waiting to consult with Rochambeau and De Ternay, was objected to by Washington, who probably chose to await their coming to ensure entire harmony of feeling and action. "General Washington," wrote M. de la Luzerne to the French Ministry, "whose circumspection increases in proportion to the confidence reposed in him by Congress, would not take upon himself the responsibility of arranging a plan of combined operations. After having assured the Marquis de Lafayette that he would apply himself with all possible activity to hasten forward recruits and to collect provisions, he desired him to proceed immediately to Philadelphia, and to concert further measures with the French Minister, particularly as to the expediency of acquainting Congress with the secret of the expected arrival of the French troops,"—a secret no longer.

* Ante, pp. 177, 182.

[illegible]

ington that General Schuyler, Mr. Mathews, and Mr. James Duane should be members. Of the first named he said, "no man can be more useful." In a practical point of view the plan was a good one, and displayed the wise forecast of its author. A committee of three, near at hand for consultation, would ensure a prompt and harmonious decision, which his experience had taught him could not always be expected from Congress. The committee was appointed, and consisted of General Philip Schuyler,* J. W. Mathews, and Nathaniel Peabody.†

CONDITION OF THE ARMY.

So far as the army was concerned, the year 1780 opened very much as the preceding year had closed,—dreary, yet not hopeless. Its condition is described in a circular letter, a copy of which was sent to the several States, from New Hampshire to Virginia, inclusive, the object being to ensure the adoption of measures in each State that would promptly secure men and necessary supplies for the army. One of the early acts of the congressional advisory committee, in camp with Washington at Morristown, New Jersey, was to address a long letter on the subject to the Governor

* General Philip Schuyler was born in Albany, N. Y., November 22, 1733, and died there November 18, 1804. He early entered the military life, was a Captain at Fort Edward, in 1755, and a Major General in 1775. He was placed in command of the northern army for the invasion of Canada, but on account of ill-health gave place to General Montgomery. He commanded the army that was given up to General Gates at Saratoga; and the plan of the campaign against Burgoyne was said to have been formed by him. He held his military commission until 1779, when he resigned, and afterwards became a member of the Continental Congress. He was twice elected United States Senator, besides holding other important civil offices. He was a devoted patriot, and was highly esteemed by Washington. — *See his Life and Times, by Lossing.*

† Nathaniel Peabody was born in Topsfield, Mass., March 1, 1741. He studied medicine with his father, and settled as a physician in Plaistow, N. H., and was one of the founders of the New Hampshire Medical Society. He was appointed Adjutant General of the State militia, and in that capacity served under General Whipple in General Sullivan's campaign on Rhode Island. For several years he was Major General of the militia. He was a delegate to the Continental Congress, Speaker of the New Hampshire House of Representatives, and filled many other responsible offices. His closing years were shadowed by financial embarrassments. He died at Exeter, N. H., June 27, 1823.

[illegible]

cils, and rendered subservient to the interests of these States. This generosity on the part of our illustrious ally, strongly points out the necessity of taking every precaution in our power, that his views may not be frustrated, nor his arms disgraced. Indeed, we should be left without the shadow of an excuse, should we through inattention or indecision neglect to avail ourselves of the advantages to which such a capital succor is capable of being improved. We should degrade our character, disgrace our arms, and evince to all the world that we were either destitute of resources, wanted exertion to draw them forth, or wisdom to apply them; and either would tend to discredit our cause, and stamp these States with indelible pains of infamy."

It was the decided opinion of Washington that on the arrival of the French fleet the first object ought to be the reduction of New York, and he requested Lafayette to write to Count de Rochambeau and Admiral De Ternay urging them to proceed, both fleet and army, with all possible expedition to Sandy Hook, where they would be met with further advices of the precise situation, strength and disposition of the enemy, and of the American army, and with proposals for their future movements. But, uncertain as to what part of the American coast the fleet might first make, Washington caused persons to be stationed at different points, to give the coming allies signals, and to make to them some necessary communications. For the same purpose he sent Major Galvan to Cape Henry, and wrote to Governor Jefferson, of Virginia, requesting him to supply the Major with the necessary number of boats with which to go off upon the appearance of the fleet. As it appeared, however, that in accordance with the instructions given to Lafayette by the Count de Vergennes, Newport was, for a time at least, to be made the base of operations, nothing remained for the Commander-in-Chief but to exert himself in securing for the allies satisfactory accommodations.

Between the time that Lafayette left Boston for the headquarters of Washington and Congress, and the arrival of the French fleet at Newport, M. De la Touche was actively employed in cruising along the Atlantic coast in search of the enemy.

On the 14th of May, the Hermione sailed from Boston on a cruise to the eastward. She made a visit to Penobscot, and took a near view of the British fort at Baggaduce. The Nautilus and the Albany, under the command of Mowatt, who burnt Falmouth, were at anchor without the fort, but upon the approach of the Hermione immediately retired behind it. The Hermione first appeared under British colors, which the enemy did not choose to trust, and afterwards fired a gun of defiance, which he did not dare to accept. M. De la Touche lay at anchor until he took a plan of the enemy's post, and returned to Boston on the 21st. On the 7th of June, during another cruise, the Hermione fell in with and gave battle to the British frigate Iris, of 32 guns, commanded by Captain James Hawker, and after an engagement of more than one hour, the latter drew off very much damaged in her rigging and sails, and most of her studding-sail booms and gear shot away. In this action the Hermione had ten men killed and thirty-seven wounded. Among the latter were M. De la Touche and two of his officers. One of these, M. Velernais, First Lieutenant, died at Newport, July 17th, and his remains were interred there on the 18th. Of the crew of the Iris, seven were reported killed and nine wounded. Lieutenant Bourne, of the marines, was numbered with the latter. One of the wounded subsequently died. A report of this action, made by Captain Hawker, claiming an advantage gained over the Hermione, and intimating that her commander ingloriously withdrew from the contest, drew from M. De la Touche a spirited reply, in which this passage occurs: "If you lost fewer men than I did, and your ship was less damaged, what reason had you not to continue the action? You saw the miserable condition of my rigging, and the impossibility of my manœuvering and of steering any other course than before the wind, whilst your situation put it in your power to take the advantage of the wind, for the purpose of retreating. You are either deficient in truth in not acknowledging your loss, or else

you wanted spirit in declining the combat, when your loss was so trifling, and considering the advantage you had over me from the good success of your shot." To this letter Captain Hawker sent a reply, reaffirming the correctness of his report, and there the discussion ended. The truth was that both vessels were severely damaged, but the Iris the most.* Correctly, it was, substantially, a drawn battle.

In June, the Hermione captured and sent into Dartmouth a brig bound from Ireland to New York, laden with butter, soap, candles, etc. This prize was subsequently brought into Providence.

WANTS ANTICIPATED.

Colonel Ethis DeCorny, a French Commissary, who came as a passenger in the Hermione with Lafayette, left Philadelphia and proceeded to Providence, bearing letters of introduction from the Honorable Samuel Huntington, President of Congress, and from General Washington to Governor William Greene, recommending him to favorable notice. The object of M. DeCorny at this time was, through "the needful aid and advice" of the Governor, to provide a hospital and procure supplies in anticipation of the arrival of the French Allies. With a similar intent, Washington, anxious to meet their expectations, sent forward Doctor James Craik, a regular army surgeon, with a letter of introduction to Governor Greene, "to take up proper houses for hospitals, and to make some previous arrangements in that department." The letter was as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS, MORRISTOWN, May 25, 1780.

"SIR:—Doctor Craik, Assistant Director-General of the hospitals in our army, will have the honor of delivering this letter to Your Excellency.

"This gentleman comes to Providence to provide hospitals and such refreshments as may be wanted in the first instance for the sick, which

* Providence Gazette, July 8, 1780. Rivington's Royal Gazette, July, 1780.

may be on board the fleet of His Most Christian Majesty, when it arrives. The Doctor will consult with Your Excellency about the houses which will be necessary and proper upon the occasion, and on the best mode of obtaining the refreshments which he may think it essential to provide. He will stand very materially in need of your good offices in

Ja. Clark

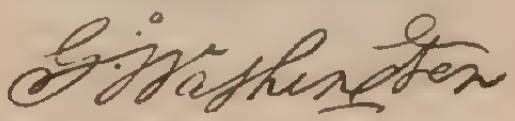
this interesting business, and in a particular manner will want the assistance of the State, either to advance him money or their credit, for laying in the requisite supplies. This, I am persuaded, they will most readily give him, from an earnest desire to afford every possible comfort and accommodation to the sick of our good and great ally, who have the strongest claim to our attention and generosity.

"Your Excellency will be pleased to have the accounts of the disbursements incurred on the occasion, kept in a clear and particular manner,

which will be punctually paid by Mons. Corny, Commissary at War to His Most Christian Majesty; or Mr. Danmour, his Consul, in gold or silver, or in bills of exchange on France, on their arrival at Providence. One of those gentlemen will be there in a short time.

"I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

"Your Excellency's most obedient servant,



"To His Excellency Governor Greene."

In response to this letter, the General Assembly voted and resolved:

"That it be, and hereby is, recommended to Ephraim Bowen, Jr., Esq., Deputy-Quartermaster General, to cause the buildings on the farm in Bristol, lately belonging to William Vassal, Esq., to be immediately put in proper repair for the said purpose; and that he cause such additional buildings to be erected on the said farm, and on the school farm adjoining thereto, as shall, with the buildings first mentioned, be sufficient to contain the numbers, and answer the purposes pointed out in the said instructions to Dr. Craik.

"That John I. Clark, Jonathan Arnold, and Benjamin Bourne, Esqs., be, and they are hereby, appointed a committee to advise with the said Ephraim Bowen, Jr., respecting the repairs necessary for the said buildings, and the most suitable places to erect new ones; and that in case the number of sick shall exceed the provision made for them, the said committee advise the said Ephraim Bowen, Jr., where and what other buildings shall be taken up for their accommodation and comfort; and for the more speedily effecting the aforesaid purposes.—

"It is hereby recommended to the said Ephraim Bowen, Jr., to cause such barracks as may be at Tiverton, and at the north end of Rhode Island, to be removed to the said farms; and also to make use of a large frame in Tiverton, near Colonel Pardon Gray's.

"It is further voted and resolved, that Dr. Jonathan Arnold and Dr. Isaac Senter, be, and they are hereby, appointed a committee to advise with the said Dr. Craik, respecting the necessary means and measures to be pursued to prevent any contagious disorders, which may prevail amongst the said sick, from being communicated to the inhabitants of this State.

"And for enabling the said Ephraim Bowen, Jr., to carry the aforesaid purposes into execution, and to supply the said Dr. Craik, agreeably to the said request,—

"It is further voted and resolved, that he be, and hereby is, empowered to draw the sum of £10,000, lawful money, out of the general treasury."

Further action of the General Assembly was as follows:

"Whereas, Ephraim Bowen, Jr., Esq., Deputy-Quartermaster-General, represented unto this Assembly, that the money granted him by this Assembly, and the Council of War, to repair boats and hospitals for the French army, is entirely expended; and that he hath need of a further sum to complete the same,—

"It is therefore voted and resolved, that the said Ephraim Bowen be, and he is hereby, empowered to draw the sum of £10,000, lawful money, out of the general treasury, for the purposes aforesaid; and for making such repairs at Providence, Warren and Bristol ferries, as are necessary; and that he account for the same.

"Upon the memorial of Lewis Ethis DeCorny, Esq., Commissary-General of war of His Most Christian Majesty, and orderer for the execution of commands of His abovesaid Majesty, relative to the French army sent into America, presented unto this Assembly, respecting the ferries between Providence and Newport, and his request that the same may be put in repair, in order to facilitate the operations of the expected armament of His said Majesty,—

"It is voted and resolved, that the Honorable William Bradford, Esq., Brigadier-General Nathan Miller and Colonel Joseph Nightingale be, and they are hereby, appointed a committee to wait on the said Lewis Ethis DeCorny, on the subject matter of the said memorial, and inform him that this General Assembly is disposed to take every possible measure for the accommodation of the expected armament of our generous ally, and for the facilitating the important objects of their destination; and that they have furnished Ephraim Bowen, Jr., Esq., Deputy Quartermaster-General, with money, and directed him to make the necessary repairs at the said ferries, under the direction of the said committee."

With regard to a hospital in Providence, M. DeCorny addressed to the Governor and Council the following letter:

"PROVIDENCE, June 24, 1780.

"Do. Lewis Ethis DeCorny, Esquire, Commissary General of War of His Most Christian Majesty, and Orderer for the Execution of Commands of his abovesaid Majesty, relative to the French Army sent into America — Lieutenant Colonel of Cavalry in the Army of the United States of America, &c.:

"Earnestly requests, and in the most pressing manner entreats His Excellency the Governor, and the Honorable Council of the State of Rhode Island, to furnish him an establishment for an hospital for the service of

the French army, which is one of the most important articles necessary to be prepared for their reception.

The knowledge he has of the situation of the college in this town, of its extent and salubrity of the air; and especially considering this building is situated in a town, the inhabitants of which are particularly attached to the good cause in which America and France are mutually engaged; whereas, on the other part, any other establishment in whatever place it may be fixed between this and Newport, will expose the sick in the hospital not only to the evil designs of the suspected part of the country, but also to the attempts of the enemy, who may with the greatest facility, make prisoners the whole of the sick in the hospitals; and considering besides, that this establishment in consequence of the above reasons, before his departure from France, was particularly adopted, fixed and absolutely appointed by the Court of France and Doctor Franklin, for the reception of the sick of the French army.

"He therefore requests His Excellency the Governor and Council to comply with his entreaties, and to give immediate orders that the college may, without delay, be given up to him, for the purpose of making the necessary dispositions for the reception of his sick countrymen; he also begs leave to represent that it is not in his power to deviate from this very essential article of his instructions, especially as it has been previously fixed upon in France, where they were informed the college has been already made use of for a similar purpose. The aforesaid commissary has the honor to be

"With the most profound respect and esteem,

"Your Excellency's and Your Honors'

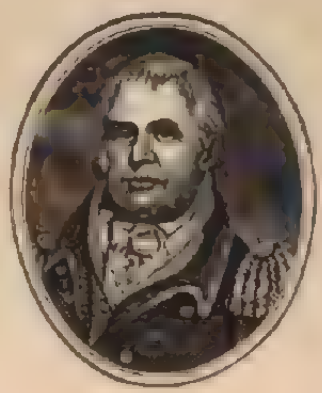
"Most obedient and most humble servant,

"ETHIS DeCORNY.

"To the Governor and Council of Rhode Island."

Washington wrote to General Heath, then in Boston, informing him of what he had done, and requesting him to repair immediately to Providence, and on the arrival of the allies present himself to them, letting them know that they might command his services, while in conjunction with Governor Greene he should endeavor to establish a market between the fleet and army and the country, to prevent imposition in the prices of articles which might be found necessary. With this request he at once complied. He left Roxbury June 15th, and arrived in Providence the next day, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. He was met at the bridge in Pawtucket by Deputy-Governor Bowen and a

number of other gentlemen, who escorted him into town. He without delay explained, in deference to Governor Greene, the object of his presence in Providence, with the assurance that no endeavor on his part should be wanting to promote



the interests of the United States in general, and of Rhode Island in particular. The selection of General Heath,* for

* General William Heath, son of William Heath, a farmer, was born in Roxbury, Mass., March 2, (old style,) 1737. From his childhood he was fond of military exercises, and early studied the theory of war in all its branches and duties, from the private soldier to the Commander-in-Chief. He joined a military company in his native town, and subsequently became a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in Boston. Of this company he was commissioned Commander in 1770. At the outbreak of the Revolution, he warmly sided with the Whig party, and to aid in awakening a more earnest interest in the cause, he wrote a series of essays on the importance of military discipline and the use of arms, which were printed in a Boston paper, under the signature of "A Military Countryman." In 1761 and in 1771-4, he was a Representative, was a member of the Committee of Correspondence and Safety. He was likewise a member of the Committee of Supplies, and a delegate to the Provincial Congress. He was one of the pursuers of the British from Concord, and was engaged in the siege of Boston. He was commissioned a Brigadier-General, and stationed with his brigade at Roxbury. In 1776 he was appointed a Major-

the service now devolved upon him, was judicious. He was an officer of experience, patriotic, of courteous manners, familiar with military etiquette, and alive to every thing that could conciliate the esteem and confidence of the allies.

Dr. Craik* concurred with M. DeCorny in fixing upon the college building as suitable for a hospital. This occupancy was strongly objected to by the President, Dr. Manning, as disastrous to the interests of the college, the prosperity of which had been severely crippled by its building having been appropriated to army uses since 1776. The town also demurred, and appointed the Hon. Stephen Hopkins, the Rev. Dr. James Manning and the Hon. Theodore Foster a committee to prepare and present a petition to the General Assembly, protesting against the college building being taken to be used for a hospital "for receiving the sick

General. After receiving Count de Rochambeau and Admiral De Ternay at Newport, he succeeded the traitor Arnold in the command at West Point. His services were useful to the close of the war, when he retired to his farm in Roxbury. He was held in high esteem by Washington, and also by Rochambeau. After the Revolution he was a member of the convention for the ratification of the Federal Constitution, a State Senator and a Judge of Probate. In 1800 he was chosen Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, but declined the honor. General Heath was of medium stature, and light complexion. In his latter years he became corpulent and bald-headed. Chastellux describes him as having a noble, open countenance, giving him a striking resemblance to the Marquis of Granby: "The republican simplicity of his manners may be inferred from the tradition that he occasionally drove to church in his ox-team — perhaps intended as a hint to his more aristocratic neighbors, whose carriages were of a showy and stylish description." (*Drake's Roxbury, p. 399.*) His "Memoirs," written by himself, are a valuable contribution to Revolutionary history. He died in Roxbury, January 21, 1814. The "Heath Papers" are in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. By the courtesy of the Society I have been permitted to examine and take minutes of them.

* Dr. James Craik was born in Scotland in 1731, and was educated for an army surgeon. He came to America in 1754, in which year he met Washington at Williamsburg, Va., and was soon attached to the troops under his command destined to repel the encroachments of the French and Indians. He was with Washington at the affair of Fort Necessity in 1755. He was also with him in Braddock's disastrous campaign the following year, and dressed the fatal wound received by the General. During the War of the Revolution Dr. Craik continued closely associated with the Commander-in-Chief of the American forces, and when it was decided to provide military hospital accommodations in Providence, he was sent there to supervise the arrangements. At the siege of Yorktown he was Director of the hospital. After the war he settled near Mount Vernon, and held the position of family physician to General Washington. He administered professionally to his beloved commander and friend in the closing hours of his life. Dr. Craik died in Fairfax county, Va., February 6, 1814, at the age of eighty four years.

that may be on board His Most Christian Majesty's fleet daily expected to arrive in this State." The step was deemed unwise, and dangerous to the health of the town, by

RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE, USED AS A HOSPITAL, ETC.

the introduction and spread of contagious diseases. At the same time a readiness was expressed "to do everything in our power to provide suitable accommodations and refresh-

ments for their comfort." The college edifice was, however, appropriated by the Council of War, and the upper story of the brick school-house on Meeting street was subsequently made use of by the college students for their studies and recitations.

M. DeCorny having stated the difficulty he experienced in obtaining a house for the accommodation of himself and his family, the General Assembly authorized Colonel Ephraim Bowen to make the necessary provision. A house on the west side of the river, owned by Major Nathaniel Greene, of Woodstock, Conn., and occupied by Captain Abimeleck Riggs, was assigned to the Colonel, Captain Riggs being transferred to a part of a house occupied by Mr. Daniel Jackson.

While occupied for barracks and a hospital, great alterations in the building were made, and damage to the amount of more than one thousand pounds was done. In 1782, the college corporation presented a petition to the General Assembly of Rhode Island, giving a brief statement of the injury the building had suffered, and praying that "such repairs as are absolutely necessary" be made at the public expense. Of this petition nothing came. In 1786, Dr. Manning accepted an appointment to a seat in Congress, mainly with a view of obtaining, if possible, a grant to compensate the college corporation for the rents and damages during the war, but in this he was disappointed. Fourteen years later, April 16, 1800, Honorable John Brown, then a member of Congress, succeeded in obtaining the passage of "An Act for the Relief of Rhode Island College," authorizing and directing the accounting officers of the United States treasury "to liquidate and settle the claims of the corporation of Rhode Island College, for compensation for the use and occupation of the edifice of said college, and for injuries done to the same, from the tenth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, to the twentieth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, by the troops of the

United States; and that the sum which may be found due to the said corporation for damages done to and occupation of the said edifice, as aforesaid, be paid to them out of any moneys in the treasury, not otherwise appropriated." The exact sum secured is not certainly known. Rev. Dr. David Benedict, in his History, states it to have been two thousand dollars.*

THE NEW COMERS.

A WRONG IMPRESSION.—FLEET SAILS FROM BREST.—LIST OF VESSELS. DE TERNAY ENGAGES AN ENGLISH FLEET.—ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH AT NEWPORT.—ROCHAMBEAU LANDS.—TOWN AND STATE WELCOME.—TROOPS AND FRIGATES DISPOSED OF.—DEFENCES REPAIRED.—TRINITY CHURCH.—ADMIRAL GRAVES AT NEW YORK.—APPEARS OFF NEWPORT.—VISITS FROM LAFAYETTE AND GENERAL HEATH.

WHILE Lafayette was urgently soliciting the succor so much needed, the question was raised: How will a second re-enforcement be received? The inquiry arose, probably, from an impression that the Americans were dissatisfied with the course pursued by D'Estaing, and especially in the campaign on Rhode Island. It had likewise not been forgotten that when, at the beginning of the war, French officers were sent over by Deane and Franklin in such numbers as greatly to embarrass, by the promise of positions, both Congress and Washington, the jealousy of American aspirants for military commissions was aroused,—they feeling that the foreign element bid fair to block, to a considerable extent, the advancement of the native.

* Guild's Life of Manning, p. 338, note.

Writing to Count de Vergennes on this subject, Lafayette says:

"It will certainly be said that the French will be coldly received in that country, and regarded with a jealous eye in their army. I cannot deny that the Americans are difficult to be dealt with, especially by Frenchmen; but if I were intrusted with the business, or if the commander chosen by the King acts with tolerable judgment, I would pledge my life that all difficulties would be avoided, and the French troops would be cordially received."

Happily these forebodings were never realized. Notwithstanding strong religious prejudices, entertained by devout people in Rhode Island, and largely through the land, the prudent management of Washington and Rochambeau, together with the cordial welcome given to the Allies by the most eminent and influential citizens, soon wore away distrust, and engendered a hearty fellowship.

The arguments of Lafayette in behalf of his beloved America, as already seen, were successful. The French government decided to send over a corps of twelve thousand men, in two divisions. The first division of six thousand land troops sailed from Brest May 2, 1780. The fleet conveying them consisted of the following vessels:

SHIPS' NAMES.	GUNS.	MEN.	COMMANDERS.
Le Duc de Bourgogne,	84	1,200	Admiral De Ternay.
Le Neptune,	74	700	Destouches.
Le Conquérant,	74	700	MM. De la Grandière.
L'Eveillé,	64	600	De Tribland.
La Provence,	64	600	C. B. De Mesigny.
Ardent (olim British)	64	600	MM. Le Cher. Bernard de Marigny.
Le Jason,	64	600	MM. De la Clochetterie.
La Fantasque, (serving as a hospital ship,)	24		MM. Le Cher. de Vaudoré.
La Surveillante, (frigate,)	40	300	De Caillet.
L'Andromaque, "	36	250	DeRoueval.
La Sibylle, "	36	250	Bar. De Clugney.
L'Hermione, "	36	250	De la Touche.
Pelican, American vessel,	29	160	
Le Bruin, (armed ship,)			Des Arros.
La Complaise, "			DeNouids.
Total,	699	6,200	

Deux Ponts gives the names of the frigates Bellone, Amazone, and the cutters Guêpe and Serpent. He says there were thirty-six transports,—making in all forty-eight vessels. He rates the Duc de Bourgogne at 80 guns. The Guêpe, 14 guns, was commanded by Chevalier de Maulevrier. The Amazone was commanded by La Pérouse, the celebrated navigator.

On the third day out the Bellone left the squadron to return to France. At the moment of leaving, the Admiral ordered a signal to put the crews of all the vessels on an allowance of water, supposed to be for the purpose of deceiving the Bellone as to the length of the voyage, "so that her report would baffle still more the curiosity of the politicians." On the 9th of May a gale was encountered, which carried away the fore-top-mast and the main-top-gallant-mast of the Provence. The Neptune lost her mizzen-top-mast. Several other vessels received more or less damage. On the 11th of June the Surveillante captured a British brig of twelve guns. On the same day the Amazone took a small English vessel from Halifax.

Off the Bermudas, De Ternay fell in with an English squadron, which he engaged, and continued the combat through the day, but at sundown, preferring the safety of his convoy to the glory of taking an enemy's ship, he pursued his route. The Admiral came on soundings off the Chesapeake Bay, July 4, and took a British vessel, by which he learned of the siege and capture of Charleston. He thence bore away for Rhode Island, and after a voyage of seventy days, arrived off the harbor of Newport, July 10th.

For several weeks before his arrival, all eyes at Newport were turned seaward, and pilot vessels cruised as far as Martha's Vineyard, to intercept the coming fleet, and guide it into the desired haven.* This vigilance, however, was not repaid

* On the 10th, [July,] at four o'clock in the morning, the Admiral caused us to set sail; toward noon some pilots reached us from the neighboring islands. The one whom we had on board told us that the Americans were still masters of Rhode Island, and that he did

with success, and De Ternay was destined to reach the island and cast anchor before being discovered.

le cte de Rochambeau

The Duc de Bourgogne came to anchor between Newport and Block Island, about three leagues distant from the lat-

not believe that the English had a greater force than ours in those seas. This man was from the island of Martha's Vineyard. He came of his own accord to offer us his services. He was a good man and displayed intelligence.—*Ethan Allen's Journal*, pp. 27, 28.

Colonel Robert Elliott, of Newport, was conceded these points.

ter. Count de Rochambeau, accompanied by his staff, at once went on board the Amazone, and proceeded to Newport. They landed about noon, and thought themselves coolly received. Writing to the French Minister, Vergennes, he says: "Nobody appeared in the streets. Those at the windows looked sad and depressed. I spoke to the principal inhabitants, and told them, as I write to General Washington, that this was merely the advanced guard of a greater force, and that the King was determined to support them with his whole power." *

The Count was evidently under the impression that the coolness with which he considered himself and staff received on landing was a sample of "the feeling of all the inhabitants of the continent." But in this, as relating to Newport, he was soon undeceived. The same was true in regard to the State. The fact was that the citizens of Newport were unprepared for a demonstration: but within twenty-four hours, all necessary arrangements were made, and the hearty welcome could not be mistaken.

A number of days was consumed in landing the troops. As they came on shore, possession was taken of the abandoned works of the enemy, and of such other localities as were found convenient. The forts and defences were remodeled, embrasures filled up, and guns mounted *en barbette*. "The great and small artillery," says the Newport *Mercury*, "landed by our generous Allies, and disposed of in different parts of this town and island, exceed anything of the kind ever seen here. They have brass cannon, from four to forty-eight pounders, and in great plenty." Defences were immediately thrown up in a position to command the channel, and also on Conanicut and Rose islands, the latter

* It was originally intended that the second division should be commanded by the Baron de Viomenil, but Rochambeau wishing to retain the Baron with himself, the command was given to the Count de Walgenstein. Rochambeau and Admiral De Ternay were very desirous that the entire force of twelve thousand men should sail at the same time, but the lack of a sufficient number of transports, a blockade at Brest by the English, and other obstacles, compelled a change in the arrangement.

having a battery of forty pieces of artillery. The second battalion of the regiment of Soisonnois, commanded by the Viscount de Noailles, was placed on Conanicut, " where he

LANDING OF THE FRENCH TROOPS AT NEWPORT, JULY 11-15, 1780.

was re-enforced by the American militia; but the difficulty of holding the island, which is accessible on all sides, induced the Count de Rochambeau to abandon it, and on the 27th of July he ordered back the battalion." * At Bren-

* Doux Ponts' Campaigns, p. 93.

ton's Point a battery of eight twenty-four pounders and four twelve-inch mortars was likewise thrown up. Four other eight-inch mortars and four twenty-four pounders were provided to open fire on the enemy should they enter the channel. To strengthen the position of the French and American forces, General Rochambeau caused Butts' Hill to be fortified, and to ensure safe retreat from the island, should necessity require, connection was formed with the main land at Howland's Ferry.* Rochambeau, describing the landing, says:

"The French corps landed at Newport, the capital of this island; it was encamped covering this town, cutting the island across, its left on the sea, its right at the anchorage of the squadron, which brought its broadside to bear protected by land batteries which I caused to be established at the most convenient points. I worked likewise to fortify various points at which the enemy might land, and to open roads to go and attack him on the first moment of his debarkation. In this position, the French corps might always move by the shortest line to the point where the enemy wished to land, whilst to vary his points of attack, the latter had great circles to describe. In twelve days' time this position was rendered respectable by a labor sustained by all that part of the army in a condition to act; but full a third of the land army and of that of the sea was sharply attacked with the scurvy, and was sent into the interior of the country, to the hospitals which were caused to be established there." †

On this subject, my honored friend, Dr. David King, writes:

"The French on landing in Newport, in July, 1780, were busily engaged in making fortifications to defend the harbor against the invasions of the

* "With respect to what you mention concerning the works on Butts' Hill if our allies expect we are to contribute to the expense of them, we shall be obliged in delicacy to do it; but if it could have been avoided it would have better suited the state of our affairs. I do not consider the works rising on the island as of any great utility to us, further than they contribute to the safety of our allies, and the expense which may be incurred, will, in my opinion, have little other equivalent than this. You will therefore easily conceive that I should be glad that every thing of this kind might be avoided, so far as it can be done without impeaching the generosity of the States, for while our allies are sending armies and fleets to our assistance, and maintaining them at their own expense in our country, it might not be decent to refuse bearing such little expenses as they seem to expect. But we ought not to volunteer anything of this kind, and I am persuaded you will not. You will not agree entirely to these ideas." — *Washington to General Heath, August 28, 1780.*

† Memoirs of Rochambeau, i. 23, 24.

English. For some months the officers had their attention directed to making secure the anchorage of the fleet, and erecting fortifications where needed. Hence their encampments were distributed in a circuit along the south of Newport, at Castle Hill, near Brenton's Point, in the neighborhood of the present shore road and of the cliffs at the south and east of Newport.

"These encampments were various, and were protected by earthen embankments.

"I am now one of the oldest citizens, and having been familiar with Newport from boyhood, I used to run over the lines of encampment then visible to my boyish eyes. In Providence it was different. There being no occasion for defence their encampments were near."

The Legion of Lauzun was encamped in front of the army on the Neck. Admiral De Ternay moved the frigates of his fleet in a straight line from Rose Island to Conanicut shore, and was thus ready to co-operate with the land forces.

To signalize with joyful expression, at the earliest possible moment, the arrival of the Allies, the Town Council took measures, in the following votes, to secure two hundred stands of arms to equip citizens for the defence of the town, and to cause a general illumination on the evening of July 11th:

"Whereas many of the inhabitants of the town of Newport, sincerely desirous of affording their utmost aid and assistance to the fleet and army of His Most Christian Majesty, the illustrious ally of the States, now within the harbor and town of Newport, have associated for the defence thereof, against the common enemy; and whereas the said inhabitants have been heretofore deprived of their fire-arms and accoutrements by the said enemy, and are now in want of a sufficient number for arming and equipping two hundred men; Wherefore, resolved, that Major-General Heath be, and he is, hereby requested to apply to General Count Rochambeau, commander of the army of His said Christian Majesty, for the loan of a sufficient number of the necessary arms and accoutrements for the arming and equipping said men, and this town will return the same when thereto required by General Count Rochambeau, and that the committee who waited on General Heath yesterday be appointed to wait on him with this vote.

"Whereas upon the arrival of the fleet and army appointed by His Most Christian Majesty to cooperate with the forces of these United States against the common enemy, the inhabitants and citizens of this town are called upon, from the duty and regard they owe our country, and the

gratitude and respect which is due from every citizen to the illustrious ally of these States, as well to afford them the utmost aid and assistance, as also to manifest every mark of respect and esteem, upon their arrival; Wherefore, resolved, that all houses in the streets hereafter named be illuminated to-morrow evening, to wit: Thames street, Congress, (heretofore called Queen street,) Lewis street, (heretofore called King street,) Broad street leading out of town, the street leading over the Point Bridge, and the street leading from the Long Wharf to the Point Battery, and such other houses in this town as the abilities of the occupants thereof will admit, and that the lights be continued to 10 o'clock in the evening. It is further resolved, that Benjamin Almy, Job Easton, George Champlin, Jabez Champlin, George Sears, Robert Taylor, John Townsend, John Topham, Isaac Dayton, and William Taggart, be a committee to patrol the streets to prevent any damage arising from fire, and to preserve the peace of the town. Ordered, that this resolution be published and made known to the inhabitants of this town by beat of drum. It is further resolved that the Treasurer shall furnish a box of candles at the expense of the town, and that the same be distributed to such of the inhabitants who reside in the streets heretofore ordered to be illuminated and who are not of ability to furnish the same." *

The Town Council, in behalf of the citizens, also presented to the Count a congratulatory address, which, unfortunately, has been lost. To this address he returned the following reply:

"NEWPORT, July 29, 1780.

"Lieutenant General Count de Rochambeau has received with warmest gratitude the address which many of the inhabitants of Newport were pleased to present to him. He begs leave, in the name of the King, his master, their ally, as much as in his own and that of the army under his command, most particularly to acknowledge this new mark of friendship from the citizens of America. The Count has the honor to assure the inhabitants of Newport that his reliance on their zeal and gallantry adds a great degree of security to his preparation of defence, and that if the enemy is so daring as to come and attack Newport, such of them as may want arms, will be immediately supplied.

le Cte de Rochambeau

* "The joy in the town of Newport was great. At 11 o'clock, A. M., the Admiral saluted the town with thirteen cannon, which was returned by the same number. In the evening the town was beautifully illuminated, and fireworks exhibited, to the great pleasure and satisfaction of our allies." *Heath's Memoirs.*

The General Assembly, then in session at Newport, directed the following address of welcome to be presented to the Count:

"The representatives of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in General Assembly convened, with the most pleasing satisfaction, take the earliest opportunity of congratulating Comte de Rochambeau, Lieutenant-General of the army of His Most Christian Majesty, upon his safe arrival within the United States. Upon this occasion we cannot be too expressive of the grateful sense we entertain of the generous and magnanimous aid afforded to the United States, by their illustrious friend and ally. Sufficient had been the proofs of his zeal and friendship; the present instance must constrain even envious, disappointed Britons to venerate the wisdom of his councils, and the sincerity of his noble mind. We look forward, with a most pleasing expectation, to the end of a campaign, in which the allied force of France and these United States, under the smiles of Divine Providence, may be productive of peace and happiness to the contending powers, and mankind in general. We assure you, sir, our expectations are enlarged, when we consider the wisdom of His Most Christian Majesty in your appointment, as the commander of his army, destined to our assistance. Be assured, sir, of every exertion in the power of this State to afford the necessary refreshments to the army under your command, and to render the service to all ranks as agreeable and happy, as it is honorable.

"We are, in behalf of the General Assembly,

"The General's most obedient, and most devoted humble servants,

"WILLIAM GREENE,
"WILLIAM BRADFORD.

"To Lieutenant General Comte de Rochambeau."

To this the Count replied:

"GENTLEMEN:—The King, my master, hath sent me to the assistance of his good and faithful allies, the United States of America. At present, I only bring over the vanguard of a much greater force destined for their aid; and the King has ordered me to assure them, that his whole power shall be exerted for their support.

The French troops are under the strictest discipline; and, acting under the orders of General Washington, will live with the Americans as their brethren; and nothing will afford me greater happiness than contributing to their success.

"I am highly sensible of the marks of respect shown me by the General Assembly, and beg leave to assure them, that as brethren, not only my

life, but the lives of the troops under my command, are entirely devoted to their service.

le cte de Rochambeau

To Admiral De Ternay the General Assembly directed an address to be presented in the following terms:

"The representatives of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in General Assembly convened, with the most pleasing satisfaction, take this, the earliest opportunity, of testifying the sentiments that are impressed upon them, by the great attention which His Most Christian Majesty has invariably manifested to the United States. The formidable armaments heretofore sent to our aid have essentially promoted our happiness and independence; but at a time when Europe is involved in the calamities of war, by the ambitious views of the British Court, we cannot express the gratitude we feel upon your arrival, with the fleet under your command, destined by our illustrious ally to the assistance of the United States. We entreat you, on this occasion, to accept the warmest congratulations of the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations; and be assured, sir, of every exertion in their power to afford the necessary refreshments to the fleet, and to render the service as agreeable and happy as it is honorable.

"We are in behalf of the General Assembly,

"The Admiral's most obedient and most humble servants,

"WILLIAM GREENE,

"WILLIAM BRADFORD.

"To Le Chevalier De Ternay."

Admiral De Ternay, whose answer was delayed some days on account of "multiplicity of business," said:

"The multiplicity of business in which I have for some days been involved, has hitherto prevented my honoring, in due form, an address from the Honorable the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island, &c. I have already assured them how sensible I am of their politeness, in a visit to my ship, to give me an assurance of their granting every necessary supply for the squadron and fleet of the King of France during their continuance in this State.

"I with pleasure embrace this opportunity of testifying to the Honorable Assembly, my peculiar satisfaction in an appointment by the King, my Master, to conduct succor to his allies, who have several years been successfully contending to establish an independence, which will be the basis of their future felicity.

"I have nothing further to aspire after than the hour when I shall participate with the United States in the glorious advantages resulting from war with enemies, who vainly attempt to subjugate them and wrest from them that freedom, the blessings of which they already experience.

"I beg the Honorable Assembly would be persuaded that I am penetrated with the warmest attachment to every member of which that body is composed.

"THE CHEVALIER DE TERNAY,
"Commandant of the Naval Forces of His Most Christian
Majesty at Newport.

"To the Honorable the General
Assembly of the State of Rhode
Island and Providence Plantations."

In addition to the address of welcome, by the State, the General Assembly appointed a committee consisting of Hon. William Bradford, Christopher Ellery, Metcalf Bowler, William Channing, John Topham, Caleb Gardner, George Champlin, George Irish, Joseph Stanton, Rowse J. Helme, Adam Comstock, Charles Keene, Robert Elliot, Nathan Miller, and Daniel Mason, Esquires, "to prepare a dinner and entertainment at the expense of the State, on the 10th day of August," and to wait upon General Rochambeau and Admiral De Ternay, with the compliments of the Assembly, "and request the honor of their company, and of the officers under their command, at dinner." They were also directed to include in their invitation "the Honorable Major-General Heath, and his family, and such other officers and gentlemen" as they thought fit. Charles Keene was empowered to draw out of the general treasury a sum sufficient to defray the expense of the entertainment.

The Providence Gazette, of July 22d, says:

"We have the pleasure to inform the public that the fleet and army are in high health and spirits, and ardently wish for an opportunity to signalize themselves in the common cause. The officers of every rank have rendered themselves agreeable, by that politeness which characterizes the French nation. The officers and soldiers wear cockades of three colors, emblematical of a triple alliance between France, Spain and America."

A transport, which had been separated from the fleet,

having on board three hundred and fifty troops and a large quantity of military stores, arrived safely at Boston. The troops passed through Providence on their way to Newport.

On Friday, July 21st, the frigates Surveillante, Amazone and Hermione sailed on a cruise. On the 24th, M. de Velernais, first lieutenant of the Hermione, died of a wound received in a fight between the Hermione and the British frigate Iris, which took place in June, off the east end of Long Island. The next day his remains were interred with military honors.

"The houses of public worship remained in the ruinous state in which the British left them,* as the several societies had not the spirit, or ability, to repair them;— besides, as the war was not over, the same causes might again reduce them to the same or a worse condition. Trinity church had been spared from the waste occasioned by the war; and the bell in that tower was the only one remaining in the town. The minister, Mr. Bissett, having left with the troops, and the house being useless to the congregation, the Rev. Gardiner Thurston, Elder of the Second Baptist Church, was allowed to use the church edifice, and he preached there to his numerous congregation some years, until his own meeting-house was repaired.

"The general appearance of the greater portion of the building was truly distressing: sashes and glass mostly gone, and windows boarded up, with here and there a solitary square of glass cut into the boarding; and often not more than one square to a window."†

By a singular coincidence, Admiral Graves, with six ships of the line, arrived at New York almost simultaneously with the arrival of De Ternay's fleet at Newport, and on the 13th of July joined Admiral Arbuthnot, three days after the French squadron reached Newport.

"This junction made the naval force at New York decidedly superior to that of M. De Ternay; for the armament under Admiral Arbuthnot consisted of four ships of the line, three frigates of forty-four guns, and three of a smaller size. On the 19th, four British vessels appeared off the harbor of Newport, and the next morning as soon as the wind would permit, three frigates of the French squadron went in pursuit of them.

* Ante, p. 154. † Newport Mercury, July 27, 1801.

and two days afterwards nine or ten British vessels of the line came in sight, with five frigates and four small vessels. The three French frigates and a despatch boat were chased into the harbor. The British fleet continued near Block Island. From these movements it was evidently the object of the British commander to blockade the French squadron; and an attack was also feared before preparations could be made to resist it. General Heath immediately ordered Colonel Greene's regiment of continental troops, and the recruits for that service, to take post at Howland's Ferry, Bristol Ferry and Butts' Hill He called on the Governor of Rhode Island for fifteen hundred militia, and requested eight hundred more from Bristol county in Massachusetts. He likewise wrote to the Council of Massachusetts, desiring that all the militia in the State, who had been detached to serve for three months in the main army, except those in Hampshire and Berkshire counties, should be sent immediately to Newport. A like requisition was made on Governor Trumbull for one thousand militia from Connecticut. With these forces, if they could be speedily collected, Count de Rochambeau thought he should be able to withstand an attack."

The alarm soon passed, and the militia returned home.

Shortly after the French allies arrived in Newport, Lafayette, by the direction of Washington, visited Rochambeau and De Ternay to confer with them in reference to early naval and land operations. Enthusiastic as Lafayette, in the warmth of his youth, was seen to be, Rochambeau, in the maturity of sober years, seemed scarcely less earnest. He cherished an honorable ambition for his own fame, and for the reputation of the army under his command. The same spirit was in De Ternay. But both were cautious, and not disposed to run doubtful risks. "It is always right, my dear Marquis," wrote Rochambeau to Lafayette, "to believe that Frenchmen are invincible; but I, after an experience of forty years, am going to confide a great secret to you: there are no men more easily beaten when they have lost confidence in their chiefs, and they lose it when their lives are compromised, owing to any private or personal ambition. If I have been so fortunate as to have retained their confidence until the present moment, I may declare, upon the most scrupulous examination of my own conscience, that I owe it entirely to this fact, that, of about fifteen

thousand men who have been killed or wounded under my command, of various ranks, and in the most bloody actions, I have not to reproach myself with having caused the death of a single man for my own personal advantage."

An inactive summer and winter at Newport, under a possible blockade by the enemy, was by no means an agreeable prospect for Rochambeau, De Ternay, or their officers to contemplate, and both chiefs would have been glad to have at once employed the army and the naval force in any enterprise that gave fair promise of success, and in which they could show their devotion to the cause they had been sent to support; but an attack on New York, which Washington and Lafayette had much at heart, required naval superiority, and they thought it prudent to await the arrival of the second division, then soon expected. To that conclusion Lafayette also finally came. There, for the moment, the plan rested.

In writing to Washington, giving the results of this interview, the Marquis makes an interesting statement that may properly find place here. After saying, "the French army dislike the idea of staying here, and want to join you," he adds:

"Their disposition towards the inhabitants and our troops, and the dispositions of the inhabitants and the militia towards them, are such as I could wish. You would have been glad the other day to see two hundred and fifty of our drafts, who went to Conanicut Island without provisions and tents, and who were mixed in such a way with the French troops, that every French soldier and officer took an American with him, and divided his bed and his supper in the most friendly manner. The patience and sobriety of our militia are so much admired by the French officers, that two days ago a French Colonel called all his officers together to desire them to observe the good examples which were given to the French soldiers by the American troops. On the other hand, the French discipline is such, that chickens and pigs walk between the lines, without being disturbed, and that there is in the camp a cornfield of which not one leaf has been touched. The Tories know not what to say to it."

In compliance with the request of General Washington, General Heath proceeded to Newport, where he made his

headquarters. He reached the town at midnight, July 11th, and early the next morning paid his respects to Count Rochambeau, between whom and himself a lasting friendship immediately commenced. He also visited Admiral De Ternay, on board the Duc de Bourgogne, where a similar friendship had birth. Festive hospitalities were freely interchanged, "in the most happy fraternity," and while remaining at Newport, every possible attention, on the part of General Heath, was given to the comfort and needs of the allies.

SECRET AND OPEN INSTRUCTIONS.

ROCHAMBEAU ANNOUNCES HIS ARRIVAL TO WASHINGTON BY LETTER.—ALSO NOTIFIES CONGRESS.—LETTER FROM GENERAL CORNELL.—SUPPLIES FOR THE ARMY AND NAVY.—DE TARLE WRITES TO GOVERNOR GREENE RELATIVE TO THE NEEDS OF THE ARMY.

THE secret instructions of the King, delivered to Rochambeau before sailing, were comprised in two articles:

"I. His Majesty desires and orders Count de Rochambeau to retain, as far as circumstances will permit, the French troops entrusted to his command collected together in one corps, and to represent on proper occasions to General Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the troops of Congress, under whose orders the French troops are to serve, that it is the King's intention that the French troops should not be dispersed, but that they should always act in a body and under French Generals, except in the case of temporary detachments, which are to rejoin the principal corps in a few days.

"II. His Majesty intends that the corps of French troops sent to the assistance of the Congress of the United States of North America, should keep its own guards, and should perform all the service having in view its security in the camps, cantonments, or quarters, which it may occupy."

In his open instructions to the Count, the King provided "that the General to whom His Majesty entrusts the command of his troops, should always, and in all cases, be under the command of General Washington;" that all projects and plans for the campaign, or for private expeditions, should be decided upon by the American General, keeping in view the harmony which His Majesty hoped to see between the two Commanders-in-Chief, and the Generals and soldiers of the two nations; that the French troops being only auxiliaries, were to yield precedence and the right to the American troops; that the American officers with equal rank and the same date of commission, should have the command, and in all cases the American troops were to take the right; that in all military acts and capitulations the American Generals and troops were to be named first and sign first; that the French troops were to retain in all cases full jurisdiction and right of trial over every individual belonging to it; that His Majesty having provided for all the wants of the troops who may be sent from Europe, it is expected that the strictest orders will have been issued for furnishing the necessary provisions and refreshments of all kinds, and the horses required for transporting the French artillery, and that these supplies will be at hand wherever circumstances may render it advisable for the French troops to land; and finally, "that although it is left entirely to General Washington to dispose as he pleases of the auxiliary troops sent to America, His Majesty would desire that, in case the French division should not be immediately united with General Washington, and should be detached for any expedition with an American corps, the two French and American general officers might be independent of each other, whatever their rank, and act in concert without either giving or receiving orders."

LETTER TO WASHINGTON.

With becoming consideration, the Count de Rochambeau

seized the earliest hour that could be spared, to write to Washington, announcing his arrival at Newport, and explaining the considerations that operated with him and Admiral De Ternay to establish themselves there. He said:

"Being ordered by the King, my master, to come and put myself under your command, I arrive with the deepest feelings of submission, of zeal, and of veneration for your person, and for the distinguished talents which you display in supporting an ever memorable war. . . . . We are now, sir, under your command, . . . and I hope that in a month we shall be ready to act under Your Excellency's orders. . . . . It is hardly necessary for me to tell Your Excellency that I bring sufficient funds to pay in cash for whatever is needed by the King's army, and that we shall maintain as strict discipline as if we were under the walls of Paris. . . . . General Heath has sent to all parts of the country the news of our arrival, of our discipline, and of our cash payments, and I do not doubt that within a few days we shall find here an abundant market."

The Count also wrote to Congress, which occasioned the following pleasant letter from General Cornell, then in Philadelphia, to Governor Greene:

"The President of Congress lately received a letter from the Count de Rochambeau. It was exceedingly polite, and its contents must do the heart of every American good that had the pleasure to hear it read; but more especially if he belonged to the States of Massachusetts or Rhode Island. He appeared to be much pleased with the conduct of the militia that came to his assistance, and bestowed on them the highest encomiums, appearing to be perfectly secure for Newport from any visit Mr. Clinton might please to make. The Minister at this place* appears to be much pleased with the Count's representations to him. I hope the people of Rhode Island are as much prejudiced in favor of the French gentlemen in that place as I am with the Minister here. I must confess if I was ever prejudiced against the French, it is all at an end, as I think it must be with every American who has the honor to be acquainted with the Minister, if he can be allowed a true Frenchman. To see his polite, unaffected, easy manner of address, the kindness and abundance of good nature with which he treats all ranks and orders of men, his excessive fondness for Americans as allies; to which may be added the ease and comfort everyone enjoys that has the honor to dine at his table, free from every kind of ceremony or formality, every one left to eat and drink as he pleaseth, stay as long as he pleaseth, and go away when he pleaseth. I want words to express, and shall not intrude on your patience."

* Luzerne.

Steps were quickly taken to secure ample supplies for the army and the navy. For this purpose, agreements were entered into with Josiah Blakely, merchant, of Hartford, Ct., and Francis Charles Chevalier de la Nos, to furnish the quantity of beef and mutton necessary to subsist the French army, should it reach the number of 12,000 men, from August 15, 1780, to January 1, 1781. Provision was also made for 1,500 cords of wood, "and more if necessary"; 3,352 tons of hay; 37,125 bushels of oats; 613 tons of straw; 30,000 bushels of Indian corn; 7,125 bushels of oats, etc., etc.* To secure a prompt supply for an immediate need, M. de Tarlé, the Directing Commissary and Intendant of the army, addressed the following request to Governor Greene:

"Benoit Joseph de Tarlé, Commissary Orderer of War and Intendant of His Most Christian Majesty's army, commanded by Mons. le Comte de Rochambeau, begs leave to represent to His Excellency the Governor of the State of Rhode Island, that a very large quantity of straw is immediately necessary for the service of His Most Christian Majesty's army, that the persons employed have not been able to collect any, as the farmers will not at present thrash out their grain; as this article must be immediately

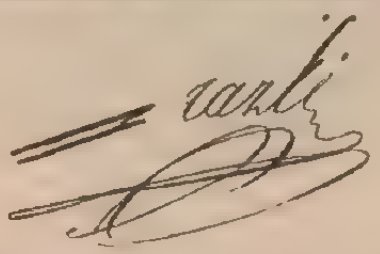
*By an agreement made on board the Duc de Bourgogne, July 21, 1780, Chev. de la Nos was to furnish 300 cords of wood for 40 "hard money, per cord," 1,000 barrels of flour of the best quality to be found in Connecticut, at $7 per hundred lbs. "hard money," 30 oxen weekly, "the weight of the whole to be about 15,000 lbs.," at the price of ten sous and six deniers tournois for each pound, French weight,"—the feet to be "weighed with the feet, head, tallow and skin, except the bowels." The hay, oats, etc., were to be furnished by John Baptiste, "or their Vermont merchants" Walker & Co., Boston. Payment was to be made "as soon as delivered to the king's magazine, at the rate of 130 livres the ton of hay, of ten livres, seven sous and three deniers the bushel of Indian corn, at five livres and eleven sous the bushel of oats, and sixty-five livres the ton of straw,"—one-third of the pay to be in dollars, "at the rate of five livres and five sous tournois each," and the balance of two-thirds in bills of exchange at thirty days, drawn on the Treasurer at War in Paris.

Blakely and Chev. de la Nos were to furnish 1,500 cords of wood to the order of M. Tarlé, Intendant of the French army, at the rate of "twenty-five livres and five sous tournois, per cord, paid as above, one-third dollars, two-thirds bills of exchange on the Treasurer at War in Paris at forty days' sight.

In a conference with De Ternay, Rochambeau, De Tarlé and Des Gouy, held by a committee appointed for that purpose by Massachusetts authorities, at Newport, it was agreed as "best" to have "the purchases made under one direction and with the same sort of money."

The plan proposed was for the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Connecticut to supply the French army with the necessary articles for use, which appeared to be satisfactory to M. De Tarlé, as per letter dated Newport, August 27, 1780.

constantly furnished to the soldiers of the army, he requests the favor of His Excellency to take such steps as will oblige the farmers immediately to thrash out their grain and cart their straw to Newport, where they will be paid for it on delivery by the persons employed to supply the army.



"NEWPORT, August 8, 1780."

The only action of the General Assembly on record that can be construed as having relation to the foregoing letter of the French Intendant, is the following:

"Whereas, it is probable that the army of His Most Christian Majesty, commanded by le Comte de Rochambeau, and also a part of the American army will be quartered in the town of Newport, the ensuing winter,—

"It is therefore voted and resolved, that it be, and hereby is, recommended to Ephraim Bowen, Jr., Esq., Deputy-Quartermaster-General, to appoint a Barrack Master, to provide barracks for the said troops immediately; and that it be also recommended to him to appoint Jabez Champlin, Esq., to that office."*

PROVISION FOR THE ARMY.

THE SICK. ADDITIONAL HOSPITALS. -LETTER FROM TARLÉ. QUARTERS FOR THE OFFICERS.—VERNON MANSION.—VERNON FAMILY.—SCHOOL IN BRISTOL.—COMMISSARY BLANCHARD IN BOSTON.—FUEL. DOUVILLE. DR. EPHRAIM BOWEN. —BIRTHDAY OF LOUIS XVI.—TRAVELS OF OFFICERS.

IN addition to the provision made for hospitals by M. De Corny and Dr. Craik, the State House, which had been used by the British, the Presbyterian meeting-house, and

* Col. Rec., ix., 721, 722.

private dwellings in Newport, were appropriated to these uses. The landing of the sick, which was conducted with great care, occupied four days. Four hundred were placed in the hospitals in Newport, two hundred and eighty were sent to the hospital at Papoosquash Point, where the General Assembly ordered a piece of ground to be fenced in for burial purposes, and three hundred were consigned to the hospitals in Providence. Besides these, one hundred, belonging to the

STATE HOUSE IN NEWPORT, USED AS A HOSPITAL.

regiment of Bourbonnois, were placed in a hospital in Boston. The place of interment for the French soldiers at Newport was in the common burial ground, near the west fence, or within fifty feet of the same; but the ground, having no stone memorials, has been mostly occupied since. The general officers were buried in Trinity church-yard.

Uncertain whether a campaign would soon be entered upon, and in view of possible quiet for the residue of the year, Count de Rochambeau conceived the idea of utilizing the houses in Newport, Bristol and Warren, damaged by the

enemy while occupying the island. To this end he directed the Intendant, M. Tarlé, to communicate with the State authorities:

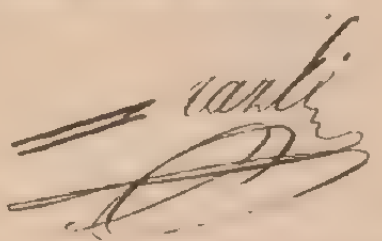
LETTER TO GOVERNOR GREENE.

"NEWPORT, August 29, 1780.

"GENTLEMEN —Mons. the Count de Rochambeau has desired me to do myself the honor to inform you, that although he does not consider the campaign to be near a conclusion, and that he keeps his army constantly ready to march anywhere that General Washington shall judge necessary for the support of the common cause, he thinks, gentlemen, that both wisdom and prudence dictate to him to provide in time those means which ought to be adopted to lodge his troops as soon as General Washington shall authorize him to order them into winter quarters: and after having maturely examined the two modes he has to choose for this purpose, whether to place them in barracks or to quarter them in Newport, Bristol, and Warren, he judges, gentlemen, that notwithstanding his earnest desire to adopt the first method as the most proper to maintain the exact discipline he has established in his army, he thinks best, nevertheless, to prefer the second, considering the benefit that will accrue therefrom to the inhabitants of the towns of Newport, Bristol and Warren, as by this means those houses which have been so exceedingly damaged by the English while they were in possession of this island, will be repaired. These, gentlemen, are the sentiments of the Count de Rochambeau, should circumstances determine General Washington to place the French army in winter quarters at Rhode Island, and he has charged me to communicate them to you, under a firm persuasion that they will be agreeable to you, and that on your part, gentlemen, you will concur to fulfill his desires, in assisting him by all the means in your power, with wood and materials necessary to repair houses in Newport and Bristol. You are sensible, gentlemen, of the advantages the inhabitants of these towns will derive from the proposed arrangements, on which subject the Count de Rochambeau requests you to favor me immediately with your determination and intentions.

"I have the honor to be, with great respect, gentlemen,

"Your most obedient and most humble servant,



"Intendant de l'armee."

Having landed the troops, cared for the sick, and arranged encampments, the next step was to secure quarters for the officers of the army and of the navy. The necessary measures were at once taken. Count de Rochambeau selected the mansion of the Hon. William Vernon, at the corner of Mary and Clarke streets, and Admiral De Ternay chose the home of Colonel Wanton, 608 Water street. To my helpful friend, Henry Thayer Drowne, Esq., President of the New York National Insurance Company, I am indebted for a copy of a French manuscript in his possession, containing a table of the houses in which the French officers were entertained during their stay in Newport. Of this, use is made on pages 221, 222, and 223.

OFFICERS OF THE FRENCH ARMY IN AMERICA UNDER THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

M. Le Comte de Rochambeau, Lieutenant-Général, Commandant, Grand-Croix, etc.

MARÉCHAUX DE CAMP.

Le Baron de Viomenil,
Le Comte de Viomenil,
Chevalier de Chastellux.

QUARTERMASTERS-GENERAL.

M. De Breille, Brigadier,
MM. De Choisy, Brigadier, etc.,
Louis Alexandre Berthier,
Caesar Berthier.

INTENDANTS.

De Tark, Intendant.
MM. de Blanchard, Principal and provincial

ARTILLERIE.

D'Aboville, Colonel-Commandant.

AIDES-DE-CAMP TO M. DE ROCHAMBEAU.

Le Comte de Fersen, Capitaine,
Le Comte de Damas, "
Le Chev. de Lamith, "
Le Baron de Closen, "
Dumas, "
De Laubenière, "
De Vauban. "

AIDES-DE-CAMP TO M. DE VIOMENIL.

Le Comte de Chabannes, Capitaine.
De Pange, Lieutenant.
Le Chev. d'Olonne, Capitaine.

AIDES-DE-CAMP TO M. DE CHASTELLUX.

MM. de Montesquieu,
De Lynch.

COLONELS.

BOURBONNAIS.

MM. Marquis de Laval Montmorenci,
Le Vicomte de Rochambeau, Colonel en Second.

ROYAL DEUX-PONTS.

MM. Le Comte Christian de Deux-Ponts,
Le Comte Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, Lieutenant Colonel.

SAINTONGE.

MM. Le Comte de Custine, Brigadier, etc.
Vicomte de Chartres.

SOUSSONNAIS.

MM. de Saint-Mesmes, Colonel-Commandant,
Le Vicomte de Noailles, Second Col.

LAUZUN'S LEGION.

MM. Le Duc de Lauzun,
Count Arthur Dillon.

ARTILLERIE.

Nadal, Lieutenant-Colonel, Directeur du Parc.
De Lazier, Major de l'equipage.

ENGINEERS.

MM. Desandrouins, Colonel Commandant,
De Querenet, Lieutenant-Colonel.

MM. Ch. d'Ogré,
Caravagne,
D'Opterre, Capitaine,
Baron de Turpin, Capitaine.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

MM. Coste, Physician-in-Chief,
Robillard, Surgeon-in-Chief,
Daure, Commissary,
Demars, Director of the Hospitals.

PAYMASTER.

M. Boulay.

STAFF.

MAJOR-GENERAL'S AIDS.

MM. Chevalier de Tarlé, Lieutenant-Colonel,
Chev. de Ménonville, " "

QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL'S AIDS.

M. Le Cher. de Béville, Capitaine,
Collot.

ETAT DES LOGEMENS OCCUPÉS DANS LA VILLE DE NEWPORT, PAR L'ARMÉE.

aux Ordres de M'r Le Cte. de Rochambeau, pendant le Quartier d'hiver de 1780 à 1781.

[QUARTERS OF THE FRENCH OFFICERS IN NEWPORT, 1780, 1781.]

Messieurs. [*Names of Officers.*]	*Rues.* [*Streets.*]	*Nos.*	*Chez.* [*At the House of*]
QUARTIER GÉNÉRAL.			
Le C'te de Rochambeau, Général,	New lane,	302	William Vernon.
De Tarlé, Intendant,	Thames,	245	Quartermaster-General's office.
Baron de Viomesnil, Maréchal de Camp,	"	274	Joseph Wanton.
Le Cher. de Chatellux, idem, faisant Les fonctions de Maj'r-Gn'al,	Spring,	91	Captain Maudsley.
Le C'te de Viomesnil, Maréchal de Camp,	Thames,	274	Joseph Wanton.
De Choisy, Brigadier,	Water,	602	Jac. Rod Reveria.
ETAT-MAJOR DE L'ARMÉE.			
De Béville, M'al-G'al des Logis,	Congress,	290	Moses Levi.
AIDES MAR'L GEN'L DES LOGIS.			
Le V'te de Rochambeau,	New lane,	302	William Vernon.
Collot,	Broad,	340	John Wanton.
De Béville,	Congress,	290	Moses Levi.
AIDES MAJOR-GEN. DE L'INFANTERIE.			
De Ménonville,	Spring,	90	Captain George.
De Tarlé,	Thames,	245	Quartermaster-General's office.
Dubouchet,	"	265	Captain Storey.
CORPS DE GÉNIE.			
Desandrouins, Colonel Commandant,	Thames,	28	Colonel John Malbone.
De Quérénel, Lieutenant-Colonel,	"	83	Colonel Malbone.
De Palys, Major,	"	56	Mrs. Gidley.
De Doyré, Capitaine,	Mill,	201	Henry Ward.
Crublier d'Opterre, Capitaine,	"	202	Pardon Tillinghast.
De Gazarac, idem,	"	[illegible]	" "
Le Ba'on de Turpin, idem,	Thames,	135	William Coggeshall.
De Plancher, Lieutenant,	"	135	" "
ARTILLERIE.			
D'Aboville, Colonel Commandant,	Thames,	10	John Overing.
De Lazier, Major des Equipages,	"	23	William Gyles.
Mauduit, Aide-Major,	"	23	Idem.

Messieurs. [*Names of Officers.*]	*Rues.* [*Streets.*]	*Nos.*	*Chez.* [*At the House of*]
	INTENDANCE.		
Blanchard, Com're des gu'es ppal,	Thames,	78	Abrah. Redwood.
DeCorny, Com. des guerres,	"	124	Simon Price.
De Villemanzy, idem,	"	245	Quartermaster-General's office.
Gau, idem, et de L'Artillerie,	"	6	Rebecca Rider.
	PETIT ÉTAT MAJ. DE L'ARMÉE.		
Mullins, Captain des Guides,	Congress,	286	Mrs. Mumford.
	PRÉVOTÉ.		
De Ronchamp, Prevot,	Plum,	154	John Honimans.
La Prison de la Ville,		385	Mary Pinegar.
	AIDES-DE-CAMP DE M. LE CTE. DE ROCHAMBEAU.		
Le Cte. de Fersen,	New lane,	299	Robert Stevens.
Le M'is de Damas,	" "	299	" "
Le Chev'er de Lameth,	Spring,	339	Joseph Antony.
Dumas,	"	339	" "
De Lauberdière,	New lane,	301	Henri Potter.
Le B'on de Closen,	" "	301	" "
	AIDES-DE-CAMP DE M. LE B'ON DE VIOMESNIL.		
M. d'Angely,	Spring,	234	Adam Ferguson.
Le Chev. de Viomesnil,	Thames,	277	Gold Marsh.
De Chabannes,	"	150	John Freebody.
Brintaneau,	"	150	" "
St. Amand,	"	277	Gold Marsh.
De Pange,	"	274	Joseph Wanton.
Brison,	"	274	" "
	AIDES-DE-CAMP DE M. LE CHEVALIER DE CHATELLUX.		
De Lintz,	Lewis,	115	Madame Makay.
De Montesquiou,	"	115	" "
	AIDES-DE-CAMP DE M. LE V'te DE VIOMESNIL.		
D'Olonne, l'aîné,	[Lewis,]	271	Edward Hazard.
D'Olonne, le cadet,	"	271	" "
Stack,	Spring,	337	William Almy.
	AIDE-DE-CAMP DE M. DE CHOISY.		
Saumann,	Water,	602	Jac. Rob. Riveria.
	AIDE-DE-CAMP DE M. DE BÉVILLE.		
De Béville,	Congress,	290	Moses Levi.
	LE TRÉSOR.		
De Baulny, Trésorier de l'armée,	Ruppock,	314	Seixas et Levy.
	LES VIVRES.		
Daure, Régisseur,	Mill,	162	William Coggeshall.
Morion, Caissier,	Thames,	281	Dr. Tillinghast.
Bourguin, Directeur,	Spring,	108	William Gibbs.
Duval, Inspecteur,	Congress,	237	Robert Lillibridge.
	HOPITAUX.		
De Mars, Régisseur,	Thames,	123	James Taylor.
De Coste, 1st Médecin,	Back,	456	William Lindon.
Robillard, 1st Chir'n Major,	Thames,	445	James Senter.
L'abbé de Gleanon, Aumônier,	Spring,	348	Widow Brayton.

Messieurs. [*Names of Officers.*]	*Rues.* [*Streets.*]	*Nos.*	*Chez.* [*At the House of*]
	VIVRES DE LA VIANDE.		
Buret de Blegier, Régisseur,	Spring,	158	Johetas Gibbs.
	FOURRAGE.		
Louis, Régisseur,	Thames,	238	Gideon Sisson.
	EFFETS DU ROY.		
Martin, Garde-Magasin,	Long Wharf,		Constans Tabor.

REGIMENS CANTONNES DANS LA VILLE. M. M. LES COLONELS ET OFFICIERS SUPÉRIEURS DES CORPS.

MM.			
	REG'T DE BOURBONNAIS.		
Le M'is de Laval, Colonel,	High,	223	Robinson.
Le V'te de Rochambeau, Col. 2d,	New lane,	302	William Vernon.
De Bressolles, Lieutenant-Colonel,	Mill,	105	Joseph Clark.
De Gamba, Major,	High,	223	Robinson.
	REG'T DE B'AL DEUX-PONTS.		
Le C'te. des Deux-Ponts, Colonel,	Broad,	330	George Scott.
Le C'te. G'ume des Deux-Ponts, Col. 2d,	"	333	Nathaniel Mumford.
Le Baron d'Ezebeck, Lieut.-Col.,	"	401	William Still.
Desprez, Major,	High,	328	Thomas Vernon.
	REG'T DE SOISSONNAIS.		
Le M'is de St. Mesmes, Col'el,	High,	329	Miss Coles.
Le V'te de Noailles, Colonel 2d,	Water,	614	Thomas Robinson.
D'Anselme, Col. 2d,	Back,	408	William Cozzens.
D'Espeyron, Major,	Griffin,	342	Robert Lawton.
	REG'T DE SAINTONGE.		
Le M'is de Custine, Colonel,	[Griffin,]	312	Joseph Durfey.
Le C'te. de Charlus, Col. en 2d,	Point Bridge,	644	Major Martin.
De la Valette, Lieut.-Col.,	Water,	603	John Oldfield.
De Fleury, Major,	Water,	595	Jeremie Clark.
	2D BAT'ON D' AUXONNE.		
De la Tour, Lieut.-Col.,	Spring,	15	William Lee.
De Buzelel, Chef de Brigade,	"	62	Joseph Tirody.
	MINEURS.		
De Chazelles, Chef de Brig'e,	Thames,	[illegible]	le Major Fairchild.
	OUV'RIERS.		
De la Chèze, Capt. en 2d,	Thames,	78	Abrah. Redwood.
	VOLONTAIRES DE LAUZUN.		
Le Duc de Lauzun, Col., pp'd,	Thames,	204	Deborah Hunter.
Hugan, Lieut.-Col'el,	au Neck,		Mad'e Harrison.
De Scheldon,	Alley Place, Thames,	248	Joseph Halliburton.

CORPS DE LA MARINE

Messieurs.	*Rues.*	*Nos.*	*Chez.*
[*Names of Officers.*]	[*Streets.*]		[*At the House of*]
Le Chev. De Ternay, Commandant,	Water,	608	Colonel Wanton.
De Grauchain, Major,	"	"	" "
De Capellis, aide-Major,	"	"	" "
Le Bureau de la Marine,	"	"	" "
Destouches, Capt. de Vaux,	Water,	627	William Redwood
De Lagrandière, idem,	"	212	Francis Brinley
De Lombard, idem,	"	631	Christophe Townsend.
De la Vicomte, idem,	"	630	John Townsend.
Parc de la Marine,	"	611	
De Maulevrier,	"	486	Samuel Johnson.
Imprimerie de idem		641	
Hopital de la Marine,	New lane,	295	Eglise presbiterienne.
Hopital de la M'ne,	Mill,	104	Mrs. Hopkins.
Navy Artillerie,	Water, et Roomer's wharf,	611	George Roomer.

From the preceding list it appears that eighty-six army officers were provided with hospitable quarters outside of the several camps, while only eleven naval officers took up their residence on shore. The Presbyterian church and the dwelling-house of a private family were taken for hospitals, and the naval artillery was conveniently rendezvoused near the water. The cordiality with which the officers were received and entertained was extremely gratifying to the Commanders-in-Chief of the army and of the navy, and was accepted by them as a precursor of pleasant relations in the future.

Immediately on being settled in their quarters, several of the French officers took horse and galloped over the island, to enjoy its scenery and to obtain a knowledge of its attractive localities. On their return, they took tea, by invitation, at the hospitable mansion of John Wanton, Esq., son of Governor Joseph Wanton. New England tea drinking was a novel experience to the guests; and without exactly comprehending its utility beyond its social feature, and with no decided relish for the beverage, they felt bound in politeness to their hostess to swallow the often replenished cups; but the capacious flow of the tea urn proved too much for the comfort of one of the officers, who smilingly said to Mrs. Wanton, with amusing naiveté, "I sall vish to send dat ser-

vant to hele (hell) for bringing me so much hot water to drink."

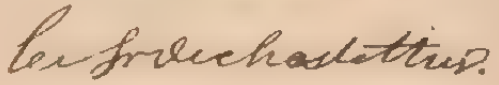
In their rambles over the island, which were frequently repeated, some of the officers of noble rank were sometimes accompanied by "running footmen," in accordance with an ancient custom of the old nobility of their nation,

LE COMTE DE CUSTINE.

the right to practice which they inherited from their ancestors. The exercise, as may be supposed, was severe, and drew heavily on the reserved power of muscles and sinews. On their return they took hot potions, and retired immediately to bed, to recover, by free perspiration and rest, ability to repeat these demands upon their endurance.

Conspicuous in this galaxy of officers were the Baron and the Comte de Viomesnil, both esteemed by their Chief for superior military qualities; the handsome Comte de Fersen;

the fascinating Duke de Lauzun; the lively and impressible M. de Tilly; the brave Comte William and Comte Christian de Deux-Ponts; the no less brave Vicomte de Rochambeau, Vicomte de Noailles, Comte de Dumas, and Comte de Ségur; the observing Blanchard; the accomplished Chevalier de Chastellux; the Chevalier de Lameth, and the Comte de Custine. These enlivened every scene in which they participated. No wonder that their resistless magnetism was felt



by the gentler sex, nor that friendships strong, tender and enduring were in many instances formed.

Many of these officers were noblemen of high distinction, and all of them were marked by thorough training in their profession. Their culture was such as belonged to the class of society which they represented, and their manners were at once refined and fascinating. Rarely has an army of six thousand men presented so brilliant an assemblage of officers as was then to be seen in Newport. In points of etiquette and

in grace of person they left nothing to be desired, and by the heartiness with which they entered into the gayeties of society they gave a new and delightful impulse to the social life of the town.

The social pleasures appear to have been cordially encouraged by the Commander-in-Chief of the French allies; and to provide for his own convenience in giving receptions, no less than to gratify the votaries of Terpsichore, he caused a building with a large assembly room to be erected on the grounds of the Vernon mansion. Here courtly hospitalities were freely dispensed, and within the attractive walls was often to be seen a joyous mingling of officers in gay uniforms and of ladies in rich toilets.

Although evidently annoyed by the erection of this building upon his grounds without being consulted, Mr. Vernon made no charge for the use of his mansion. A receipted bill preserved in the private collection of James E. Mauran, Esq., of Newport, runs as follows:

"His Most Christian Majesty,

"To W. Vernon, Dr.

"1782.	To damages sustained in his house at Newport, R. I., occupied by His Excellency Gen'l Rochambeau, viz., Floors, Wainscot, Hangings, Paint, Windows, Walls, Marble Hearths, and in the House and Building throughout: To be made good by the promise of Mr. Cornee by agreement, 450 dollars, value in L. M. - - - -	£135 0 0
	To one year's rent of same, - -	000 0 0
	Errors excepted, Lawful Money, -	£135 0 0

"Boston, 12 December, 1782.

"Wm. Vernon."

On the back of the paper is the following receipt:

"Received the full consideration of the above account by the order of His Excellency General Rochambeau.

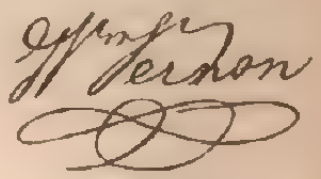
"Wm. Vernon."

Mr. Mauran has also in his collection two flagons used in the Vernon mansion during its occupancy by Count de Rochambeau.

William Vernon, son of Samuel, and grandson of Daniel, the first comer to this country about the year 1666, was born in Newport, January 17, 1719, and became one of the most distinguished merchants of that town. His trade extended to all the maritime nations of Europe, to the West Indies and to Africa. He was an eminent Whig, and early espoused the cause of freedom. His extensive acquaintance with marine affairs enabled him to impart valuable counsel to Congress. In 1777, that body elected him one of the Continental Navy Board, of which he was made President,—an office held by him until the board was dissolved. His duties required his constant presence in Boston, where he resided for a considerable time. In common with all the Whigs of Rhode Island, he looked with anxious interest for the coming of the French allies. On learning of their arrival at Newport, Mr. Vernon addressed the following note to Admiral DeTernay:

"Mr. Vernon presents his respectful compliments to Mr. De Ternay, and felicitates him on the arrival of His Most Christian Majesty's fleet and army at Rhode Island, hopes the troops are healthy and will soon cooperate with those of the United States, in reducing our common enemy to a just sense of their unreasonable, ambitious and oppressive views.

"The bearer, Mr. Vernon's son, will be happy in having it in his power of rendering Mr. De Ternay, or any of his connection, every service possible that Mr. ——— will signify.



"Boston, 17th July, 1780."

With Count de Rochambeau and his son, with the Viscount de Noailles, and with other principal officers of the French army and navy, enduring friendships were formed. During the war the losses of Mr. Vernon were heavy, and were calmly borne. Of these he says:

"Mammon is no idol of mine. If we establish our rights and liberties upon a firm and lasting basis, on the winding up of this bloody contest, I am content; although I own, if I could come at the property our enemies are possessed of belonging to me, it would increase the pleasure. I do assure you it is no less a sum than twelve thousand pounds, sterling, at least, besides my real estate at Newport; yet I can with truth say, it never broke my rest a moment."

Mr. Vernon not only gave his services as President of the Navy Board gratuitously, but he advanced large sums to the government that were only in part repaid. During the French war, in 1758, Mr. Vernon lost seven vessels by capture; and in 1775, Sir James Wallace seized his brig, the

"Royal Charlotte," while she was in the harbor of Newport, took her round to Boston, and confiscated her cargo. After the close of the war, Mr. Vernon continued to engage in commercial enterprises. He took an active part in establishing an insurance office in Newport. He was one of the founders of the Newport Bank, and of the Newport Artillery company. As a member of the Second Congregational Society, and a liberal contributor to its support, the pastor, the Rev. Dr. Stiles, found in him a valuable co-laborer. As a friend to education, especially in its classical departments, he exerted himself to promote the prosperity of Princeton College.

VERNON MANSION, ROCHAMBEAU'S QUARTERS.

Mr. Vernon married Judith, daughter of Philip Harwood, and granddaughter of Governor Walter Clarke and Governor John Cranston, of Rhode Island. By her he had three sons: Samuel, born May 29, 1757; William, born March 6, 1759; and Philip Harwood, born April 3, 1761, and died August 26, 1762.

Mr. Vernon was a man of commanding presence and of courtly manners. He filled honorably a wide space in public and private life, and died revered, December 22, 1806, having attained the age of nearly 87 years. His wife died August 29, 1762, aged thirty-eight years.

Samuel Vernon, the eldest son, married Elizabeth Almy, daughter of Christopher and Mary (Vernon) Ellery. He became an eminent merchant in Newport, and fought as a volunteer under General Sullivan at the battle of Rhode Island. He was the father of ten children.

William Vernon, the second son, died unmarried, in 1833. He was educated at Princeton College. He was a man of courtly manners and of fine

æsthetic tastes. For many years he was Secretary of the Redwood Library in Newport. He passed considerable time in Paris, and was a constant and favored guest at the court circles of Louis XVI. While in Paris, he made a valuable collection of fifty-two oil paintings. His manners were so completely French that one day, during the "reign of terror," he would have been hanged by a frenzied mob had he not been recognized by a Frenchman who knew him, and who assured it that he was an American by birth and citizenship.

A genealogy of the Newport Vernons, prepared by Harrison Ellery, Esq., of Boston, was published in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for July, 1879. This has been republished in "Rhode Island Historical Tracts, No. 17," 1881. One only of the Vernon family is known to have been a "Loyalist," viz., Thomas, a nephew of William. He was Royal Postmaster at Newport from 1745 to 1775, and for twenty years held the office of Registrar of the Court of Vice Admiralty. His private character was pure, but his political affiliations were against him. He was banished from Newport by act of the General Assembly, but after an absence of about four months, was permitted to return. An interesting diary kept by Mr. Vernon during his banishment makes the body of "Rhode Island Tracts, No 13."* Broken in fortune, Mr. Vernon died without issue, May 1, 1784, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. His first wife, Jane, daughter of John Brown, merchant of Newport, died April 28, 1765. His second wife, Mary (Bardin) Mears, died in August, 1787.

Samuel Vernon, son of William, married Miss Betsey Ellery. Of her, this incident is related: "During the gay Frenchmen's occupation of Newport, a gallant young French Surgeon paid Miss Ellery polite attentions. Soon after her marriage, in 1784, she received from Paris an envelope addressed to her in the hand-writing of the young officer, but containing only two leaves, a withered one and an evergreen."

The Arms borne by the Vernon family in America correspond with those of the noble family of Vernon in England, viz.: Or on a fesse az three garbs of the field. Crest, A demi Ceres Affrontee ppr. vested vert holding three ears of wheat over her left shoulder or, and in her right hand a sickle ppr., handle or. These Arms are accorded by Burke to representatives of Richard de Vernon, who accompanied William, the Conqueror, to England, and who was created by Hugh Lupis baron of Shipbrook, county of Chester.†

According to Mr. Ellery, the Vernon family "is one of our few families who have always been able to trace the use of coat armor to their English ancestors." The Arms herewith given

* See also "Reminiscences of Thomas Vernon, an American Loyalist," by Thomas Vernon, Attorney at Law, New York, 1860.

† Ellery's Vernon Family.

are copied from an impression of a seal ring bequeathed to Daniel Vernon, of North Kingstown, by his brother Samuel, of London. For the use of this engraving and for other acceptable favors, I am under obligations to Thomas Vernon, Esq., of New York.

The news of the French alliance was received with great delight by Mr. Vernon. Writing to Dr. Franklin, describing the loss of several American vessels, he adds:

"Are we not, dear sir, compensated in those losses by the glorious treaties of alliance, of amity and commerce, which were executed on the 6th of Feb'y last at Paris, and unanimously ratified by Congress on the 4th inst.?* I think, sir, they are magnanimous, founded in our independence, equality and reciprocity, upon which I most sincerely congratulate you and our oppressed country."

In December, 1778, William Vernon, Jr., then just graduated from Princeton College, sailed for France in the frigate "Boston" in company with the Honorable John Adams. He carried a letter of introduction from his father to Dr. Franklin, in which he says:

"If, upon recollection, it should occur to your mind, that this youth is a grandson of your old acquaintance, S. Vernon, Esq., of Newport, (although dead forty years,) it will enhance the friendship, and your notice of this young gentleman. I may presume this without arrogance, from your universal beneficence; therefore must hope, wish and pray, that he hath and will, from time to time, receive such advice and instructions from his friends in France, as will stimulate to virtue, honor, knowledge, and all the useful graces and accomplishments necessary to form a mind, and fix such principles for social life and public usefulness, as will be permanent."

In December, 1780, Count de Rochambeau visited Boston, and called at the lodgings of Mr. Vernon to pay his respects, but the latter being absent, the Count failed to see him. Writing to his son Samuel at Newport, he says: "You will do well to make my excuse to the General, and at the same time present my respectful compliments." Of the Tories, he says:

*May.

"I hope the military officers will take proper notice and care of them. I think they should not be suffered to walk the streets; it seems necessary to me, that they should be confined to their houses. I am persuaded that there are great numbers at Newport, that will take every occasion of giving intelligence to the enemy, even at the risk of their necks. They cannot be too narrowly watched."

The Vernon Mansion has for several years ceased to be used as a family residence. It is now occupied by a corps of United States engineers. Externally it still preserves an appearance of its ancient grandeur.

Very soon after the hospital was established at Pappoonsuck, M. Blanchard, in the discharge of his duties, visited the patients there. While in Boston, his attention was drawn to a school, which he thus describes:

"The master seemed to me a very worthy man, in his teaching some children, a full school, at least twenty-five. He went to visit the school. The train was also very clean. I saw the writing of three children, it appeared to me to be handsome, among others that of a young girl, nine or ten years old, very neat and very modest; she said it would be my daughter's to be when she is as old; she was called Betsy Bar. As I perceived, in her copy book, a verse of some one written, I wrote it myself, which is very neat. This scene, so really interesting, made me think of a missionary, in behalf of the father of family."

But while Commissary Blanchard was well pleased with the school, he did not so much approve his dinner at the mansion, which he found nothing "but coffee and small cakes, which, he said, not as much it was toasted." It soon over, he, Pappoonsuck, in accompanied by M. Dumas, the surgeon of the hospitals, and M. [illegible], the new lieutenant. In passing the forts, the passage was then twice hailed—thirty-three guns fired. The patients in the hospitals were generally [illegible] with the country, and [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] in disease. The appearance of Rhode Island, of the country, appeared, however, unhappily impressed M. Blanchard. Pappoonsuck, he says, "this was an [illegible] country, [illegible] land, [illegible] landscape

surrounded by trees. The commonest are acacias, pear trees and cherry trees." He and his companions lived on good terms with the people of the neighborhood. They were affable, well clad, cleanly and tall. The women enjoyed the same advantages, had fair skins, and were generally pretty. The bovines were as handsome as those of Poitou, and the cows, though not stabled at night, were free milkers.

The needs of the sick Bourbonnais in Boston were not overlooked, and Commissary Blanchard was directed to visit them and set in order the hospital that had been hastily provided for their use. He made this journey on horseback, accompanied by a Hessian dragoon, who had been in the British service. Blanchard was then unacquainted with English, but both he and his servant spoke Latin, and as the latter also spoke English, he made a very useful interpreter with the people of the country on their journey. At Providence the Commissary dined with Mr. Lyon, a French merchant, who gave him a letter of introduction to M. Adolph, his Boston partner. His horse being tired, a small carriage was provided for him, and the journey was continued. Passing the night at an inn about fifteen miles from Boston, he arrived in that town the next morning at nine o'clock. He says:

"I got down at M. Adolph's, who received me very well and offered me a room, which I accepted. I had myself taken immediately to the house of Mr. Bowdoin,* the president of the Boston committee, to whom I handed M. de Rochambeau's letter and another which had been entrusted to me by M. DeCorny, who was acquainted with him and had been very intimate with him when he was in Boston. I had a Frenchman with me, as an interpreter, called the Chevalier de Luz, who called himself an officer. Mr. Bowdoin caused the committee to be assembled, agreeably to the General's letter; and in the evening he sent me an answer which I immediately forwarded to M. de Rochambeau; it was favorable and orders had been given for the militia to repair immediately to Rhode Island. On the 28th I saw Mr. Bowdoin again, in company with M. de Capelis, who had arrived. He invited us to come in the evening to take tea at his house. We went there; the tea was served by his daughter, Mrs. Temple, a beau-

* Spelt Beandoin in the original.

tiful woman, whose husband was a Tory, that is to say, opposed to the Revolution; he had even left America and gone to England. Mr. Bowdoin has a very handsome house, he is a wealthy man, and respected in his country; he is descended from a French refugee and his name proclaims it. He received us politely, and had a very noble bearing. I ought not to forget that he told me that I resembled Franklin when he was young. On the same day we went to Mr. Hancock's, but he was sick and we were not able to see him. This Mr. Hancock* is one of the authors of the Revolution, as also is the doctor with whom we breakfasted on the 29th: he is a minister who seemed to me to be a man of intelligence, eloquent and enthusiastic.† He has much influence over the inhabitants of Boston, who are devout and Presbyterians, imbued, generally, with the principles of Cromwell's partisans, from whom they are descended. Therefore, they are more attached to independence than any other class of people in America; and it was they who began the Revolution.

"During my stay in Boston, I dined at the house of a young American lady, where M. de Capellis lodged. At Newport we had seen her sister and her brother-in-law, Mr. Carter, an Anglo-American, who had come to supply provisions to our army. It is a great contrast to our manners to see a young lady (she was twenty, at the most) lodging and entertaining a young man. I shall certainly have occasion to explain the causes of this singularity.

"The city of Boston seemed to me as large as Orleans, not so broad, perhaps, but longer. It is, likewise, well built, and displays an indescribable cleanliness which is pleasing; most of the houses are of wood; some are of stone and brick. The people seemed to be in easy circumstances. Nevertheless the shops were poorly stocked with goods, and everything was very dear, which resulted from the war. Their bookstores had hardly anything but prayer books; an English and French dictionary cost me eight louis d'or. I saw on the signs of two shops the name of Blanchard, written like my own, one Caleb Blanchard, the other John.

"In general we were very well received by the Bostonians, we exhibited much interest in them and made them understand how much the King felt for them; we mentioned a speech of his to them, on this subject; he said to the Count of Rochambeau, who was taking leave of him that he recommended the Americans to him, adding, 'These are my real allies'; which, doubtless, meant that it was Louis XVI. himself who had made a treaty of alliance with them, whilst the treaties with other allies dated from previous reigns. Ought I to mention that M. de Volnais, the Consul of France, having taken me in his coach along with M. de Capellis, overturned us at the corner of a sloping street? It was a very high and open carriage, a kind of whisky, so that we were thrown upon the pavement, and to a considerable distance. Fortunately we were not in the least hurt.

* Spelt Ancouke in the original. † The Rev. Dr. Cooper.

excepting the Consul, who fell upon a wound which he had received a short time before, whilst fighting a duel with another Frenchman; for he was a manslayer, my fate being to meet them everywhere. This one was a good fellow, but not very well adapted for the post which he filled.

"M. de Capellis and I left Boston on the 30th [July] and slept at Providence, which is distant forty-five miles, that is to say, about fifteen leagues. The road is pleasant, we passed through some woods, where there are some pretty handsome oaks. They appeared to me to be of a different species from ours; their leaf is larger and the bark is not so smooth. We find also some pretty handsome villages, and, as it was Sunday, we continually met people who were going to the temple or returning from it, most of them in light carriages, drawn by a single horse. There are few inhabitants in this part of the country who do not own one, for, without being rich, they are in easy circumstances. They cultivate the earth themselves, with the help of some negroes, but these estates belong to them and they are owners. We also met some provincial soldiers, who, in obedience to the orders that the Boston committee had sent to them, were repairing in crowds to Newport, where, in less than three days, there would have been more than four thousand of them, if there had not been a countermand, upon the information which we received that we would not be attacked.

"On the 31st [July] we started for Newport, where we arrived on the same day. There were ten good leagues and a ferry sometimes difficult to cross."

Fuel was a prime need of the French army, and M. Blanchard applied himself industriously to procure it. At Pawtuxet he purchased of a Mr. Harris a large quantity of standing wood, and set fifty soldiers to cutting and cording it. This was transported to the seaboard, where vessels of the squadron had come to receive it.* In this village he made the acquaintance of M. Pierre Douville, a Canadian, and a Lieutenant in the American navy, with whom he dined. He had been under D'Estaing, and had also been employed by M. De Ternay. "He was of great use to me," says Blanchard, "for the wood cutting which was entrusted to me." †

* It amounted to 2,000 cords.

† Lieutenant Douville married and settled in Pawtuxet, where he was held in much esteem. He died of wounds received in a severe naval engagement in June, 1784. His remains were interred in the West Burying Ground, and were afterwards exhumed and reinterred in Swan Point Cemetery. The grave is marked by a triangular pyramidal monument of white marble, bearing the following inscription:

Shortly after, he writes:

"I dined at Providence with Dr. Bowen, a physician, and a respectable old man. He said grace before sitting down to table; he seemed beloved and respected by his numerous family, and had the style and manners of a patriarch.* I also dined frequently at the house of Mr. Bowker, a merchant born in England, but for a long time settled in America."

"PIERRE DOUVILLE,

was born in Canada, a subject of the King of France. He settled in Providence as a merchant, and served as a Lieutenant in the American Navy during the War of Independence, after which he was recalled by his King, and appointed to the command of the French ship of the line L'Impetueux, which he defended in the desperate battle between the French and English fleets off Ushant, on the first of June, A. D. 1794, until his last spar was shot away, and until he had received eighteen wounds of which he died; thus closing an unspotted life which had been bravely and consistently spent in the service of his adopted and of his native country.

"PETER DOUVILLE,

his son, was born in Warwick, R. I., June 19, A. D. 1781, died at Apalachicola, Oct. 2, A. D. 1835, leaving a beloved wife and daughter, at Savannah, in the state of Georgia, where he resided the last seven years of his life, who have erected this monument in the year 1836."

A portrait of Pierre Douville, the elder, is in the gallery of paintings in Brown University.

"In the Mineral Spring Cemetery at Pawtucket, there is a gravestone inscribed as follows:

'Sacred to the memory of Capt. John George Curlen, who died August 16th, 1824, in the ninety first year of his age.

'He crossed the raging ocean,
His country for to save,
'Twas France that gave him birth,
And America a grave.'

"Captain Curlen was a veteran in the service of Louis XVI., being nearly fifty years old when our allies bivouacked on the hill near North street. As might be expected, their presence excited much curiosity among the people, and the environs of the camp were visited by many.

"Among these visitors was a young lady with whose charms the hold captain became smitten, and to whom he proffered his hand for acceptance, which was not refused. Bidding adieu to his old comrades in arms on their departure for other fields of glory, he and his new companion in arms settled in Pawtucket, where he lived to the advanced age noted above.

"Several descendants of the Captain are yet living in Pawtucket and vicinity."—"*A. H.*" *in Providence Journal.*

In South Scituate the graves of two French soldiers may be seen. They sickened and died while on the march through that town.

*Dr. Ephraim Bowen, son of Thomas Bowen, was born in Rehoboth, Mass., October 3, old style, 1746, and from the age of nine years lived in Providence with his uncle, Dr. Jabez Bowen, with whom he studied medicine. He died October 21, 1842, aged ninety-six years. His dwelling-house stood on the spot now occupied by the Franklin House, fronting Market square. He was married twice, first February 11, 1768, to Mary Penner, daughter of Thomas Penner, by whom he had three children, viz., Jabez, Oliver, and Mary; second, June 16, 1776, to Lydia Mawney, daughter of Colonel Peter Mawney, of East Greenwich, R. I., by whom he had William, Mary, Sarah, Lydia, Ephraim, Benjamin, Pardon, Benjamin, 2d, Nancy, Betsey, and Frances. As a physician he was eminently skillful and

In company with M. Haake, a Captain in the regiment of Royal-Deux-Ponts and the Chaplain of the Hospital, he rode to Coventry to pay his respects to Mrs. General Nathanael Greene, with whom he became acquainted in Newport. He says:

"Mrs. Greene received us very kindly. She is amiable, genteel, and rather pretty. As there was no bread in her house, some was hastily made; it was of meal and water mixed together; which was then toasted at the fire;* small slices of it were served up to us. It is not much for a Frenchman. . . . . Besides, the dinner was long; we remained to sleep there. . . . . Another country-house is pretty near, inhabited by two ladies, who compose all the society that Mrs. Greene has; in the evening she invited them to her house, and we danced. I was in boots and rather tired; besides the English dances are complicated, so that I acquitted myself badly. But these ladies were complaisant."

While the French allies remained in Rhode Island, Commissary Blanchard appears to have been very active in the discharge of his duties. Socially, his spare hours were passed pleasantly. Business called him frequently to Providence, where he was always hospitably received and entertained.

THE KING'S BIRTHDAY.

On Wednesday, the 23d of August, the birth-day of the French King was celebrated at Newport. The ships of war

humane; as a patriot and a statesman, intrepid and correct in principle and meritorious in practice. Dr Bowen was prominent in town affairs, and from 1764 to 1790 was a Trustee of Brown University. As a practitioner, he held a foremost rank with the most eminent physicians of the State. He was given to hospitality, and died as he had lived, a devout and consistent Christian.

Two of Dr. Ephraim Bowen's sons, William and Pardon, entered the medical profession and became distinguished practitioners. Dr. William Bowen was a graduate of Yale College. His gentleness and suavity made him a welcome visitor in the sick room. His dress was that of a gentleman of the old school. He died in 1852, aged eighty-six years. Dr. Pardon Bowen was a graduate of Brown University. In 1779 he was a surgeon on board a privateer, in which he was captured and carried into Halifax, where he was imprisoned for seven months, suffering great privations. On being exchanged, he again engaged in the privateer service. After settling in his profession in Providence, he gained an extensive practice. For seven years he was President of the Rhode Island Medical Society. He was likewise a Fellow of the American Antiquarian Society, and a Trustee of Brown University. He died, universally beloved, October 20, 1836, aged sixty-nine years.

*An old fashioned "dobbin cake."

in the harbor were ornamented by a display of the colors of the different maritime powers, and fired a salute on the occasion. The French transports were also decorated with colors, and fired a salute in honor of the day.

On Thursday, a general review of the French army in that town took place, preceded by alternate discharges of cannon from the land batteries, and from the fleet, and by a *feu-de-joie* from the troops. The Providence Gazette of the following Saturday (26th) says: "Nothing could exceed the fine appearance of the forces of our illustrious ally, which, joined to the universal satisfaction that was diffused through a great concourse of spectators, we hope will prove a happy presage of their future success." The Gazette of October 11th states that on Saturday, the 7th, "A mock battle was fought on Rhode Island between a detachment of His Most Christian Majesty's troops and Colonel Greene's continental regiment, which afforded much satisfaction to the spectators."

TRAVELS OF OFFICERS.

While unemployed at Newport, the Chevalier de Chastellux, the Comte de Custine, the Comte de Deux-Ponts, the Marquis de Laval-Montmorenci, the Comte de Viomesnil, the Vicomte de Mesmes, and several other officers, improved all opportunities to make excursions into the interior of the country, to acquaint themselves with its contour, material resources, and the characteristics of the inhabitants. The Chevalier de Chastellux visited Washington at his quarters in New Jersey, bearing a letter of introduction from Dr. Franklin. With his guest the General was much pleased, and in writing to Franklin, he said: "I thank you for bringing me acquainted with a gentleman of his merit, knowledge and agreeable manners." The pleasure of this interview was equally enjoyed by the Chevalier, who, in his "New Travels Through America," draws a glowing picture of the impressive personal appearance of Washington, and of his

preëminent qualities as "the soul and the support of one of the greatest Revolutions that have ever happened, or can happen again."

At Philadelphia the Chevalier was chosen an associate member of the American Academy. He continued his absence from Newport until early in January, 1781. MM. Laval-Montmorenci and de Custine returned from a long journey on the 2d of February following. M. DeCorny sailed for France early in the year. Blanchard says he was "a man of intelligence, but intriguing and greedy," and significantly adds: "His stay in America, short as it has been, has not impaired his fortune."

Shortly after the return of M. de Custine, Captain Laforest, an officer in the regiment of Saintonge, killed himself in consequence of having in vain demanded justice for language addressed to him by the former. "This event, which was known a moment before the parade, created great excitement there. M. de Custine was insulted there; and, if it had not been for the presence of some superior officers, worse would have befallen him." *

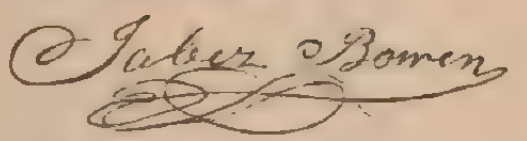
ROCHAMBEAU VISITS PROVIDENCE.

ACCOMPANIED BY DEPUTY-GOVERNOR JABEZ BOWEN — NOTES THE SCENERY AND DEFENCES ALONG THE SHORES OF THE BAY AND RIVER. SKETCH OF MAJOR DANIEL LYMAN. — LETTER FROM DEPUTY-GOVERNOR BOWEN TO GENERAL HEATH. — ROCHAMBEAU'S FRIENDSHIPS IN PROVIDENCE. TOKENS OF AFFECTION PRESENTED BY ROCHAMBEAU. SKETCH OF GENERAL NATHAN MILLER — SKETCH OF DEPUTY-GOVERNOR BOWEN.

IN the latter part of August, General Rochambeau made his first visit to Providence. To the major portion of the inhabitants of the town the advent of the distinguished

* Blanchard.

ally marked a day not to be forgotten, and which in after years the welcomers recalled as one of special enjoyment. Deputy-Governor Jabez Bowen having paid his respects at



Newport to the General and to Admiral De Ternay, accompanied the former by water to Providence. In sailing up the bay, the General did not fail to notice the quiet beauty of its shores; nor did he overlook the military precaution that had erected defences adapted to hold in check or drive

back any naval expedition of the enemy that might attempt to reach the head of navigation, and destroy the second capital of the State. That he was gratified with what he saw and with the reception that awaited him on landing, it requires no stretch of imagination to believe. Deputy-Governor Bowen thus reports the event to General Heath* at Newport:

DEPUTY GOVERNOR BOWEN TO GENERAL HEATH.*

"PROVIDENCE, August [illegible]

"DEAR SIR:—We arrived at this place half-past one o'clock after a fine passage. Generals Sullivan, Varnum, with a number of the principal citi-

* The principal Aide-de-camp of General Heath was Major Daniel Lyman, who was born in Durham, Conn., January [illegible] He was educated at Yale College, and graduated in 1776, holding the first rank as a classical scholar. Previously to graduating, he yielded to the spirit of the times, and, in 1775, joined the continental army, and was commissioned a captain under Colonel Benedict Arnold. He took a conspicuous part in the capture of Ticonderoga, Crown Point and St. John's. At Ticonderoga, Captain Lyman personally took Captain Delaplace, the commandant, prisoner, and received his sword. He subsequently served in New Haven. The following year, after leaving college, he was appointed Brigade Major under General Fellows, who commanded the brigade of new levies for Massachusetts, in the battle of White Plains. His horse was shot under him. At the expiration of his term of service he returned again to New Haven, and remained there until the spring of [illegible] he joined Colonel Lee's regiment at Cambridge, and took command of a company. He leave to appoint his own officers, in the spring of [illegible] became [illegible] Heath's military family, and the meeting [illegible] Eastern Department. When General Heath [illegible] Rhode Island, Colonel Lyman [illegible] he married Miss Mary [illegible] val of the French [illegible] and welcome the allies [illegible] lowed General Heath [illegible] of the war, when [illegible] chosen [illegible] his enterprise [illegible]

The building [illegible] ance from [illegible] thousand [illegible] base walls [illegible] also said the [illegible] be remarkable [illegible] for air [illegible] of the [illegible] Judge [illegible] ment the [illegible] large [illegible] length [illegible]

tlemen of this town, met General de Rochambeau at the ferry. On his arrival at the parade he was saluted with fifteen cannon placed near the bridge. He drank tea with General Varnum, and lodged at my house. We did everything in our power to give him a hearty welcome. Hope he was gratified with his visit.

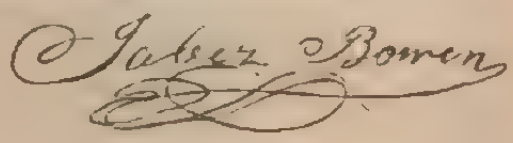
"According to promise to Mr. Ternay, I have seen the person that gave the account of the *Reasonable's* being rendered unfit for service. His name is Donnison, of this town; was master of the frigate called the Providence, lost at Charlestown. From thence he came passenger on board a twenty gun ship called the Bemont, Captain Russell; that the said Captain Russell gave him the account of the ship's getting on the shoals near the lighthouse; that her back was broke, and she damaged so much that she could not carry her metal on deck; that she still lay down at the Hook. He further informs that the British had nine sail of the line, exclusive of the *Reasonable*, on that station.

"Hope ere this you have recovered your former health.

"Please send the enclosed to Count de Chastelux.

"Mrs. Bowen presents her compliments. My regards are offered to yourself and the gentlemen of your family; and believe that I am

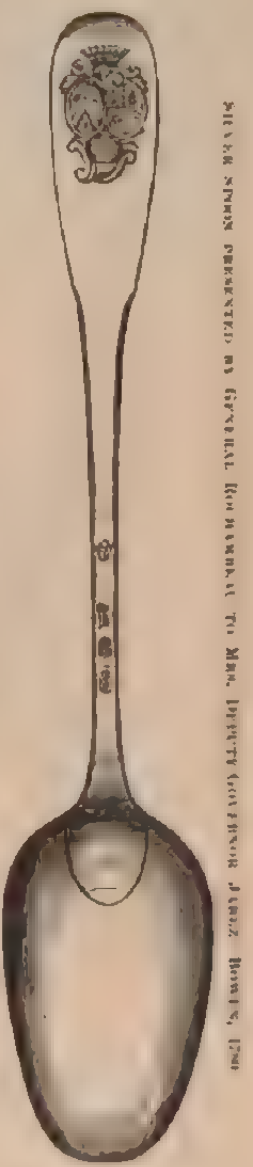
"Your most obedient and most humble servant.



By Deputy-Governor Bowen and his family was formed for General Rochambeau an early friendship, which was only broken by death. The General kept his permanent headquarters in Newport, but business called him frequently to Providence, and whenever this was the case, he was uniformly the guest of Governor Bowen.

When about to leave with his army for active operations with Washington, the General presented to Mrs. Bowen, from his camp equipage, a heavy silver spoon, bearing his crest, as a memento of the pleasant hours he had spent in the family, and of his personal regard for his accomplished hostess. The spoon was twelve inches in length, was made in London, of sterling silver, and weighed five and one-half ounces. The trade-mark was a bull's head. This interest-

ing relic of an eminent French ally has been very carefully preserved and handed down in the Bowen family. It is now in the possession of Mrs. Annie G. Bowen, of Tiverton, R. I., relict of the late Rev. Charles James Bowen. By her cordial permission, I caused a reduced copy of the original to be made,—as large as the page would receive,—which accompanies this brief description.



SILVER SPOON PRESENTED BY GENERAL ROCHAMBEAU TO MRS. DEPUTY-GOVERNOR JOSIAH BOWEN, 1782.

The Vicomte de Rochambeau, Lieutenant-Colonel in the regiment of Bourbonnais, and son of the General, was highly esteemed by Deputy-Governor Bowen. After the close of the War of Independence in America, he returned to the United States, and was received by Washington and the public generally with a hearty welcome. Visiting Providence, he renewed his acquaintance with the Deputy-Governor's family.

Many other friendships were formed in Providence by General Rochambeau, and among his intimates were Ex-Governor Cooke, John, Joseph and Nicholas Brown, Colonel Thomas L. Halsey, Colonel Joseph Nightingale, Colonel Daniel Tillinghast, Colonel John Mathewson, Samuel Nightingale, Joseph Russell, and John Smith. Each of these was identified with the revolutionary proceedings of the town and of the State, and improved suitable opportunities to be-

stow upon the General courteous attentions. To Mr. Smith, Rochambeau presented a gold watch, now in the possession of the family of Mr. Russel M. Larned, of Providence. It is a Lepine, of medium size, with open dial, and on the interior surface is inscribed, "Farquharson, A Paris, No. 82."

WATCH PRESENTED TO JOHN SMITH, BY GENERAL ROCHAMBEAU.

General Nathan Miller, of Warren, R. I., for many years Brigadier-General of the militia of the counties of Bristol and Newport, was, by his military position, frequently brought into communication with General Rochambeau. The acquaintance thus formed ripened into friendship, and a mutual attachment,—strengthened, perhaps, by the fact that General Miller was of French Huguenot descent,—led to an exchange of swords. The Rochambeau Sword is a handsome rapier, with silver hilt and guard, the blade being neatly ornamented in gold and blue. It is owned by George

L. Cooke, Jr., Esq., a descendant of General Miller, and held as a precious legacy. By Mr. Cooke's courtesy, I am enabled to present herewith an engraved representation of the sword and scabbard.*

SWORD PRESENTED BY GENERAL ROCHAMBEAU TO GENERAL NATHAN MILLER.

*Nathan Miller was born in Warren, R. I., March 26, 1743. At the beginning of the war he entered heartily into measures for resistance, and was advanced through various military grades, until, in 1779, he was elected Brigadier-General for the counties of Newport and Bristol. He was six years a Deputy from Warren in the General Assembly. In 1780 he was appointed a member of a committee "to inquire into the circumstances of the barracks left by the British troops upon Rhode Island and Jamestown in the year 1779," for the purpose of making a distribution of the materials with which they were built amongst such persons "as gave satisfactory evidence of their property therein."

In February, 1786, he was elected by the General Assembly a delegate, together with the Rev. James Manning, D. D., President of Rhode Island College, to represent the State in the United States Congress. September 28, following, he united with Dr. Manning in addressing a letter to the Governor of Rhode Island, in which a review of public affairs was presented, showing that the countenancing of certain measures in the State would terminate in its ruin, "and have no considerable share in the subversion of the Union."

General Miller purchased of the officers and soldiers of Colonel Greene's and Colonel Sherburne's regiments the Mount Hope farm, set off to them by the State, for the depreciation of their wages, which he sold to the Hon. William Bradford. The farm was said to contain 38 acres and 111 rods, but on a re-survey it appeared to contain only 36 acres and 40 rods. In 1784 the General Assembly allowed and paid him £110, 3 "lawful money," as an equivalent for the deficiency.

General Miller was a large, fleshy man, weighing upwards of three hundred pounds. He possessed a vein of dry humor, which he once displayed upon a Tory. Having made a requisition upon him for cattle, which he refused to furnish, the General brought him to terms by laying him on the ground and sitting upon him.

In May, 1781, General Miller was appointed and directed to complete the abstracts of the militia officers and men who did duty in pursuance of an act of the General Assembly, passed at the previous February session.

In July of the same year, he was required to cause all the men who were drafted or detached from his brigade to do duty for the month of July, to join immediately the regiment upon Rhode Island.

In October, 1782, he was placed in command of a flag of truce vessel, in which to transport certain prisoners of war to New York, required to be exchanged.

General Miller died in his native town May 26, 1790, aged forty-seven years.

Jabez Bowen, son of Dr. Ephraim and Mary [Fenner] Bowen, was born in Providence, R. I., June 13, 1739, and was educated at Yale College, where he graduated in the year 1757. Upon the completion of his college course he returned to Providence, where his great capacity for public business, joined to his unquestioned integrity, gave him an elevated character and a commanding influence in society. In 1773, 1774 and 1775 he was elected a member of the Town Council, served four years as Representative in the General Assembly, and was elected Deputy-Governor, which office he held from 1778 to 1780, and again from 1781 to 1786. He was also for several years a Judge of the Supreme Court. During the War of the Revolution, he was devoted to the cause of freedom, and occupied a place on important committees. As a member of the Board of War, he was active and influential, and his house was the resort of military officers of distinction, where they found a cordial welcome.

When the question of the power of the Parliament of Great Britain to pass laws *to bind the Colonies in all cases*, was first attempted to be carried into operation, Mr. Bowen was in the vigor of his days. Enjoying the high confidence of his fellow-citizens, he was one of those who asserted and advocated the rights of the Colonies; and when the question came to be decided by arms, although at that time on the Bench of the Supreme Judicial Court, he accepted the command of the first regiment of the county of Providence. After the British army had invaded the State, and had the island of Rhode Island in possession, he was appointed to the office of Deputy-Governor, and through the whole contest was an efficient member of the Council of War. In the principal movements of the army of the United States in this department, he was consulted by Generals Spencer, Sullivan and Gates.

Deputy-Governor Bowen was appointed by the General Assembly, in 1786, one of the Commissioners to represent the State in the Convention of States, proposed to be held at Annapolis, "to take into consideration the trade of the United States, to examine the relative situations and trade of the said States, to consider how far an uniform system in their commercial regulations may be necessary to their common interest and permanent harmony," etc. He was chairman of a committee of reconciliation between the town and the country, in 1788, when a disturbance was threatened, on the occasion of celebrating American Independence. He was likewise a member of the Convention that adopted the Constitution of the United States, at Newport, May 20, 1790, and during the administration of Washington, was Commissioner of Loans for Rhode Island.

Deputy-Governor Bowen took an earnest interest in the cause of popular education, and when the public free schools were established in Providence, he was placed on the first committee chosen to supervise them. He was an active and a devout member of the First Congregational Church, and President of the Rhode Island Bible Society. In 1785 he succeeded Governor Hopkins as Chancellor of Rhode Island College, now Brown University,— an office held by him until his decease, a period of thirty

years. As a member of the Masonic fraternity, the subject of this notice passed through various grades of office until, in 1774, he was elected Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island. He died May 8, 1815, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, greatly lamented, and was buried with Masonic honors, the Most Worshipful Grand Master, Thomas Smith Webb, together with subordinate officers and upwards of eighty brethren being present to assist in the funeral services. His remains were followed to the place of interment (the West Burying Ground) by the members of the corporation, the tutors and students of Brown University, the members of the First Congregational Church, and citizens generally. In 1848 they were transferred to Swan Point Cemetery.

HOME OF DEPUTY GOVERNOR JABEZ BOWEN, NORTH MAIN STREET, PROVIDENCE, 1780.

Prior to, and during the War of the Revolution, Deputy-Governor Bowen lived in a house on North Main street, fronting Market square, on the site of the present "What Cheer Building." Subsequently, and for many years, the house was occupied as a place of entertainment, and was known as "The Manufacturers' Hotel." From the front balcony of this house, the Declaration of Independence was read. In the later years of his life he erected a handsome mansion on George street, near Prospect, which he occupied during the residue of his life. When, some years ago, the University grounds were enlarged by taking in the lots upon which this house and the one adjoining stood the Bowen mansion was removed to Waterman street, a little north-east of "Hope College," and is now (1882) occupied by Colonel William W. Brown. To Governor Bowen's

forecast and liberality the city of Providence is indebted for the planting of the stately elms which ornament College street, and whose interlaced branches present to the beholder, as he ascends the hill on an unclouded moon-lit evening, a picture of surpassing beauty. Governor Bowen owned a fine estate in Cranston, in the management of which he found pleasant relaxation from the fatigues and perplexities of public duties.

Deputy-Governor Bowen was twice married; first, December 19, 1762, to Sarah Brown, daughter of Obadiah Brown, by whom he had seven sons and one daughter. Mrs. Bowen died March 17, 1800. His second marriage, May 21, 1801, was to Peddy Leonard, a daughter of Judge Leonard, of Raynham, Mass. Excellent and life-like portraits of himself and of the first Mrs. Bowen, were painted by the celebrated Copley, and are now in possession of their grandson, William H. Bowen, Esq., of Providence. Three of his sons graduated at Brown University, viz.: Jabez, in the class of 1788; Horatio Gates, (seventeen years Librarian,) in 1797; and Henry, in 1802. The latter was for thirty years the honored Secretary of the State of Rhode Island. He married, February 11, 1808, Harriet Amanda Munroe, daughter of James and Rebecca Munroe, of Boston. Mr. Secretary Bowen was born January 5, 1783, and died in Providence April 16, 1867, aged eighty-two years, three months and eleven days. He was the father of eight children, viz.: Henry L., Harriet Amanda, Horatio, (died young,) William, (died young,) Caroline, William Horatio, (died young,) William Horatio, Charles James

MEMORANDA OF DEPUTY-GOVERNOR JABEZ BOWEN.

1769. With others, petitioned the General Assembly to be relieved from obligation to keep open a fish way on a branch of the Pawtuxet in Scituate, on which the company had erected iron-works.

1770. One of the charter members of the Benevolent Congregational Society in Providence.

1771. A petitioner with others to General Assembly for permission to raise "the sum of £560, lawful money," by lottery, "to be applied to purchasing a Parsonage" for the use of the First Congregational Society in Providence.

1774. Appointed Major in the militia.

1775. Appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in the militia.

" Appointed one of the Inspectors of Salt Petre in the Colony.

" Member of a committee "to enquire the price of cannon" Reported January 12, 1776.

1776. Chosen Colonel of the first regiment of militia in the county of Providence.

" Appointed a Justice of the Superior Court.

" Appointed on a committee "to inquire of the Commissaries now here from the neighboring States, the allowance of provisions and necessaries to the said soldiers in continental service."

1777. Chosen a Justice of the Superior Court.

" Chosen Colonel of the first regiment of militia in the county of Providence.

1778. Appointed by the General Assembly one of a committee to take into consideration the petition of Joseph Ballou, of Cumberland, for liberty to raise £8,000 by lottery, to defray the expense of opening a silver mine discovered on his land in said town.

" Chosen a member of the Council of War for the county of Providence. The other members were John Sayles, Gideon Comstock, John Updike, James Lovett, and Esek Hopkins.

1779. Received from the State £48 for expenses in attending a convention in East Greenwich.

1786. Appointed one of the Commissioners to meet Commissioners of other States in the Union "to take into consideration the trade of the United States," etc.

1788. Elected Deputy to represent Providence in the General Assembly.

1791. The General Assembly "voted and resolved" to refund two hundred dollars, "specie value," to Jabez Bowen, advanced by him in 1785 to a delegate in Congress from Rhode Island. The advance was refunded "with compound interest thereon."

A VISIT FROM THE INDIANS.

WAR DANCE—INDIANS AT WEST POINT—HACKER'S HALL.

HITHERTO in the war, the *active* sympathy of some of the Indian tribes with the operations of the English had been displayed, and it was deemed a sound expedient to draw those occupying a neutral position into equally active relations with the American and French troops. "Many of the Iroquois Indians," says Sparks, "had been strongly attached to the French in former times, particularly during the last [French] war, and they still retained a lively remembrance of the amicable intercourse that had then existed. When M. de Vaudreuil surrendered Canada to the British, he gave to the Indians, as tokens of recognizance,

a golden crucifix and a watch; and it was supposed that a renewal of the impressions, which had been in some degree preserved among the tribes by those emblems of friendship, would have the effect to detach them from the influence of the British, and strengthen their union with the Americans and French. For this end a journey to Newport was planned.[1]

General Sullivan, who approved of the plan, selected a deputation of eighteen Indians. Of these, thirteen were Oneidas and Tuscaroras, and five Caughnawagas, from Canada. On their journey they passed through Providence, and were entertained at Colonel Olney's. This was one of the popular incidents of the week.[2] With their interpreter Mr James Deane, they reached Newport August 29th, and were received with distinguished consideration by the French commanders and by General Heath. On the day of their arrival, they dined with the Count de Rochambeau at his headquarters, where he presented to them red handkerchiefs. To the chiefs, medals were given representing the coronation of the French king. With all these they were much pleased. General Heath entertained them with a sumptuous repast. They also dined with Admiral De Ternay, aboard the Duc de Bourgogne, whom, it is said, "they behaved themselves well, and ate nearly enough." By request, they performed a war dance before the officers of the armies.

With rare gravity and decorum, they painted, sometimes with the exception of a blanket, nearly approximating to nature, went songs mingled with war cries, and movements to time such as beating two small sticks, they presented to their amused hosts a scene that might have satisfied a savage fashion in its most exacting mood.

In requitation, the French troops made a parade, manoeuvring and firing, much to the gratification of their Indian

[1] The account of the entertainment was, in part, taken from a newspaper of the

guests. Of those sons of the forest, General Rochambeau writes:

"The different deputations of savages who came to the camp showed no surprise at the sight of the cannons, troops and their exercises; but they did not recover from their astonishment at seeing the apple trees laden with fruit above the tents which the soldiers had occupied for three months.

"One of the chiefs of the savages, of whom mention is made above, made to me, in a public audience, a reflection that surprised me. 'My father,' said he, 'It is very astonishing that the King of France, our

INDIAN WAR DANCE.

father, sends his troops to protect the Americans in an insurrection against the King of England, their father.' Your father, the King of France, I replied, protects the natural liberty that God has given to man. The Americans have been overloaded with burdens which they were no longer able to bear. He has found their complaints just. We shall everywhere be the friends of their friends, and the enemies of their enemies. But I cannot but exhort you to the strictest neutrality in all these quarrels. Thus it was that I extricated myself, as well as I could, from a question which was not free from embarrassment. Good treatment and many presents were still more conclusive in the negotiation with these savages, which terminated and was maintained, entirely to our satisfaction, during the three campaigns of the French army in America."*

* Memoirs, vol. i., pp. [illegible].

In noting this episode, Washington writes to de Rochambeau:

"The visit you have had from the Indians gives me great pleasure. I felicitate you on that, which you must have had in the company of such agreeable and respectable guests. I dare say the reception they met with will have a good effect. It has been the policy of the English in regard to them, to discredit the accounts of an alliance between France and America, a conviction of which, on the substantial evidence of your army and fleet, and not less of your presents and good cheer, will not fail to have a happy influence."

HACKER'S HALL.

On the second of September, the delegation took its departure for home. In passing again through Providence, it was entertained at Hacker's Hall, by order of the General Assembly, at an expense of £30, 18*s*.

At the request of General Heath, the Hon. Christopher Ellery, of Newport, advanced to Mr. James Deane, the conductor of the delegation, the sum of eight hundred continental dollars, to defray its expenses. For this sum he was authorized to draw on General Philip Schuyler. Mr. Ellery having endorsed the order, it was accepted and refunded to him out of the general treasury of Rhode Island, by a vote of the General Assembly.

From Providence, a portion of this delegationp roceeded to West Point, where, to impress its members with an idea of the strength of the American army, they were honored with a review. Describing it, Dr. Thatcher, who was present on the occasion, says:

"The army was paraded to be reviewed by General Washington, accompanied by a number of Indian chiefs. His Excellency, mounted on his noble bay charger, rode in front of the line of the army, and received the usual salute. Six Indian chiefs followed in his train, appearing as the most disgusting and contemptible of the human race; their faces painted of various colors, their hair twisted into bunches on the top of their heads, and dressed in a miserable Indian habit, some with a dirty blanket over the shoulders, and others almost naked. They were mounted on horses of the poorest kind, with undressed sheep skins instead of saddles, and old ropes for bridles. These bipeds could not refrain from the indulgence of their appetites for rum on this occasion, and some of them fell from their horses on their return to headquarters."

With reference to the foregoing, the following memorandum was made in a diary by the Rev. Dr. Enos Hitchcock, a Chaplain in General Patterson's brigade, who was present:

"WEST POINT, September 13, 1780.

"This morning the whole army turned out to be received by a number of Indians, some chiefs, a committee from several tribes in Canada, who were sent to Rhode Island to obtain the certainty of a French fleet, which the British endeavored to keep a secret from them."

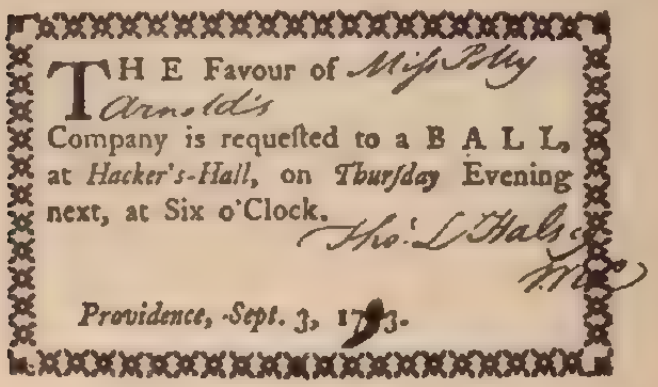
HACKER'S HALL.

This building, a view of which is given on page 252, was located on the east side of South Main street, between Planet and Power streets. It was a large, plain, substantial-looking wooden house, two stories high, with a basement story fronting on the street. It contained a convenient hall, that on public and private festive occasions vied with the popular "Golden Ball," now the "Mansion House," on Benefit street. This house was built by *Joshua Hacker*, who came when a young man to Providence, from Salem, Mass., about the year 1764. He was engaged for many years in sailing a packet between Providence and Newport, and after retiring from that business he opened at the *Hall* a house of entertainment. Balls and parties were here held by the élite of the town. Here Washington, Sullivan, Varnum, Gates, Rochambeau and other distinguished characters were, at different times, superbly entertained. June 30, 1778, a Court of

Inquiry sat at *Hacker's Hall*, to examine into the conduct of a Baker for the Military Department of Providence, on the charge of not delivering to the officers and soldiers their proper weight of bread. Major Flagg presided.

A fac-simile specimen of an invitation to a ball at Hacker's is herewith given. The original was printed on the back of a playing card, as were several other similar invitations, of different dates, that have been placed in my hands. Plain card-board then was probably scarce.

The manager of the ball, Thomas Lloyd Halsey, was a prominent and wealthy merchant of Providence, and held the office of French Agent for


THE Favour of Miss Polly Arnold's Company is requested to a BALL, at *Hacker's-Hall*, on *Thursday* Evening next, at Six o'Clock.
Thos. L. Halsey
Providence, Sept. 3, 1793.

Rhode Island. The Polly Arnold, to whom the invitation was addressed, was the daughter of Colonel Benjamin Arnold, of Warwick, living not far from Pawtuxet. She was a young lady of attractive person and of engaging manners.

Joshua Hacker was a son of Isaac Hacker, of Salem, a name honorably perpetuated in that ancient city. He became the owner of considerable real estate in Providence. His homestead property extended from "Hacker's wharf," nearly opposite his dwelling, to Benefit street. He was an original member of the corporation of the Benevolent Congregational Society in Providence. He had several children. His eldest daughter, Hannah, who is still rembered by elderly citizens, died unmarried. His son, Hoysted, settled in New York city, and April 10, 1795, after his father's decease, sold his interest in the estate to Joseph Peck for $600. The estate afterwards became the property of Seth Adams, senior, father of the late Seth Adams, junior, a wealthy flour merchant of Providence. Joshua Hacker lived and died a respected citizen.

"Hacker's Hall" was destroyed by the "Great Fire" in January, 1821. A brick dwelling now occupies its site.

REVIVAL OF BUSINESS.

THE ruin brought upon the commerce and other business of Newport, while it was occupied by the enemy, has already been described* But the presence of the French allies acted as a charm to stay a downward course, and to infuse new life into the business of the town.

"The market offered great prices and prompt pay, in hard money, for all the productions of the surrounding country. Such an accession of numbers indeed required more than could be furnished, and the coasting craft were all put in requisition to avail themselves of this enviable market. The town was thronged with sailors, soldiers, and other strangers, drawn by patriotism, duty, curiosity, or the pursuit of gain. All the buildings were again filled with inhabitants, and all the old still-houses, bake-houses, stores and out-buildings were temporarily repaired for the use of the French soldiers. The meeting-houses, which still remained in the dilapidated state in which the English had left them, now were used by the French for the same or similar purposes." †

THE BRITISH WRECKS.

It has already been mentioned ‡ that in the alarm occasioned by the appearance of D'Estaing's fleet in the harbor of Newport, the British sunk two and burned eight of their guard-ships, stationed in the East Passage and in the waters of Narragansett Bay, to prevent their falling into the hands of our French ally. Ten days before the arrival of Admiral De Ternay's squadron, the frigate Flora, of thirty-two guns, which had been sunk in Newport harbor nearly two years previously, was raised, and a quantity of provisions found on

*Ante, p. 150 † Newport Mercury, August 10, 1861 ‡ Ante, p. 67

board. It appears that persons belonging to the Admiral's squadron soon engaged in fishing up from the wrecks anchors, cables, and other materials, and converting them to their own advantage. As the wrecks had already been sold for the benefit of the State, at an auction held at John Lawton's hotel, (now the Park House,) in Newport, and purchased by Griffin Greene, Cromwell Child and Caleb Gardner, for the sum of £75,000, "lawful money," the operation of self-constituted wreckers was a trespass upon their legal rights. They brought the subject to the attention of the General Assembly, which directed Governor Greene to write to the Admiral, "setting forth the sale of the wrecks, etc., to them by this State," and entreating him to prevent further trespass, and also "to restore unto the purchasers the anchors already weighed, upon their paying a proper allowance therefor." This probably proved effectual, as no further complaint was heard. How valuable the purchase became to the owners is unknown. At the same auction were sold two hundred tons of hay, cut by the British troops and left on Conanicut island.

NEWPORT SOCIETY IN 1780.

IF, in 1777, Neal, charmed with the physical features and with the society of Newport, pronounced it the Paradise of New England, it is not a matter of surprise that, in 1780, the Abbé Robin and the Count de Ségur, with keen appreciation of the beautiful in nature and of refinement in social life, should have endorsed the sentiment. Says the latter: "Newport, well and regularly built, contained a numerous population, whose happiness was indicated by its prosperity. It afforded delightful circles, composed of enlightened men

and modest, handsome women, whose talents heightened their personal attractions." The generous hospitality of the merchant princes of Newport; the culture and character of its clerical, medical and legal professions; the attractive features of home life; the beauty and refinement of its vivacious young women; and, withal, the retiring and modest deportment of the fair daughters that graced the families of the Society of Friends, certainly authorized the admiration expressed by the Count.

The names and traditions of many of the "Belles of Newport," in 1780, are preserved with almost the freshness of yesterday. Among those around which are twined the romance and witchery of feminine loveliness, may be mentioned Polly Lawton, (or Leighton, as the name was then pronounced,) "the very pearl of Newport beauties," and her sister Eliza; Polly Wanton, Molly, Emma and Abby Robinson, four charming women of the faith of Fox; Isabel and Amey Ward, daughters of Governor Richard Ward; Eliza, Katherine and Nancy Hunter; Mehetabel Redwood, daughter of Abraham Redwood, founder of the "Redwood Library"; Margaret and Mary Champlin, daughters of Christopher Champlin, an enterprising and a successful merchant; Betsey Ellery and her sisters, daughters of William Ellery, signer of the Declaration of Independence; Miss Brinley, daughter of Thomas Brinley, Esq.;* Miss Sylvan, and others of scarcely less note. These, with the many susceptible and attentive French officers, gave to social life in Newport a greatly increased brilliancy. To complete the picture of the time, brief notices of ladies already mentioned here follow. First on the list is the Quakeress Polly Lawton, daughter of Robert Lawton. Mr. Lawton was born in Newport in 1738. He was a man of large wealth, and ranked socially with the first citizens of his native town. He married Massy Easton, daughter of James Easton, and a lineal descendant of Nicholas Easton, a Colonial Governor of Rhode Island. His

*Ante, p. 96.

children, besides Polly, were Elizabeth, George, Robert, Nicholas, and two who died in infancy. Mr. Lawton's family servants were sixteen negro slaves, who came to his ownership by his marriage. The most noted of these was "black Sam Easton," who was servant to the ladies of the family, and attended them in all their carriage drives and horseback rides. Part of the slaves was kept at his town house and part at his farm* at Sechuest Point. Besides his landed estate, Mr. Lawton owned a considerable number of vessels engaged principally in the coasting trade. His home, still standing, was at the corner of Spring and Touro streets, in the western rooms of which several French officers, with their servants, were quartered. In the features and the *spirituelle* manner of his daughter Polly there appeared a beauty and a grace perfectly enchanting, and which drew from her foreign admirers adjectives of warmest praise.

"So much beauty," says Count Ségur, "so much simplicity, so much elegance, so much modesty, were perhaps never before combined in the same person. Her gown was white, like herself, whilst her ample muslin neckerchief and the envious cambric of her cap, which scarcely allowed me to see her light-colored hair, and the modest attire, in short, of a pious virgin, seemed vainly to endeavor to conceal the most graceful figure and the most beautiful form imaginable. She was a nymph rather than a woman. Her eyes seemed to reflect, as in a mirror, the meekness and purity of her mind and the goodness of her heart. She received us with an open ingenuousness which delighted me, and the use of the

*Charles Blaskowitz gives, on the margin of his "Topographical Map of the Bay of Narragansett," etc., published in 1777, a "List of the Principal Farms in Rhode Island," as follows: [Governor] John Collins, James Brenton, Jahleel Brenton, Benjamin Brenton, Mr. Harrison, Charles Wickham, Mr. Church, Jonathan Easton, [Governor] Nicholas Easton, Walter Easton, Robert Lawton, Mr. Barker, [James] Hunnyman, Mr. Lopez, Mr. Klam, Mr. Bowler, Mr. Scott, Isaac Lawton, Abraham Redwood, James Potter, [John] Overing, Mr. Jepson, [George] Home, Mr. Gould, Mr. Pillinghast, Thomas Banister, William Redwood, John Banister, Mr. Dudley, Godfrey Malbone, Mr. Pease, Mr. Samuel Dyre and Mr. Wanton.

familiar word *thou*, which the rules of her sect prescribed, gave to our new acquaintance the appearance of an old friendship."

The conversation of Miss Lawton, marked by candor and originality, seems to have been scarcely less fascinating than her personal appearance. The discourse turned upon the existing war, which the fair confabulant appears not to have viewed with favor. Said she, "We ought never to interfere in other people's business, unless it be to reconcile them together and prevent the effusion of blood."

"But," replied the Count. "My King has ordered me to come here and engage his enemies and your own."

"Thy King, then," rejoined Miss Lawton, "orders thee to do a thing which is unjust, inhuman, and contrary to what thy God ordereth, thou shouldst obey thy God and disobey thy King, for he is a King to preserve and not to destroy. I am sure that thy wife, if she have a good heart, is of my opinion."

"What," exclaims the Count, "could I reply to that angel? For in truth, I was tempted to believe that she was a celestial being. Certain it is, that, if I had not been married and happy, I should, whilst coming to defend the liberty of the Americans, have lost my own at the feet of Polly Leiton."*

There must have been a magical charm in the manners and conversation of Miss Lawton, for them to have obtained such supremacy in the regards of all who were admitted to her society. The Prince de Broglie, who visited her in Newport, says: "She enchanted us all; and although evidently little conscious of it, was not at all sorry to please those whom she graciously called her friends. . . . . I confess that this seductive Lawton appeared to me to be the *chef d'œuvre* of nature; and whenever I recall her image, I am tempted to write a great book against the finery, the

*A manuscript note on the margin of the volume from which I quote says that later editions read "I would have laid down my sword and myself at the feet of Polly Leiton."

factitious graces, and the coquetry of many ladies whom the world admires."

But though not in sympathy with the war-spirit, Polly, like her father, was friendly to the cause of the colonies, and both of them did all they could, consistently with their religious principles, to aid it. While the British were in possession of Newport, Polly united with a club of young women in secretly manufacturing clothing, moccasins, shoes and stockings from old felt hats, rags, carpets, and any other materials they could procure, for the Rhode Island troops in New York, and these were as secretly forwarded to their destination by her father and Elisha Anthony, of Warwick.*

Polly Lawton, in 1787, married John Bringhurst, of Philadelphia. The wedding was a fine social event, the festivities being kept up for several days. Bringhurst belonged to one of the best families of Philadelphia, and like his bride, he was a Quaker. Polly was very happy in her marriage and in her social life. She had the entrée to the presidential mansion, by having been introduced to Washington at Newport, and by means of her husband. Two children were born of the marriage, but both died young, and there are no descendants of Polly Lawton living. She died at Philadelphia on the 11th day of the 2d month, 1793, aged thirty-two years, three months and three days. It is said that Bringhurst never recovered from the loss of his wife, and that his death, which occurred a short time after her own, was due to a broken heart. Her miniature, painted in 1790, he always carried with him, attached to a cord around his neck, and when he died, it was delivered to the Lawton family.†

Mr. Anthony Lawton, a grandson of Robert Lawton, the father of Polly, is living in Troy, N. Y. To him I am

*This coterie of the "Daughters of Liberty," without any formal organization, consisted of Polly and Elizabeth Lawton, Patience Easton, Mrs. George Irish,) Sally Easton, (Mrs. John Ladd, of Alexandria, Va.,) Elizabeth Anthony, (Mrs. Christopher C. Robinson, of South Kingstown,) Mary Anthony, (Mrs. Rodman Gardner,) Martha Redwood, (Mrs. Christopher G. Champlin,) Miss Margaret Champlin, (Mrs. Benjamin Mason,) and many others.

†A life-size portrait, copied from this miniature, is in the Redwood Library, Newport.

indebted for interesting particulars used in the foregoing narrative, and also for permission to have made a photographic copy of the miniature portrait of Mrs. Bringhurst, with which this volume is embellished. In a private note he says, "My aunt's name was Mary Ann Lawton. Her acquaintance and friends called her Polly." By this cognomen, as a belle of Newport, she will ever be known.

Elizabeth Lawton, though less attractive than her sister, was a remarkably fine looking woman, tall and slender, with a carriage of unusual grace and gentility, heightened by an elegant simplicity of attire. Notwithstanding her numerous admirers, she died unmarried.

The Misses Hunter,—Eliza, Katherine and Nancy,—were the daughters of Dr. William and Deborah Hunter, and by their feminine graces no less than by their beauty and mental culture, were ornaments of the circle in which they moved. Dr. Hunter, an eminent physician of Newport, had been dead three years when the French allies arrived. His widow, a daughter of Colonel Godfrey Malbone, inherited much of her father's taste and generous hospitality.*

*A portrait of Dr. Hunter, now in possession of his great-grandson, Dr. William Hunter Birckhead, of Newport, represents him as dressed in the finished costume of a gentleman of the day, and wearing a bag wig. His countenance, said Dr. David King, in an address before the Rhode Island Medical Society in 1870, "was open, handsome and manly. Newport was in the height of its commercial prosperity when he took up his residence in the town. A prosperous gale wafted him on to fortune. He allied himself by marriage to one of the most distinguished, wealthy and aristocratic families in the colony,—that of Godfrey Malbone. He enjoyed success in his profession, and prosperity in his family, till the times were overcast, clouded and darkened by presages, indications and threatenings of the War of the Revolution. Dr. Hunter, probably from an early experience of the disastrous effects of popular delusion in Scotland, was, from the first appearance of our troubles, an open, a bold and a manly advocate for the authority of Great Britain. By these candid utterances he offended the 'Sons of Liberty' and the patriotic party. On January 31, 1777, he died, after a short illness, from a putrid fever contracted while in attendance at the Army Hospital, aged forty-four years. He was buried in Trinity church yard."

The Newport *Gazette*, published by the British authorities while in military occupation of the island of Rhode Island, describes him as one "in whom concentrated all those virtues which adorn the patriot, the husband, and compose the parent . . . The patience with which he bore the many and unprovoked insults of his countrymen deserves every encomium, and perhaps the goodness of his disposition is not in any instance more conspicuous than in forbearing to retaliate the injuries of many whom the restoration of the authority of his sovereign had placed in his power."

Dr. Hunter, the father, was the first to deliver a course of medical and surgical lectures,

Of Mrs. Hunter and her amiable daughters, the Duke de Lauzun thus speaks: "Madame Hunter, a widow of some thirty-six years of age, had two [three] charming daughters, whom she had perfectly well educated. They lived in a very retired manner, and saw scarcely any one. Chance introduced me to Madame, on my arrival in Rhode Island. She received me into her friendship, and I was presently

THE WANTON MANSION.—HOME OF DR. WILLIAM HUNTER.—HEADQUARTERS OF ADMIRAL DE TERNAY.

regarded as one of the family. I really lived there, and when I was taken seriously ill, she brought me to her house, and lavished upon me the most touching attentions. I was not in love with the Misses Hunter; but had they been my sisters, I could not have liked them better, especially the

which attracted pupils from other States. In the French war, he accompanied the expedition to Canada as surgeon.

The late Hon. William Hunter, a distinguished lawyer, orator and diplomatist, was a son of Dr. Hunter. A son of the former, Hon. William Hunter, for many years Assistant Secretary of the State Department in Washington, still lives, at an advanced age, and resides in that city.

eldest, who is one of the most amiable persons I have ever met." *

As an offset to this disclaimer of the tender passion, credible tradition affirms that the impression made on his heart by Miss Katherine, to whom he specially refers, was stronger than ordinary friendship, and that on the night of the day previously to leaving Rhode Island for his own country, he, with characteristic gallantry, rode from Providence to Newport, that he might pass a final hour in her society.

The Prince de Broglie, who was enraptured with the charms of Miss Champlin, speaks of the Misses Hunter as her rivals in reputation and in beauty. The elder, Eliza, he remarks in criticism, "dresses at least as well as Miss Champlin," though he adds "not quite so freshly, perhaps." Nancy he denominates "a rose in person."

In 1786, Madame Hunter, accompanied by her daughters, went to Europe to see if anything could be done to save the eyesight of Eliza, then threatened with blindness. They never returned to America. Katherine married the Count de Cardigan, a French nobleman of the old régime. A miniature portrait of her, contained in a locket set with garnets, shows her to have been a very lovely woman. Nancy became the wife of M. Falconet, an eminent banker of Naples.† A miniature of Eliza, painted by Copley, represents her as even more beautiful than Katherine. She never married. Devoted to literature, her eyes were affected by close application, and total blindness came upon her. Yet so brilliant were the orbs, and so little did they betray the calamity that had befallen her, that strangers uninformed of it, when introduced to her, did not readily detect it. She was accomplished in music, and so quick and retentive had her

* Memoirs, French Ed., Paris, 1822, p. 347.

† The Count de Cardigan is understood to have suffered the guillotine in the frenzy of the French Revolution. A son became an officer in the French service. Madame Falconet had several children. One daughter was married to Count Pourtales, in Paris, notable for the extent and the great value of his collection of art treasures. Another daughter became the wife of John Izard Middleton, of South Carolina.

[illegible]

[illegible]

of an early disappointment. With the second daughter, Molly, a cousin, so the story runs, fell in love, but the rules of the Society forbade a union of those so near akin, and he was forced to subdue his passion as best he could. It is said, that on one occasion, after going from her presence, his desire to renew the interview was so strong, that he allowed himself to fall from the ferry-boat into the water, that in the immersion he might find an excuse for returning! Whether this ardor of affection was reciprocated is unknown, but probably it was not. The object of it was subsequently married to Mr. John Morton, a wealthy member of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia, and became distinguished as a preacher and a philanthropist.

Mehetabel Redwood was as marked for personal beauty as for brilliance of mind. Persons now living, who knew her personally in later years, affirm that the glowing descriptions of her charms, handed down from her contemporary admirers, could not have been exaggerations. She married Benjamin Ellery. A daughter of this union married Hon. Christopher Grant Champlin, brother of the Misses Champlin, already mentioned.

Margaret Champlin was the daughter of Christopher Champlin, as before said, an enterprising and a successful merchant of Newport, who owned, lived and died in the house No. 119 Thames street, which he purchased of the heirs of William Brenton, in 1767, the year of his marriage to Margaret Grant, daughter of Sueton Grant, who was killed by the "gunpowder accident," so called, in 1744.* Mrs. Grant was a woman far above the average in noble

* Mr. Champlin was a son of Christopher and Hannah Champlin, of Charlestown, R. I., where he was born. He early removed to Newport. He was President of the Bank of Rhode Island, and the first Grand Master of the Masonic fraternity in the State. He died on the 25th of April, 1855, in the seventy fifth year of his age, and his remains were deposited in the North Burial Ground. An obituary notice of him says, "His character was not of public eminence, but of private worth." — *Newport Mercury*.

traits, and her daughters and granddaughters were worthy descendants. Mr. Champlin had one son and three daughters. The son was the late Christopher Grant Champlin, who took an active part in the affairs of the State, and was six years a prominent Representative and Senator in Congress, was president of Rhode Island Union Bank, and a member of the Society of the Cincinnati. He graduated at Harvard University, and spent several years in Europe, principally at the College at St. Omars. He married a daughter of Benjamin and Mehetabel Redwood Ellery, and died without issue in 1840, in the seventy-second year of his age, universally honored for scrupulous integrity, public spirit, warm-hearted benevolence, and the kindly virtues of social and domestic life. His estate on Mary street was subsequently owned and occupied by the late Lieutenant-Governor Duncan C. Pell.

At the time the French were in Newport, Mr. Champlin's daughters, Margaret, Mary and Elizabeth, had grown to be lovely girls, and the father's hospitalities were graciously extended to the officers of the French and American forces.

Mary Champlin married a British officer named Bell, and went to England, where she died. Elizabeth married John Coffin Jones, of Boston, where her descendants still reside. The three sisters were all highly accomplished, and particularly Margaret. She spoke French fluently, and had a fine taste for literature, and a large correspondence. She preserved her letters up to the time of the war of 1812, when fearing that the British would again take possession of Newport, and knowing that in that case her own house, where the family of Commodore O. H. Perry then resided, would in all probability be searched, she committed her large collection of papers to the flames. When the danger had passed, she greatly regretted this hasty step, as must all who read these pages. Amongst her papers were letters from some of the most distinguished men and women of the day, including a valentine from Kosciusko. This was sent

to her in a box of mother-of-pearl, inlaid with gold, and lined with the same, which is now in the possession of a grandson, George C. Mason, Esq., of Newport. Her well-stored mind, fascinating manners, and conversational powers, made her society very attractive.

Margaret married Dr. Benjamin Mason, a merchant of Newport, who was connected with the prominent families of that name in Boston. Dr. Mason studied medicine with Dr. Isaac Center, early took a leading place in the profession, and died under forty years of age, from too close a devotion to his profession. He left a widow with four children. The eldest daughter, Elizabeth Champlin, married Commodore O. H. Perry. The eldest son, Benjamin, died in 1826. The youngest, Grant, died at twenty-one. The other son, George Champlin, married a daughter of the late Benjamin B. Mumford. The descendants of Mrs. Mason are Oliver H. Perry; Mrs. Frank Vinton, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Benjamin A. Mason and George C. Mason. These are grandchildren. Of great-grandchildren there is a number. Mrs. Mason was of slight figure and of strong constitution. Her last sickness, which was of short duration, was the only illness she had known through life. She was seventy-five years old when she died, had never worn glasses, and retained all her teeth until about two years before her death, when she lost one or two.

The Prince De Broglie, on the eve of his departure from the country, visited Newport. With the appearance of the town he was delighted, and pronounced it "a charming place." His introduction to its society he thus describes:

"That same evening, M. Vauban introduced us at the house of Mr. Champlain, well enough known to us for his wealth but much more known in the army for the lovely face of his daughter. She was not in the drawing-room at the moment of our arrival, but she appeared an instant after. It is useless to say that we examined her with attention, which was to treat her handsomely, for the result of our observation was to find that she had beautiful eyes and an agreeable mouth a lovely face, a fine figure, a pretty foot, and the general effect altogether attractive. She added to

all these advantages that of being dressed and coiffée with taste, that is to say in the French fashion, besides which she spoke and understood our language.

"We rendered to her charms the tribute of admiration and polite civility due to them, and then hastened off for the purpose of saying just about the same thing concerning the Misses Hunter, who were her rivals in beauty and in reputation.

"Enchanted with these first specimens of Newport, we returned home at an early hour. Vauban promised us something even better for the next day, and he kept his word. Without saying where he was conducting us, he took us to a house where an old gentleman, very serious, very silent, received us without taking off his hat, bade us sit down without compliments, and only answered in monosyllables to the observations which we addressed to him.

"This first interview seemed to us very queer, and we began to suspect that we must be in the house of a Quaker. Just then the door opened, and in came the very goddess of grace and beauty. It was Minerva herself, who had exchanged her warlike vestments for the charms of a simple shepherdess. Her name was Polly Lawton. According to the custom of her sect, when she spoke to us she used 'thou,' but with a grace and simplicity only to be compared to that of her costume. This was a species of English gown, pretty close to the figure, white as milk, an apron of the same whiteness, a fichu very full and firmly fastened. Her head-dress was a simple little cap of very fine muslin, plaited and passed around the head, which allowed only half an inch of hair to be visible, but which had the effect of giving to Polly the air of a Holy Virgin.

"She seemed to be in no respect conscious of her charms. She spoke with ease, and 'thoued' like the Quakers the most unaffected and polite remarks. She enchanted all of us, which she discovered, and did not appear dissatisfied at pleasing those that she kindly called her friends.

"Polly had a sister dressed like herself, and of a very agreeable appearance, but one had not the time to look at her while her elder sister was present.

"Miss Brinley, Miss Sylvan, and some other ladies, to whom I was introduced, after having quitted the lovely Quakeress, convinced me that Newport possessed more than one rosebud."

Isabel Ward was married to Captain Huxford Marchant. She was one of the patriotic women of the period. From her private resources, in an hour of need, she loaned to the colonial government a considerable sum of money, which was subsequently repaid.

Amey Ward, born September 12, 1741, married Samuel Vernon, a prominent Newport merchant. She died January

17, 1792, in her seventy-fifth year. The issue of this marriage was eleven children, five of whom died young. Their daughter, Mary, was married to Christopher Ellery, brother of William Ellery, the signer of the Declaration of Independence. Another daughter, Amey, was married to Samuel King, a distinguished portrait painter,—"instructor of Allston and Malbone." Still another daughter, Ann, "one of the sprightliest wits of Newport colonial society," was married, October 23, 1786, to Dr. David Olyphant, who, at the breaking out of the Revolution, became Medical Director of the armies of the Carolinas, under Generals Gates and Greene. He was also a member of the Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati. After the war, he took up his residence in Newport, and occupied the house on Church street, which still bears his name, and which is now* occupied by the Reverend Thatcher Thayer, D. D.† These five ladies were numbered among the graces of Newport society.

Polly (or Mary) Wanton was a daughter of John G. and Molly (Bull) Wanton, and a granddaughter of Governor Gideon Wanton. Her father was distinguished as a successful merchant in Newport, and while the town was occupied by the French allies, his home became the daily scene of a generous hospitality. Her mother, a daughter of Governor Henry Bull, was a woman of fine presence, and held a prominent position in the highest circle of society. At her baptism in infancy, Bishop Berkeley, a friend of her father, stood godfather. As a memorial of this event, she preserved with great care, during her life, a copy of the Bishop's "Minute Philosopher." She died in North Providence, March 12, 1821, in the ninety-third year of her age.

Polly inherited all the attractive qualities of her mother. A simple garb set off a sylph-like form to great advantage. With dainty feet and hands, with a face that in beauty and

* March, 1882. † See Ellery & Vernon Genealogy.

expression a Hebe might have envied, and with a mind refined by careful culture, many enthusiastic young French officers were drawn to her presence as to a shrine. But from these she turned and gave her hand in marriage to Colonel Daniel Lyman, Chief of Staff in General Heath's military family.* In close intimacy with her lived a relative, Polly Bull, a young woman of attractive person and manners. Between these two fast friends, a French admirer of the former drew the following distinction: "Polly Bull is very handsome, but Polly Wanton is very charming and cunning," using the word "cunning" in the sense of being superior in intelligence.†

Castle Hill, the hospitable home of John Collins, Governor from 1786 to 1790, was made particularly attractive by the presence of a handsome female relative and of her feminine social companions. The distance from the center of the town afforded a pleasant morning or afternoon gallop for the officers of the army. Calls were therefore frequent. One day, a French officer, accompanied by Major Lyman, rode over to the charming home to pay his respects to the ladies. On approaching the house, the Frenchman challenged the Major to join him in leaping the fence in front, which challenge he accepted. The Frenchman led. His horse was unequal to the effort, and fell, throwing his rider upon the lawn, much to the amusement of the young ladies, who, seated at the windows, had watched this specimen of his

*Ante, p. 41.

† Mrs. Lyman was the mother of thirteen children, viz: Annie Maria, married to Richard K. Randolph, of Virginia. He settled in Newport. Harriet, married to Benjamin Hazard, of Newport, lawyer. Margaret, married to Samuel Arnold, of Smithfield, manufacturer; Polly, or Mary, married to Jacob Dunnell, of the island of Madeira, merchant; Eliza, died unmarried; Thomas, merchant, died unmarried. John Wanton, merchant and manufacturer, married Eliza, daughter of Seth Wheaton, of Providence. Daniel, merchant, died unmarried. Henry Bull, manufacturer, married Caroline, daughter of Elisha Dyer, of Providence. Louisa, married to Dr. George H. Tillinghast, of Providence. Sally, married to Governor Lemuel H. Arnold; Julia Maria, married to John H. Easton, of Newport. Emily, died young. In 1872, there were, so far as could be ascertained, 4,100 persons living of the name of Lyman.

horsemanship, and equally to his mortification at the ludicrous plight in which he appeared before them. Major Lyman followed, his horse clearing the fence with ease. No second attempt at this kind of amusement was made.

In Newport society of this period the name of Channing will be remembered as among the foremost representative families. William Channing, son of John Channing, and grandson of John, who came to Newport in 1715, was born in that town, May 31, 1751. He was prepared for College at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., and entered Princeton College, from which he was graduated in 1769. Selecting the law for his profession, he studied with Attorney-General Oliver Arnold, an eminent lawyer of Providence. He took a high rank in his profession, and for twelve years held the office of Attorney-General of his native State.

In 1791 he was appointed by Washington the first United States District Attorney, under the Constitution, for the District of Rhode Island.

Mr. Channing, says the Honorable Asher Robbins, "was well read in the law, especially in the forms of pleading. Law cases were his favorite reading, even for amusement. He had a large library, and one well selected. He was very popular in the State. His manner of speaking at the bar was rapid, vehement and impressive. He had an extensive practice, attended all the courts of the State regularly, and was considered, for several years before his death, as the leading counsel of the State."

In 1773 Mr. Channing married Lucy Ellery, daughter of William Ellery, who, by her graces of person and mind gained in her father's family before marriage, and in her own afterwards, a deserved rank among the attractive females of the best society. The issue of this alliance was eleven children, nine of whom were living at the time of Mr. Channing's death. Two of his sons became clergymen, viz.: William Ellery Channing, eminent and honored

[illegible] the christian world, as a theologian and a philanthropist, and the Rev. George Gibbs Channing,* who edited his brother William's works, and passed a useful life in [illegible], aged upwards of ninety years. Two other sons, Walter Channing, M. D., and Edward Tyrrel Channing, LL. D., became distinguished: the former as a medical practitioner in Boston, as an author, and as a Professor of Obstetrics and Medical Jurisprudence in Harvard University; and the latter as a lawyer, editor of the North American Review, and Professor of Rhetoric in the University at Cambridge.

Two daughters of Mr. Channing,— Lucy and Mary,— were attractive young ladies, in person and culture, and were conspicuous in Newport society. Lucy was married to William Russell, merchant, of New York; Mary was married to Robert Rogers, Esq., of Boston.

Mr. Channing died in Newport, September 17, 1793, in the forty-second year of his age. In all the relations of life he was considerate, kind, sympathetic, generous and faithful. His pastor, the Rev. Dr. Stiles, enjoyed his friendship, and received his cordial support. His tastes were refined, and his pleasures were pure. He took an active part in public affairs, and acted in them from a sense of duty. "I recollect distinctly," says his son, the Rev. William, "the great interest he took in the political questions which agitated the country. Though but eight or nine years of age, I was present when the Rhode Island

* Mr. George Gibbs had a family of eight children,— three sons and five daughters. The sons were William C. Gibbs, Governor of Rhode Island from [illegible] to [illegible]; Colonel George Gibbs, who became a resident of New York, and John Gibbs, accidentally killed while hunting. The daughters were permanent in Newport society [illegible] than [illegible]. One was married to Governor Bradish, of New York; another was married to a Mr. Moore, of the same city; [illegible] lived unmarried. Sarah, also unmarried, built St. Mary's Episcopal Church, in Portsmouth, R. I. Ruth became the wife of Rev. William Ellery Channing, D. D. She was the mother of four children, two of them living in infancy. The daughter, Mary, was married to Frederick A. Eustis, Esq. The surviving son, William F. Channing, M. D., resides in Providence. He has in his possession a fine three-quarters length portrait of his great grandfather, John Channing, painted by Stuart.

Mr. George Gibbs had for a partner in business Mr. Walter Channing. This was one of the heaviest shipping firms in the country.

Convention adopted the Federal Constitution; and the enthusiasm of that moment I can never forget. My father entered with his whole heart into that unbounded exultation."

An obituary notice of Mr. Channing, published in the Newport Mercury of September 20, 1793, says: "The approving and unanimous voice of his fellow-citizens, in the various and important offices he has sustained, has rendered his character too conspicuous to be diminished by envy or heightened by praise."

The Misses Malbone, daughters of the Honorable Francis Malbone, were in society, and were admired for attractive feminine qualities. One of them was married to Lord Stanhope, of England. Miss Kitty Malbone was married to Mr. Julius Auboyneau. Mr. Malbone was for several years a member of Congress, and died suddenly of heart disease, in Washington, June 9, 1809, while standing on the steps of the capitol.

Mrs. Eliza [Arnold] Senter, wife of Dr. Isaac Senter, shared in the esteem in which women, distinguished for beauty of person and refinement of mind, were held. Dr. Senter was born in Londonderry, N. H., in the year 1753. He was with Arnold, as a surgeon in his famous march through the wilderness to Quebec, in 1775. After retiring from the army, in 1779, he settled in Cranston, R. I., and was appointed Surgeon and Physician General of the State. He removed thence to Newport, where he died December 21, 1799, aged forty-six years. He attained to great eminence in his profession, and was for several years President of the Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati. Mrs. Senter was a daughter of Captain Rhodes Arnold, of Pawtuxet, R. I. She was the mother of four sons and two daughters. The sons were Horace Gates, a physician of distinction, Nathaniel Greene, Edward Gib-

son, a student of medicine, and Charles Churchill. His eldest daughter, Eliza Antoinette, was married to the late Rev. Nathan Bourne Crocker, D. D., of Providence. His second daughter, Sarah Ann, was married to Clement Hunt, Esq., of the United States navy.

The names now given by no means exhaust the list of "Newport Belles in 1780." Others might, doubtless, be added who received homage from numerous admirers, and who imparted to society a distinction that a century has not eclipsed. "The youth of to-day, whose highest praise for his fair partner of the cotillion is often that she is 'an awfully good fellow,' has little kinship with his ancestor, who used to wait at the street corner to see the object of his devotion go by under the convoy of her father and mother and a couple of faithful colored footmen, thinking himself happy, meanwhile, if his divinity gave him a shy glance. The gay girl of the period, who scampers in her pony chaise down the avenue, from one engagement to the other, and whose most sacred confidence is apt to be that she adores horses and loves 'pottering about the stable,' is, with all her charms, quite different from the blushing little beauty of 1780, who, in powdered hair, quilted petticoat, and high red-heeled shoes, gave her lover a modest little glance at the street corner, thinking it a most delicious and unforeseen bit of romance to have a lover at all. But other times, other manners, and nineteenth century men and women are no doubt as charming in their way as were our pretty ancestresses and their gallants of a century ago."

A PRIVATEERING EPISODE.

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON.—THE FIRST CRUISE.—RECEPTION AT NEWPORT.—NOTICE OF CAPTAIN MUNRO.—SKETCH OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM DROWNE.

DIVERGING briefly from the regular narrative, place is here given to a naval adventure which incidentally connects itself with the early days of the French fleet at Newport. Privateering has already been mentioned* as filling a place in ocean warfare that the small continental navy was inadequate to supply. It was entered into largely in Providence and in Newport, as it was in Boston, Salem, Marblehead, and other maritime towns upon the Atlantic coast. In Providence, Mr. John Brown built and fitted out on his own account a ship which he named the "General Washington," and which he sent on a cruise under the command of Captain James Munro, with a crew, including officers, of one hundred and sixteen men.†

The vessel was "built upon the new construction," and was fitted out in the most thorough manner. She mounted nineteen six-pounder guns, and bore for her figure-head the

*Ante, p. 10.

†In 1778 Captain Munro commanded the private ship of war the Blaze Castle. In an engagement with British ships he was compelled to surrender. Himself and the crew were carried into Halifax, and detained in jail until exchanged for prisoners confined on board a prison ship in Providence. Besides the General Washington, Captain Munro commanded several other privateers, and rendered vigorous naval services during the war. He married in New London, Ct., his first wife, Mary ——, and had one son, James, Mar. 30, 1771. He married second, March 11, 1773, Rebecca Snow, daughter of Rev. Joseph and Rebecca Snow, of Providence, the bride then being seventeen years of age. Their children were Benjamin, born July 25, 1774; Rebecca, born November 16, 1779; Patty, born June 2, 1782; Harriet A., born June 6, 1786; Joseph, born August 2, 1787; Edward, born June 20, 1791. After leaving the sea, Captain Munro engaged extensively in business, under the firm of Snow, Munro and Snow. In this he was unfortunate. His house stood on Westminster street, between Aborn and Snow streets. He at one time owned the "Chapin farm," now within the western limits of the city of Providence.

effigy of General Washington. She sailed from Newport harbor on her first cruise May 18, 1780, accompanied by the ships Midlin, Captain Babcock, and Pilgrim, Captain Robertson, both belonging to Salem, Mass., the first mounting twenty-six six-pounders, and the latter twenty nine-pounders. Mr. Brown sailed out of the harbor in his new vessel, and before leaving was entirely satisfied with her sailing qualities.

Among the officers of the Washington was William Drowne, of whose life and services a sketch herewith follows. The cruise of sixty-nine days extended several hun-

SHIP GENERAL WASHINGTON

dred miles east of the Elizabeth islands. Several vessels were captured, but the cargoes were of only moderate value. During the cruise Mr. Drowne kept a diary of daily occurrences, of which free use is here made.

On the homeward passage of the Washington, under the date of Tuesday, July 25th, (1780,) Mr. Drowne writes:

"The first sail we spoke to-day was a prize sloop bound to that fortunate place,—*Salem*. On firing upon her to bring her to, she was prodigiously frightened, and struck immediately. So surprisingly cold as to render great coats and the thickest of clothes absolutely necessary."

Under the same date he records speaking with fishermen, "away below Cape Cod," from whom was received "the capital intelligence of the safe arrival, at Rhode Island, of the French fleet, with troops."

On Thursday, July 27th, Mr. Browne again records:

"A fine day, with a similar breeze. At about noon *No-man's Land* was descried, and we are now standing right in for Newport harbor, with a large fleet in sight, under Block Island, one of which, a ship of the line, is in chase of us, but without giving us the least concern, (though four others, in consequence of a signal, are making towards us from under Point Judith,) as they are undoubtedly a part of the French fleet going (as we were informed the other day) to invest, or rather block up New York.

"Four o'clock, P. M. At anchor in Newport harbor, 'midst a formidable French fleet of the line, the Admiral of which, (Monsieur De Ternay,) in an elegant eighty-gun ship, (the Duke de Bourgogne). We ran alongside, with colors, etc., displaying to the best advantage,– his ship, as well as the rest, being manned to view us, their quarter decks and galleys lined with officers. On our luffing under his stern, we saluted him with thirteen guns and three cheers, which he politely returned with seven guns and three cheers, we thanking him with one gun and a single huzza. To our surprise and astonishment we were informed that the fleet we saw and were chased by a few hours since is an *English one!* What have we not escaped! We can scarcely believe our own senses! and we are ready to ask, 'is this existence real or a dream?' for we were so near four of them as to distinguish their colors, (which were French,) very obviously; nor did we take the least pains to avoid them, so certain were we of their being those of our benevolent ally; and when we reflect a moment on the extreme precariousness of the situation we were then in, (as we had no intimation or conception of a *British* fleet being off,) and of the amazing chance we run of being ere this time in irons in *Yankee Bay*, we can't but shudder at an idea so big with horror! But, thanks to Him who commands all things with his *Nod*, we are thus far safe. And the Captain, with his eyes sparkling with gratitude and pleasure, declares he absolutely believes that the enchantment is at last broken, which, for his sake, I sincerely hope to be the case, and that he may in future have free egress and regress, without hindrance or molestation.

"The Admiral sent one of his Lieutenants on board, (a very genteel officer,) who politely welcomed the Captain into the harbor, expressed in a very delicate and sensible manner his ardent wishes to assist America, was sorry a superior fleet of the enemy had at this juncture blocked them up, but with a becoming confidence, presumed it would not long be the case, etc., etc. Soon after he was gone another officer was sent with a message from the Admiral, requesting the Captain's company on board the

flag-ship, where he now is, and had he not been sent for just as he had, we should have been up to Providence by sunset.

"To attempt a description of the beauteous scene with which we are now surrounded — the grand and elegant appearance of the fleet, the noble air of the officers, the innumerable train of skiffs and barges (with awnings) passing and repassing from ship to ship, the extensive encampment in view on the island, etc., etc., -would find employ for more time than I am at present disposed to devote to descriptive service, especially as I am conscious that the grandeur and magnificence of the scene far surpasses anything I could say to illustrate the subject.

"5 o'clock. The Captain has sent word for the ship to weigh anchor and make sail, and that he shall follow to-morrow. Also that all our prizes are got safe in port, an agreeable piece of intelligence, as it was an event much doubted, and the Doctor acknowledged the loss of our bet with pleasure.

"We are now underway, standing up the river, and to our great surprise, are just fired at by a French frigate, which is making sail after us. What it means we cannot conceive, but the commanding officer thinks proper to obey the Captain's orders, and is crowding sail accordingly."

Thus ends the journal of the first cruise of the ship General Washington.

William Drowne, the brother of Dr. Solomon Drowne, was born in Providence, R. I., April 17, 1755. In early life he took an active interest in military affairs. On June 2, 1775, he became an officer in Colonel Read's (Mendon) regiment. He was with the shelled troops at Roxbury, Mass., on the day of the battle of Bunker Hill, and continued with the regiment until the close of the year. In January, 1776, his name heads the list of Lieutenants of the Rhode Island brigade. His third commission, by order of the Council of War of the State, dated the 21st of December, same year, constituted him Adjutant of the first regiment of militia in the county of Providence and State of Rhode Island, Colonel Bowen's; not, however, "in order to preserve the interest of His Majesty's colonies and His good subjects," but "the interest of the good people in these parts," against the "invasion or assault" of the forces of George III. In 1777 he was Adjutant in General Spencer's brigade, having its headquarters at Pawtuxet; and in 1778 served as Quartermaster-General, with rank of Captain.

Mr. Drowne possessed an adventurous and courageous spirit, and had for some time been desirous of entering the naval service. In the fall of 1776 he was invited to serve as an officer on board the frigate Providence, commanded by Abraham Whipple. He subsequently arranged to go on the Warren, but the occupation of Newport by the enemy's fleet prevented the frigate from sailing during the whole of the year 1777. Intercepted in sailing from Rhode Island, he, in April, 1778, went to Boston.

and embarked in a private sloop-of-war; and for the next three years was actively employed in various privateering expeditions.

Early in July, 1779, Captain Browne was one of the officers of the brigantine Saratoga, James Munro, commander; and when about to sail from New London, was temporarily detained by an embargo laid on all vessels in the port by the commanding officer, Captain Saltonstall, in order to repel the expected attack of the British fleet. During the cruise they

William Browne

engaged some heavily-armed vessels of war, fought with much bravery, and took several prizes. In August, however, they were captured and carried prisoners into the port of New York.

He next sailed, May 18, 1780, in the General Washington, owned by Mr. John Brown, of Providence, and fitted out from that port. Among the officers were James Munro, commander, Sylvester Rhodes, Pardon Bowen and Thomas Dring. This expedition resulted in the capture of several vessels, among which were the Robust, Lord Sandwich, Barrington, and the Spitfire, a British privateer.

Captain Browne left Providence April 28, 1781, for Boston, where he was busily occupied in arranging the preliminary matters for a cruise in the Belisarius, obtaining a pass from Governor Hancock for the ship's

company, storing the provisions, water, etc. This admirable vessel "of about five hundred tons burthen, mounting twenty nine-pounders, James Munro, commander," with a crew of over one hundred and sixty, sailed on the 6th of May, "on a five-months' cruise against the enemies of the United States of America," as expressed in their original printed "Articles of Agreement." Captured, after much active service, and carried into the port of New York, he, with the other officers, was transferred to the Jersey Prison Ship, where close confinement and unhealthy food soon began to make serious inroads upon his previously robust constitution. Through the influence of some English friends, he was permitted to be absent a short time in November; and visited Newport, but did not succeed in regaining his former health. A continuance of the same imprisonment in the excessively crowded and pestilential between decks of the Jersey developed a malady from which he never recovered; although with the constant care of his brother, Doctor Drowne, after his release in 1783, his life was prolonged to August 9, 1786, when he died.

The Providence Gazette and Country Journal of August 12, 1786, contains the following obituary notice:

"Last Wednesday morning Mr. William Drowne, of this town, merchant, departed this life, in the thirty-second year of his age, after a long consumption, originally occasioned by his sufferings on board a British prison ship, a little before peace took place, of which he hath long languished with exemplary patience and fortitude. His virtuous character, benevolent disposition, integrity of conduct, and agreeable manners, endeared him to his friends and acquaintance, and render his death a real loss, not only to his particular friends, but also to the town and State of which he was a worthy member.

'As smoke, that rises from the kindly fires,
Is seen this moment, and the next expires,
As empty clouds by rising winds are tost,
Their fleeting forms scarce sooner found than lost,
So vanishes our state, so pass our days,
So life but opens now, and now decays;
The cradle and the tomb, alas! so nigh,
To live is scarce distinguished from to die!'

A TRIP TO HARTFORD.

JOURNEY OF ROCHAMBEAU AND DE TERNAY TO HARTFORD — THEIR RECEPTION THERE. -MEETING OF WASHINGTON AND ROCHAMBEAU.-RESULT OF THE CONFERENCE.—AFFAIRE D'HONNEUR AT NEWPORT.—A CONTRACTOR'S HANDSOME WIFE.

TWO months had passed since the arrival of the French allies at Newport, but Rochambeau, De Ternay and Washington had not yet met. The reason for this delay is mainly conjectured. It is said that the French commander felt that the American chief held a coolness towards him, growing out of a difference of opinion as to the military merits of Lafayette, who to Washington was as a son. Be that as it may, Rochambeau, under this apprehension, and with a desire to preserve harmony, sent Count Fersen as a representative to Washington to remove the cause of offence and "heal the breach, if possible," if one existed. Possibly a momentary disappointment, and even vexation, had been experienced by the latter, in consequence of the declination of the French Admiral to leave his safe anchorage in Newport harbor for a more perilous position at Sandy Hook, which, of course, kept the French army quiet in its island encampment. If, however, such feeling had been awakened, it was speedily dissipated, and the most cordial spirit of co-operation ever after mutually prevailed. The desire for an interview, that had been conveyed to Washington through Lafayette, was now about to be realized.

It was Washington's intention that, from prudential considerations, the purpose to hold this interview should be kept a secret from the public. Writing to General Rochambeau, he says:

[illegible] some part of future operation [illegible] our name however can only [illegible] more immediate as the affairs of [illegible] in winter we shall be [illegible] the time of the greatest [illegible] I have [illegible] will [illegible] is in the same in your part."

In writing to General Arnold, informing him of the intended conference, and directing what provision he should be made for him at Peekskill in advance of his arrival there he adds, "You will keep this to yourself, as I wish to make my journey a secret." This was the last letter written by Washington to Arnold prior to the development of his treasonable purpose, which gave to the latter the advantage of a knowledge which he was quick to use.

A time for the meeting was designated, and on the 18th of September, General Rochambeau and Admiral De Ternay, with their suite, set out from Newport on a journey to Hartford, Conn., where the interview was to be held. The hospitable reception and entertainment were worthy of the occasion. Washington and his suite arrived first.

"Upon their appearance in the city, they were received with imposing ceremonies. The Governor's Guards, and a company of Artillery, were on duty upon the occasion. They saluted Washington, as he entered the town, with thirteen guns. Trumbull, and Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth, and other distinguished personages of the State met him as he advanced. They gave him a cordial welcome — and, through crowds that rent the air with cheers and strained to catch a sight of the illustrious Commander in Chief the latter made his way together with Knox and Lafayette, to the residence of their mutual friend, Colonel Wadsworth — there upon the site where the Historical society of Connecticut now lifts its walls — and where, in a beautiful mansion, still standing, though upon another spot, himself and his principal officers were nobly entertained during their stay.

"The same ceremony was repeated soon after Washington came, upon the arrival of the French commander and suite. They were formally received at the City Landing, after crossing the ferry — and marching to the area in front of the Capitol were there met by General Washington and his military companion. It was the first time that these distinguished leaders of the great allied armies saw the faces of each other — the first time that, through their chief martial representatives, France and America

shook hands — and the spectacle is described as having been one of the most august and imposing character.

"There were the noble-looking Frenchmen, gayly dressed, and sparkling with jewel insignia. There was Washington — erect, tall, commanding — in his buff vest, buff breeches buckled at the knee, long-spurred boots, white neckcloth, and blue, buff-lined coat, that shone with a pair of rich, massive epaulettes. There were Knox, and other American officers, in nearly similar attire. There were Governor Trumbull, Colonel Wadsworth, and other noted patriots, in the close-fitting short clothes, embroidered vests, and drab or crimson broad-flapped coats, which then distinguished the dress of the opulent citizen.

"In close proximity to this central group were the Governor's Guard, in glittering uniform, and Mattrosses with their shining brass artillery — and around, crowding the street, and filling every window, stoop, and niche in the vicinity, was an immense, eager multitude — composed of men, women and children, who had assembled from Hartford and the neighboring towns, to witness the novel and gorgeous spectacle of a meeting in America between the representatives of the two great military families of France and the United States. Everything passed off most happily. 'The greatest satisfaction,' says the Hartford Courant of that day, 'was expressed by the parties at this meeting, and the highest marks of polite respect and attention were mutual.'

* * * * * *

"Thursday night the conference was concluded. Friday saw the French officers start on their return to Newport — the Governor's Guards again in martial array — escorting the distinguished guests to the river bank, while thirteen guns renewedly rent the air. The same parade was again produced on the following morning — at which time General Washington and suite shook hands with the hospitable Wadsworth, the worthy Governor Trumbull, and numerous other friends — and, amid volleys of huzzas, started for the headquarters of the army."*

An agreeable surprise to the members of the conference was, that when the bills were called for, they were informed "that the Governor of Connecticut had given orders that they should pay nothing in that State, but should be at free cost."

Of this journey General Rochambeau relates the following incidents:

"In going to this conference, the carriage in which I rode with Admiral De Ternay, who was very infirm, chanced to break down. I sent Fer-

* Life of Trumbull, pp. 485-487, 498.

sen, my first Aide-de-Camp, for a wheelwright, who lived a mile distant. He returned, and told me he had found the man sick with a quartan fever, who said that his hat full of guineas would not induce him to work in the night. I prevailed on the Admiral to accompany me to the man's shop, that we might together solicit him. We told him that General Washington was to arrive in the evening at Hartford to confer with us the next day, and that the conference would fail if he did not mend our carriage. 'You are not liars,' said he, 'for I have read in a Connecticut paper that Washington is to arrive there this evening, to confer with you. As it is for the public service, your carriage shall be ready for you at 6 o'clock to-morrow morning.' He kept his word, and we set off at the hour indicated. On returning from this conference another wheel was broken, and we were again forced to go and harangue our wheelwright. 'Well,' said he, 'do you want to make me work again in the night?' 'Alas! yes,' I replied. 'Admiral Rodney is arrived to triple the naval forces that are opposed to us, and it is of the utmost consequence that we should return without delay to Rhode Island, to resist his attempts.' 'But what can you do,' returned he, 'with your six ships against the twenty English vessels?' 'It will be the most glorious day of our life, if they attempt to break our line.' 'Come, come,' said he, 'you are brave men; you shall have your carriage at five o'clock to-morrow morning. But tell me, before I set myself to work, although I do not wish to inquire into your secrets, how did you like Washington, and how did he like you?' We assured him that we had been delighted with him. His patriotism was satisfied, and he kept his word with us. It is not my intention to create the impression that all Americans are like this good wheelwright; but all the farmers in the interior of the country, and almost all the landholders of Connecticut have this public spirit animating them, and which might serve as a model for many others."*

Of the result of this conference, Count Dumas says:

"General Washington and General Rochambeau decided on passing the whole winter in passive observation, always holding themselves ready to profit by the most favorable circumstances which might present themselves. The whole of this comparative suspension of hostilities was well employed in putting the American army in good condition for the opening of the campaign; and General Rochambeau, on his side, who was expecting the arrival of the second division, prepared himself to aid our allies with vigor."

Society and the camp were slightly agitated by an *affaire d'honneur*, which took place September 6th, between the

* Memoirs of Rochambeau, French ed., vol. I, pp. 251, 252.

Vicomte de Noailles and Comte Dillon, an officer of the Duke de Lauzun's legion. Blanchard says, "the cause of the quarrel does not deserve to be mentioned." The papers of the day are silent in regard to the affair, and probably no serious results followed the meeting. A few days later, M. Coste, the chief physician, and M. Blanchard visited Providence, to examine the hospital there. They found it in very good condition, and containing three hundred and forty sick. In Newport, at the same date, the sick in the hospital numbered a few more than two hundred.

A CONTRACTOR'S HANDSOME WIFE.

Among the *on dits* of temporary lady residents of Newport, while it was occupied by the French allies, Chastellux has preserved the following: "Mrs. Carter, a handsome young woman, whose husband is concerned in furnishing our army with provisions, and lives at present at Newport, told me that going down one morning into her husband's office, not much decked out, but in a rather elegant French undress, a farmer of the Massachusetts State, who was there on business, seemed surprised at seeing her, and asked who that young lady was. On being told Mrs. Carter, — 'Aye,' said he, loud enough for her to hear him, 'a wife and a mother, truly, has no business to be so well dressed.'"

Mrs. Carter's husband was an Englishman, who had been unfortunate in business in London, and had come to America to retrieve his fortune. His real name was *John Barker Church*, but he took the name of *Carter*, that his friends might hear nothing of him until he had succeeded in his design. His activity in the Revolution, as a Whig, brought him to the notice of General Philip Schuyler, whose daughter he married. On the arrival of the French allies, he obtained, in conjunction with Colonel Wadsworth, a principal share of the contract for furnishing them with supplies.

The hoped for fortune was made, and after the war he returned to England.

A PAINFUL SURPRISE.

ARNOLD'S TREASON.—OPINIONS OF GREENE, WASHINGTON, AND OTHERS.—ANDRÉ A PRISONER.—HIS TRIAL AND EXECUTION.—VIEWS OF A BRITISH OFFICER.—A SKETCH OF ARNOLD.—A SKETCH OF ANDRÉ.

WHILE the conference was in session at Hartford, another, of a different character, was being held at West Point, between its commander, General Benedict Arnold, and a representative of Sir Henry Clinton, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America, having for its purpose the delivery of that post into his hands. As Washington journeyed back, revolving in his mind what movement the enemy might make that would lead, on his part, to early action, he little mistrusted the painful surprise that was in store for him. When he reached West Point, he was astounded to learn that Arnold, entrusted with the most important command in the whole line of defences, had sold himself to Sir Henry Clinton, and had fled for safety to the Vulture, then lying in the North river; that Major John André, Adjutant-General of the British army, had, under a fictitious name, been arrested as a spy; that upon the person of André had been found papers showing Arnold's purpose to betray his post into the hands of Sir Henry; and that the consummation of an act of treachery which, had it succeeded, would have jeopardized, if it had not ruined, the American cause, was prevented by a want of self-possession on the part of André, at the moment when he was halted near Tarrytown by his captors.

When this act of treachery became known, a thrill of horror ran through the whole country, followed by expressions of the strongest indignation. Said General Nathanael Greene:

"Nothing can equal Arnold's villainy but his meanness. He is the blackest of all mortals, and the meanest of all creatures.* His robbery and plunder of the stores at West Point exceed all belief. Nor could I have persuaded myself that it was possible for anything short of the devil incarnate to perpetrate such horrid crimes, and complicated acts of rascality.

"Since the fall of Lucifer, nothing has equaled the fall of Arnold. His military reputation in Europe and America was flattering to the vanity of the first General of the age. He will now sink as low as he has been high before, and as the devil made war upon heaven after his fall, so I expect Arnold will upon America. Should he ever fall into our hands, he will be a sweet sacrifice."†

Lieutenant-Colonel Eleazer Oswald, who served as Captain under Arnold in the expedition against Quebec, writes:

"He has convinced the world that he is as base a prostitute as this or any other country ever nurtured to maturity, and as a punishment for the enormity of his crimes, the mark of Cain is branded on him in the most indelible characters."‡

General Lamb, who also as a Captain fought under Arnold at Quebec, said to an officer that, after the capture of André, brought a flag with the traitor's compliments:

"Be good enough, Sir, to tell General Arnold that the acquaintance between us is forgotten, and that if he were to be hanged to-morrow, I would go barefooted to witness his execution."§

* DIALOGUE BETWEEN SATAN AND ARNOLD

Quoth Satan to Arnold, my worthy, good fellow,
I love you much better than ever I did
You live like a prince, with *Hal* may get mellow,
But mind that you both do just what I bid.

Quoth Arnold to Satan, my friend, do not doubt me,
I'll strictly adhere to all your great views
To you I'm devoted, with all things about me:
You'll permit me, I hope, to die in my shoes.

Providence Gazette, November 15, 1780.

† Letter to Governor Greene, October 2, 1780. ‡ Letter to General Lamb.
§ Thayer's Journal, p. 61

Washington, in a letter to Governor Reed, writes:

"Arnold's conduct is so villainously perfidious, that there are no terms that can describe the baseness of his heart. . . . . The confidence and folly which have marked the subsequent conduct of this man, are of a piece with his villainy, and all three are perfect in their kind."

From Headquarters, near West Point, he writes to General Rochambeau:

"By lucky accident, a conspiracy of the most dangerous nature, the object of which was to sacrifice this post, has been detected. General Arnold, who has sullied his former glory by the blackest treason, has escaped to the enemy. This is an event which occasions me equal regret and mortification; but traitors are the growth of every country, and in a revolution of the present nature, it is more to be wondered at that the catalogue is so small, than that there have been found a few."

To General Heath, from Robinson's house, he writes:

"Major-General Arnold has gone to the enemy. He had had an interview with Major André, Adjutant-General of the British army, and had put into his possession a statement of our army, of the garrison at this post, of the number of men considered as necessary for the defence of it, a return of the ordnance, and of the disposition of the artillery corps in case of an alarm. By a most providential interposition, Major André was taken in returning to New York, with all those papers in General Arnold's hand-writing, who, hearing of the matter, kept it secret, and left his quarters immediately, under the pretence of going over to West Point, on Monday forenoon, about an hour before my arrival, then pushed down the river in the barge, which was not discovered till I had returned from West Point in the afternoon; and, when I received the first information of Major André's capture, measures were instantly taken to apprehend General Arnold; but before the officers sent for the purpose could reach Verplanck's Point, he had passed it with a flag, and got on board the Vulture ship-of-war, which lay a few miles below."

In reply to a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens, who had said, "Arnold must undergo a punishment comparatively more severe, [than the suffering of André,] in the permanent, increasing torment of a mental hell," Washington wrote:

"In no instance since the commencement of the war has the interposition of Providence appeared more remarkably conspicuous than in the

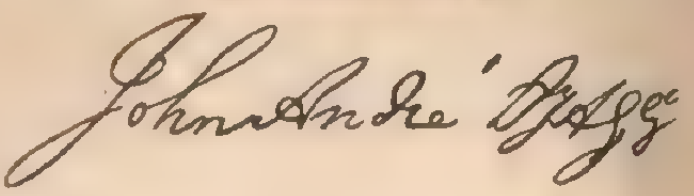
rescue of the post and garrison at West Point. How far Arnold meant to involve me in the catastrophe of this place does not appear by any indubitable evidence, and I am inclined to think he did not wish to hazard the more important object by attempting to combine two lesser events, the lesser of which might have marred the greater. A combination of extraordinary circumstances, and unaccountable deprivation of presence of mind in a man of the first abilities, and the virtue of three militia men, threw the Adjutant-General of the British forces, with full proof of Arnold's intention, into our hands, and but for the egregious folly or the bewildered conception of Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, who seemed lost in astonishment, and not to have known what he was doing, I should undoubtedly have gotten Arnold.

"André has met his fate, and with that fortitude which was to be expected from an accomplished man and a gallant officer: but I mistake if Arnold is suffering at this time the torments of a mental hell. He wants feeling. From some traits of his character which have lately come to my knowledge, he seems to have been so hackneyed in crime, so lost to all sense of honor and shame, that while his faculties still enable him to continue his sordid pursuits, there will be no time for remorse."

A hundred years, now passed, have but slightly diminished a painful interest in the sad story of Major André. He was an accomplished officer, and had an amiable disposition. Ambitious to serve his King, and to win glory to himself, he came to America. After adverse fortune in Canada, where he was made a prisoner of war, he became a member of General Sir Henry Clinton's military family, was promoted to the rank of Major, and made Adjutant-General of the British army under his command. As the agent of Sir Henry, he entered into negotiations with Arnold for the surrender of West Point, to complete which, he was induced to visit the General at his quarters, and on his return journey to New York was taken prisoner without the American lines. When brought before the proper authorities, he was frank to confess his rank, and the purpose of his mission. His own words were fatal testimonies. An impartial Court, before which he was tried, and of which Lafayette was a member, pronounced him a spy, and as such condemned him to death.

André knew that to be hanged was the fate of a convicted

spy. From this form of death he recoiled, as one of degradation, and endeavored so to place himself before the Court, that in case of a fatal decision, "the death of a soldier" would be accorded him. When he became convinced that he must die, and upon the gallows, he addressed a most



pathetic letter to Washington, praying to be spared the ignominy. "Sympathy towards a soldier," he said, "will surely induce Your Excellency and a military tribunal to adapt the mode of my death to the feelings of a man of honor. Let me hope, sir, if aught in my character impresses you with esteem towards me, if aught in my misfortunes

marks me as the victim of policy, and not of resentment, I shall experience the operation of these feelings in your breast by being informed that I am not to die on a gibbet."

But though Washington, as has been asserted, was so affected "that his hand could scarcely command his pen when signing the warrant for the execution," he did not feel at liberty to modify the decision of the Court, and Andre's request could not be granted.

Washington has been severely censured for having sanctioned the decision of the Court Martial, but not with well founded reason. That he sympathized with André, and would gladly have spared his life, his words and actions prove. But André had frankly avowed himself a spy, and had, with equal frankness, declared to Colonel Tallmadge that had his negotiations with Arnold been successful, he would, at the head of a select corps, have taken Fort Putnam, and then the key of the country would have been in his hands, the glory of a splendid achievement would have been his reward, and the rank of a Brigadier-General his position. After such avowals, what could Washington do other than to approve the findings of the Court, and order the execution? It was a trying duty—a stern duty—but the rules of war and the exigencies of the times demanded its performance, and, sad as he was, he did not falter.

"It has been alleged in André's behalf, as a mitigating circumstance, that he was involuntarily a spy. It is true, he did not come on shore in borrowed garb, nor with a design to pass himself off for another, and procure secret information; but he came under cloak of midnight, in supposed safety, to effect the betrayal of a holy trust, and it was his undue eagerness to secure the objects of this clandestine interview that brought him into the condition of an undoubted spy. It certainly should not soften our view of his mission, that he embarked in it without intending to subject himself to danger."*

Under his feigned signature, he intimated in a letter to Colonel Sheldon that he should "endeavor to obtain permis-

* Irving's Life of Washington, iv., p. 143.

Revd ENOS HITCHCOCK, D.D.

and made a pause. 'Why this emotion, sir?' said an officer by his side. Instantly recovering his composure, he said, 'I am reconciled to my death, but I detest the mode.' . . . . The victim, after taking off his hat and stock, bandaged his own eyes with perfect firmness, which melted the hearts and moistened the cheeks not only of his servant, but of the throng of spectators. The rope being appended to the gallows, he slipped the noose over his head, and adjusted it to his neck, without the assistance of the awkward executioner. Colonel Scammel now informed him that he had an opportunity to speak, if he desired it; he raised the handkerchief from his eyes, and said, 'I pray you to bear me witness that I meet my fate like a brave man.' The wagon being now removed from under him, he was suspended, and instantly expired. . . . . Thus died in the bloom of life the accomplished Major André, the pride of the royal army, and the valued friend of Sir Henry Clinton."*

Rev. Enos Hitchcock, D. D., long the honored and influential pastor of the First Congregational Church and Society in Providence, at that time a Chaplain in the army, was also present, and left the following record:

"October 2d. At 12 o'clock this day was executed Major André. He received his fate with greater apparent fortitude than others saw it. He appeared a most genteel young fellow, handsomely dressed in his regimentals. When he came to the gallows, he said he well knew his fate, but was disappointed in the mode. He ascended the wagon cheerfully, fixed the halter round his neck and bound his eyes; said, smiling, a few minutes would settle the whole. Was asked if he had anything to offer? Lifting up the handkerchief that covered his eyes, he said, 'Gentlemen, you will bear me witness that I meet my fate like a brave man.'

"Behold the end of human greatness! A young fellow cut off in the midst of the brightest prospects, by the hand of a common hangman."

The kind treatment received by André is in painful contrast with that inflicted upon Captain Nathan Hale, taken by the British and executed as a spy in 1776. He was denied the services of a clergyman; the use of a bible was refused him, and letters written on the morning of his execution to his mother and other friends were destroyed.

André was buried at Tappan. In 1821, his remains were exhumed, conveyed to England, and re-entombed in Westminster Abbey. A handsome monument erected at the

* Thatcher's Military Journal of the Revolution, pp. 227 and 228.

expense of Cyrus W. Field, Esq., and in which Dean Stanley was particularly interested, marks the ground that for forty-one years held the ashes of a brave, but misguided enemy to American independence.

Of Arnold, little need be said. His place in history has been made. Of himself, he might have said, "I am one the world loves not." His life in England must have been trying to his proud spirit. As an officer in British pay, he in vain sought a command. In 1798, his offer of services was declined by the Duke of York, and returning home from the war office he said to his wife, in the bitterness of disappointment, "They will not give me a chance to seek a soldier's death." His candid biographer adds, "With a crushed heart he felt the bitter ruin of all his ambitious hopes." *

The King, believing Arnold to have sincerely returned to loyalty, treated him kindly, and a pension was granted to Mrs. Arnold and her children. In 1798, the King made a grant to General Arnold of 13,400 acres of land, located in Canada, but he did not live to derive any advantage from it. Through the influence of Lord Cornwallis, a place was obtained for his son George in the India service.

The uniform in which Arnold escaped to the Vulture he carefully preserved. In the mental wanderings of his last moments, he cried, "Bring me, I beg you, the epaulettes and sword knots which Washington gave me; let me die in my old American uniform, the uniform in which I fought my battles. God forgive me for ever putting on any other."

Benedict Arnold, son of Benedict and Hannah (Waterman) Arnold, was born in New London, Conn., January 14, 1741. His family antecedents were of the highest respectability, his line of descent in America being through Governor Benedict Arnold of Rhode Island, who was his grandfather. His education was superior to the average of his time His early employ was in a drug store. At the termination of his apprenticeship, he engaged in business at New Haven as a druggist, bookseller and general

* "The Life of Benedict Arnold, his Patriotism and his Treason; by Isaac N. Arnold, 1880."

trader. He was twice married; first, to Margaret Mansfield, daughter of High Sheriff Mansfield; and second to Peggy (or Margaret) Shippen, daughter of the Honorable Edward Shippen, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. By his first wife, he had three sons; and by the second, four sons and one daughter. His second wife was an accomplished woman and a devoted mother.

Of General Arnold's military career nothing need be said here. He died in London, June 14, 1801, "in bitter distress, in self-reproach, in poverty," aged sixty years.

Major André was the son of a London merchant, and was born in that city in 1751. He was educated at Geneva, (the native place of his father,) and at the age of eighteen years entered a counting-room. But a military life suited him better, and the choice did not militate against the cultivation of his literary taste. An attachment formed for Honora Sneyd, and reciprocated by her, never reached a marriage mutually desired, in consequence of the young lady's father having disapproved it. André had a poetic talent, and sometimes indulged the expression of his humor in verse. While in the army in America, he wrote "The Cow Chase; An Heroick Poem in Three Cantos," which was printed first in Rivington's New York Gazette, in 1780, and afterwards in London in 1781. It satirized Generals Wayne, Irving and Proctor, who, while collecting and driving off cattle for the use of the army, were successfully resisted by a small body of refugees occupying a block house. As specimens of its versification, the opening and closing stanzas are here given:

"To drive the Kine, one summer's morn,
The Tanner* took his way,
The Calf shall rue, that is unborn,
The jumbling of that day.

"And Wayne descending Steers shall know,
And mountingly deride,
And call to mind in every *lowe*,
The tanning of *his* hide.

* * * * * * * * *

"And now I've closed my epic strain,
I tremble as I show it,
Lest this same warrior-drover Wayne
Should ever catch the poet."

The last canto of this poem was published in New York on the day of the author's arrest. A pen portrait of André, sketched by himself, is printed in Lossing's Field Book of the American Revolution. The New York

* General Wayne's LEGAL occupation.

State Library at Albany is in possession of all the treasonable papers found in André's boots with the exception of a single one.

Major André, at the time of his execution, was in the thirtieth year of his age.

THE ARMY AT REST.

CAMP LIFE. SOCIAL FESTIVITIES. PLEASURE TRIPS. DUMAS AND BLANCHARD VISIT PROVIDENCE.—"TURTLE PARTY."—ARRIVAL IN PROVIDENCE OF LUZERNE, FRENCH MINISTER. PROCEEDS TO NEWPORT.—DE TARLÉ TENDERS HIM A DINNER. HE LEAVES FOR BOSTON.

IT having been settled by the interview at Hartford of Washington, Rochambeau and De Ternay, as narrated in previous pages, that except upon a hardly to be expected contingency, an active campaign would not immediately be entered upon, the routine of camp life at Newport for the residue of the summer and autumn occupied the army. To the officers, the monotony of this routine was broken by social festivities in private families and at headquarters at the Vernon mansion. Some of them diversified these pleasures with horseback exercises over the island, trips to Providence, and short journeys further inland. In Providence, Count Dumas was cordially received in the family of the venerable Dr. Ephraim Bowen, where he "learned the spirit of the parties and the real state of affairs." Blanchard experienced similar hospitality in the family of General Varnum. On one occasion, he says, the General "took me two miles from the city to a sort of garden where different persons had met and were playing nine-pins; they made us drink punch and tea. The place was rural and pleasant, and this little jaunt gave me pleasure." He also went with the health officers of the hospital to examine a mineral spring

in Pawtucket, but found in the water nothing except a little more coolness than in that which he used every day. The rural situation of the spring reminded him of his home in the neighborhood of Angers, commune of Saint Sylvain.

An occasional "Turtle Party" opened to the foreign guests the mysteries of a department in gastronomy with which aldermen chiefly were said to be familiar. The arrival of a good sized sea-tortoise, the gift of the thoughtful Captain of a trader, was the precursor of special table enjoyment. To be known as a first-class "turtle cook" was an honor sufficient to satisfy the highest ambition of a chief of *cuisine*.* While spending a few days in Providence, M. Blanchard was invited to a turtle party in the country to which he went. He says:

"It was a sort of picnic and given by a score of men to a company of ladies. The purpose of this party was to eat a turtle, weighing three or four hundred pounds, which an American vessel had just brought home from one of our islands. This meat did not seem to me to be very palatable; it is true, that it was badly cooked. There were some quite handsome women. Before dinner they kept themselves in a different room from the men; they also placed themselves at table all on the same side, and the men on the other. They danced after dinner to the music of Lauzun's legion, which had been brought there expressly. Neither the men nor the women dance well: all stretch out and lengthen their arms in a way far from agreeable. I found myself at table very near a Captain of an American frigate, whom I had seen at Nantes I perceived to-day while trying to converse with the ladies, that I still was very little accustomed to the English language. During dinner we drank different healths, as is usual, we to those of the Americans, and they to the health of the King of France. This extended to everybody: for on passing through an ante-room, where some negro servants were drinking, I heard them drinking together the health of the King of France."

In September, the French Minister, Luzerne, arrived in Providence with a letter from General Greene to Governor Greene, introducing him as one whose "zeal for our cause, and the attachment he has manifested for our interest, enti-

*As early as 1767, Cuffy Comstock, of Newport, had attained to this eminence He was a native of Guinea, and was a servant in the family of Jahleel Brenton.

tle him to every mark of public respect and esteem." The Chevalier, in order to confer with General Rochambeau, was on his way to Newport where he arrived October 1, and on the evening of that day he attended a "council of administration."

On the 8th, M. de Tarlé gave a dinner to M. de la Luzerne and to the Generals. His Excellency left Newport on the 10th. It was his intention to return home by way of Providence, and to accept the hospitalities of Governor Greene. In explanation of the reason why he did not do so, Colonel Christopher Greene wrote to the Governor, "The French Ambassador would have had the pleasure of dining with Your Excellency yesterday, (October 10). His intention was to have gone up by water, but the wind and tide both being against it, obliged him to give over the visit; and as business has called him to Boston, he has gone for that place. He desired me to make his best compliments and excuse to Your Excellency."

WINTER QUARTERS.

BOURBONNOIS AND SOISSONNOIS QUARTER IN NEWPORT.—LAUZUN'S LEGION SENT TO CONNECTICUT.—RECEPTION BY GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.—THE LEGION QUARTERED AT LEBANON AND COLCHESTER.—VISITED BY THE MARQUIS DE CHASTELLUX.—A DINNER ANECDOTE.—SKETCHES OF CHASTELLUX AND LAUZUN.

THE experiences of the summer naturally suggested the difficulties that would environ the Commissary-General and his associates, as well as contractors, in their efforts during the approaching winter, to supply the army, should it remain entire upon the island, with provisions, forage and

fuel. With the story of the intense cold, of the deep snows, and of the almost impassable condition of the roads in the winter of 1780, the French Commander-in-Chief had been made acquainted, and the possibility of this repeating itself in the winter of 1781, may, with some other considerations, have determined him to divide his troops, and quarter a portion of them on the main land. On the 31st day of October, the brigade of Bourbonnois withdrew from its summer encampment and settled in winter quarters in Newport. On the 1st day of November following, the brigade of Soissonnois did the same. These two corps were amply sufficient to defend the town and shipping from any winter assault of the enemy, and the presence of the other corps could be safely dispensed with. The legion of horse was expected to take quarters in Providence.

On the 16th of October, (1780), the Town Council of Providence appointed a committee consisting of Paul Allen, Benoni Pearce and Deputy-Quartermaster-General Ephraim Bowen, Jr., "to procure suitable rooms for the accommodation of the officers of the corps of cavalry under the command of the Duke de Lauzun, while in quarters in this town, and if it shall be necessary, that said committee agree to pay to the owners of the rooms such rent therefor as said committee shall judge reasonable to be paid out of the town treasury." This thoughtful courtesy was appreciated by General Rochambeau, but for reasons that will presently appear, it was decided to send the legion to Connecticut.

From the 2d to the 6th of November, Commissary Blanchard remained in Providence, making arrangements for the reception of the Duke de Lauzun's legion of horse, numbering from 600 to 800, which was soon to march to Connecticut, where it was to pass the winter, for the greater convenience of procuring subsistence.

For this arrangement,—in every respect satisfactory,—the Duke was indebted to the forecast of his Commander-in-Chief. General Rochambeau had an eye to economy, no

less than to the comfort of his troops. In making his preparations for winter, he became aware that while the State had "kindly prepared good lodgings" for Lauzun's corps at Providence, some people taking advantage of a supposed necessity, had "raised forage to an extravagant price in hard money"—an imposition to which he would not submit;

THE DUKE DE LAUZUN.

"and therefore, having consulted with Colonel Wadsworth on the subject, he determined to apply to Connecticut for their winter quarters." "Good policy," he added, "would render it necessary that the corps should be in the same place under the inspection of its chief," upon whose "honesty every way," he assured Trumbull he "might depend." "I am acquainted," he concluded, "with all the zeal that Your Excellency has for our common cause, and that you

will do all in your power to receive that part of the French corps."

On the 9th, the legion arrived at Providence, making "a very martial appearance." The day was cold, and much snow fell. The temperature of the next two days continued low. While here, the Duke gave a ball, and Hacker's Hall was made brilliant with beautiful women and with the showy uniforms of French officers. On the 12th, the legion broke camp and took up its line of march for its winter destination, forming the advanced guard of the French troops, which were to follow the next spring.

While at Windham, where a portion of his Hussars was stationed for a week, until quarters could be provided at Lebanon, Lauzun received a visit from the Marquis de Chastellux, whom he entertained at dinner. "Being unable to get away before half after three," writes the Marquis, "the night, which soon came on, obliged me to stop six miles from Windham, at a little solitary tavern, kept by Mrs. Hill. As the house had an indifferent appearance, I asked if we could have beds, the only want we had; for the Duke de Lauzun's dinner had left us in no uneasiness about supper. Mrs. Hill told me, after the manner of the country, that she could only *spare* one bed, as she had a sick traveller in the house, whom she would not disturb. This traveller was a poor soldier of the continental army, who was going home on a furlough for the benefit of his health. He had his furlough in his pocket in regular form, as well as the exact account of what was due to him, but he had not a farthing either in paper or in *hard money*. Mrs. Hill, notwithstanding, had given him a good bed, and as he was too ill to continue his journey, she had kept him and taken care of him for four days. We arranged matters the best way we could; the soldier kept his bed. I gave him some money to help him on his journey, and Mrs. Hill appeared to me much more affected with this charity than with the good *hard money* I gave her to pay her bill."

At Hartford, the Marquis was no less troubled in securing accommodations. "I found the inns at Hartford so full," he says, "that it was impossible to procure lodgings. The four eastern States, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut were then holding their assemblies in that town. These four States have long held a particular connection with each other, and they meet together by deputies, sometimes in one State and sometimes in another. Each legislature sends deputies. In a circumstance so uncommon in America, as room being wanted for men collected together, Colonel Wadsworth's house afforded me a most agreeable asylum. I lodged with him as well as the Duke de Lauzun, who had passed me on the road. Mr. Dumas, who belonged to the staff of the army, and was then attached to the Duke de Lauzun, Mr. Lynch and Mr. de Montesquieu were well accommodated in the neighborhood. Colonel Wadsworth is about two and thirty, very tall and well made, and has a noble as well as an agreeable countenance."

In Governor Trumbull, then at Hartford, the Marquis found a character that greatly pleased him. "His whole life is consecrated to business, which he passionately loves, whether important or not; or rather, with respect to him, there is none of the latter description. He has all the simplicity in his dress, all the importance and even pedantry becoming the great magistrate of a small republic," bringing to mind the burgomasters of Holland in the time of the Heinsiuses and of the Barnevelts. On the morning of the 17th, the Marquis parted with regret from his host and from the Duke de Lauzun, and pursued his journey; "but it was not," he says, "till after breakfast, for it is a thing unheard of in America to set off without breakfast."

Returning from his extended travels, the Marquis stopped at Lebanon to again pass a day with his friend, the Duke de Lauzun. "I was not sorry," he says, "to find myself in the French army, of which these Hussars formed the advanced guard, although their quarters be seventy-five miles from

Newport; but there are no circumstances in which I should not be happy with M. de Lauzun. For two months I had been talking, and listening, with him I conversed: for it must be allowed that conversation is still the peculiar forte of the amiable French."

For diversion, the Duke took the Marquis on a squirrel hunt. Returning from the chase he dined with his friend, in company with Governor Trumbull and General Huntington. Pursuing his journey, he reached Providence January 8th, where he spent the night, and the next day arrived at Newport, "satisfied with having seen many interesting things, without meeting with any accident." *

* Philip Lewis Marquis de Chastellux descended from an eminent family, and was much devoted to literature. "In 1765 he published an essay on the union of poetry and music, which occasioned a literary controversy." He accompanied Rochambeau to America as a Major General, and was present with his command at the siege of Yorktown. During his residence here he made several extensive journeys in various parts of the country, to study its character, customs and resources. He was favorably known, and held pleasant relations with the principal families of Providence. On the 12th of November, 1780, he arrived in Providence from Newport on an excursion to Philadelphia, Albany, West Point, Virginia and elsewhere. He dined on that day with M. Blanchard, Commissary of War, drank tea at Colonel Bowen's, with several ladies, among them a Miss Angell, whom he particularly mentions, then called to pay his respects to Mrs. Varnum, and passed the night at Deputy-Governor Bowen's. The next morning, 13th, he breakfasted with Colonel Peck, whom he describes as "an amiable and polite young man," and with whose neat and cozy domestic arrangements he was delighted. "He received me in a charming small house, where he lived with his wife, who is also young, and has a pleasing countenance, but without anything striking. This little establishment, where comfort and simplicity reign, gave an idea of that sweet and serene state of happiness, which appears to have taken refuge in the New World, after compounding it with pleasure, to which it has left the Old."—*Travels, p. 19.*

October 23, 1782, he returned from a tour to New Hampshire, and after visiting Newport, proceeded, on the 30th, west. He was a careful student, and his observations and inquiries in America were embodied in two interesting and valuable volumes. On his return to his country he was made a Marshal of France. His friend, Comte Segur, speaks of him as one "whose learning was devoid of presumption, and who united all the merit of sound erudition to the charm of a pure and correct style."

In 1786 the Marquis married a lady of rank and beauty. Of this event he informed Washington by letter, who playfully replied: "I saw by the eulogium you often made on the happiness of domestic life in America, that you had swallowed the bait, and that you would as surely be taken, one day or another, as that you were a philosopher and a soldier. So your day has at length come. I am glad of it, with all my heart and soul. It is quite good enough for you. Now you are well served for coming to fight in favor of the American rebels, all the way across the Atlantic ocean, by catching that terrible contagion, domestic felicity, which like the small pox or plague, a man can have only once in his life."

The travels of the Marquis were reviewed in 1786, by J. P. Brissot de Warville, who rather sharply assails the opinions expressed concerning the Quakers, the negroes, the

The Duke, by his amenity, made himself agreeable to the people of Lebanon, and succeeded perfectly in all the business he had to transact, either with Governor Trumbull, or with the legislature of the State.* The following anecdote illustrates his social character, and his natural love of fun. A worthy villager, with the inquisitiveness of a genuine Yankee, asked him what was his father's trade in France. "My father," replied Lauzun, "does nothing, but I have an uncle who is a Maréchal," (literally a *Farrier*,) alluding to the Maréchal de Biron. "Very well," said the gratified inquirer, in unconscious innocence of the play upon the word, and at the same time giving the Duke's hand a strong pressure, "it is a very good trade." †

The portion of Lauzun's legion for which provision had thus been made at Lebanon "consisted of about two hundred and twenty or two hundred and forty Hussars, with about an equal number of horses. These, under arrangements speedily ordered by Governor Trumbull, were carefully cantoned in the town, a little west of the church, on the road that leads to Colchester. The spot is known as 'the barracks' to this day.‡ It formed a portion of a farm which belonged to Governor Trumbull himself, and which

people, and man It was a thin volume of 143 pages, written in Paris, and printed in London, in French.

Another unfriendly review, in English, appeared in London, from the press of G. & T. Wilkes, in 1787. This exceedingly rare tract is thought to bear internal evidence of having been written by Benedict Arnold. The familiarity of the author with occurrences well known to him, and the bitter spirit manifested towards Washington, Franklin, Lafayette, and others conspicuous in the Revolutionary struggle, favor the correctness of the opinion. According to this writer, Franklin and Governor Reed were doubtful patriots, Lafayette had no claim to military reputation, and Washington was an "American Buzzard" wearing an Eagle's plumage, a man "suspected in America," "hard hearted and versatile," a leader not to be dreaded, and having "no influence in the army"! The production may be classed with the "curiosities of literature." The Marquis died in 1788.

* "De Lauzun's legion was charged, for the want of provisions, to divide from its cavalry, which was sent with the artillery, horses, and provisions, to the State of Connecticut, to occupy the barracks which had been built at the Banors (Lebanon) for its militia. The Duke of Lauzun-Biron, who was in command of this cantonment, rendered himself very agreeable to the Americans by his prepossessing manners, and succeeded in every transaction which he had to conclude, either with the venerable Governor Trumbull, or with the other members of the legislature of the State."—*Rochambeau's Memoirs.*

† Rochambeau's Memoirs, French ed., vol. i, p. 258.

‡ 1869.

subsequently passed into the possession of his son, David Trumbull. Other portions of the French corps of Hussars were quartered at Colchester and at Windham,—at the latter place, however, only temporarily,—by far the largest division of the whole being ultimately gathered at Lebanon, and occupying, many of them, portions of the broad and beautiful village street—there 'by their watchful fires'—traces of whose seat, in portions of brick ovens, still exist—to remain for about seven months—their festivities and gay parades, at times, making the neighborhood sparkle with life and activity, and their morning drum-beat making the air each day vocal with the uprousing reveillé." *

"The Duke de Lauzun had his own special quarters in the house of the Governor's son David. There he was most hospitably entertained during his entire stay in the town—and there, in return for civilities often extended to himself and to his officers by Governor Trumbull and by other citizens of Lebanon, he often gave gay and brilliant parties. . . . . Upon one of these occasions, but a few weeks after the arrival of the Hussar corps—at a dinner given by Lauzun in honor of two distinguished visitors from the French army—the Marquis de Chastellux and the Baron de Montesquieu, the latter a grandson of the illustrious author of the 'Spirit of Laws'—Governor Trumbull and General Jedediah Huntington were present. The former, at the table, pronounced 'in a loud voice, a long prayer in the form of a *Benedicite*,' which was responded to by 'twenty amens issuing from the midst of forty moustaches!'" †

"What a picture this, from a gay Frenchman, of the worthy old Governor! He is grave in carriage. His manners seem ceremonious. He is preceptive in conversation. He courts business. He is the happiest of mortals when he has any to transact. He is profoundly considerate in its execution—is heedful of comparing opinions with his Council—

* Life of Jonathan Trumbull, p. 406. † Chastellux's Travels

and, from a habit of thoughtful attention, magnifies even small affairs into 'great ones.' He wears the peculiar, imposing dress of his ancestors — and there, over a table, where doubtless waited 'the brimming bowl' — in the midst of a party of volatile, laughter-loving French officers — to all of whom good-natured derision and merriment was an instinct — to all of whom, doubtless, the utterance of prayer before a meal was a solecism — the Governor, in the true old Puritan style, '*says grace*' — and with such imposing solemnity of manner and sincerity of tone, as, for his *Benedicite*, to extort 'at once from the midst of forty moustaches, —

"'Vociferous at once from twenty tongues,'

"twenty profound, complaisant Amens! Truly it was a scene for a painter." *

Upon another occasion, the French officers were entertained by General Huntington at his residence in Norwich. "They made a superb appearance as they drove into town, being young, tall vivacious men, with handsome faces and a noble air, mounted on horses bravely caparisoned. After dinner, the whole party, going out into the yard, huzzaed for liberty, and, in good English, bade the people to 'live free, or die for liberty.'" †

On the 23d of June, 1781, Lauzun with his legion broke up his pleasant camp in Lebanon — where he had experienced nothing but the warmest hospitality — to enter upon the active and stern duties of war, "looking forward with hope to some propitious moment in the campaign now about to open, when the Hussars who at Lebanon had so long been happy guests, might win laurels that would allure the blessing of the venerable patriot of the 'Charter Oak State.'"

During those seven months, the patriotic old Governor had been winning, in an unusual degree, the admiration and

* Life of Governor Trumbull, p. 501. † *Ibid.*

the esteem of the Duke and of his officers. They honored him as a conscientious and devoted leader in a common cause. They respected him as a wise counsellor. They loved him as a father. Indeed, so strong was his influence over them, that on one occasion, when a soldier was to be punished for desertion, he was tried in the guard-room after nine o'clock at night, and executed before the morning light, lest, if the case should come to the knowledge of the humane Governor, he would interfere to save the culprit's life. An incident related by his son, Colonel John Trumbull, further illustrates the happy impression which the generous Governor made upon his volatile guests. One day, in 1794, while travelling along the Rhine, the Colonel found himself at night-fall in the village of Mulhausen. It was filled with French troops. The yard of its inn and the entrance to it were crowded with French officers. Fearing that he should be obliged to pass the night in his carriage, outside the walls, he appealed to the inn-keeper for a bed. The result he thus describes:

"'I am afraid that will be impossible,' replied the inn-keeper. 'Hostilities are about to be renewed; the head-quarters of the commanding general are established at my house, and it is entirely occupied by him and his suite; but come with me, and I will do as well as I can.' I followed through a crowd of young officers, and at the door met the old General coming out. The veteran looked at me keenly, and asked bluntly, 'Who are you?—an Englishman?' 'No, General, I am an American, of the United States.' 'Ah! do you know Connecticut?' 'Yes, sir; it is my native State.' 'You know, then, the good Governor Trumbull?' 'Yes, General, he is my father.' 'Oh! *mon Dieu! que je suis charmee;* I am delighted to see a son of Governor Trumbull; *entrez, entrez;* you shall have supper, bed, everything in the house.' I soon learned that the old man had been in America, an officer in the legion of the Duke de

Lauzun,* who had been quartered in my native village during the winter I had passed in prison in London, and had heard me much spoken of there. Of course I found myself in excellent quarters. The old General kept me up almost all night, inquiring of everybody and everything in America, and especially of the people of Lebanon, and above all, the family of Huntington, with whom he had been quartered."

NOTE.—It is not quite certain that the *entire* legion of Lauzun quartered in Connecticut during the winter of 1780-81. (*Ante, p. 304.*) It is thought by some that the unmounted Hussars were retained in Rhode Island, and that they accepted the provision proffered the legion by the State.

* The Duke de Lauzun was born in Paris, April 15, 1747. After his final return from America to France he was elected, in 1789, a member of the States-General by the nobility of Quercy. He took little part in the debates, but when he spoke his speeches were distinguished for simplicity, conciseness, and purity of the principles enunciated. In 1792 he was sent to London, conjointly with Talleyrand and Chauvelin, on a diplomatic mission. After the death of his uncle, the Maréchal de Biron, he assumed the family title, which his father did not wish to bear, and was ever after known as Duke de Biron. He served the Republic in Corsica, Savoy and La Vendée, but incurring the displeasure of the revolutionary tribunal, for the favor shown the Vendeans after their subjugation, he was condemned on the charge of having participated in a conspiracy against the Republic, and December 31, 1793, was guillotined. Roussin, adjunct of the Minister, in a letter to his friend Vincent, under date of August 1, 1793, makes a merit of having contributed to his downfall and death. "To easy manners and a social disposition, he united a generous spirit, whilst the natural grace of his deportment was quite peculiar to himself."—*Ségur's Memoirs, p. 219.*

Memoirs bearing his name were published in Paris in 1822. The portion relating to the French army in America harmonizes in its statements with those which appear in the memoirs of his companions in arms,—Counts Ségur, Dumas, and others. Other parts of the work suggest that its editor may have taken the freedom to amplify the stories of personal adventure, if he did not indeed multiply them, to suit a morbid taste for tales of gallantry.

FRENCH ENCAMPMENT IN NORTH PROVIDENCE.

CAMP STREET NAMED.—HEADQUARTERS TENT.—NOTICES OF THE DEXTERS.—THEIR BILLS. DEMAND OF JOSEPH LAWRENCE.—A READING BEFORE THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—A PARK SUGGESTED.—ACTION OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—PRIVATE MUNIFICENCE. SURVEY OF THE CAMP-GROUND. A LIST OF FRENCH OFFICERS WITH ASSIGNMENT OF QUARTERS.—DR. SOLOMON DROWNE.

AFTER providing for as many of the troops as could be accommodated in Newport, and sending Lauzun's legion to Connecticut, a camp was opened for others in North Providence. Whether all the artillery remained in Newport through the winter does not appear. The spot selected for the camp was a plateau on the summit of the ridge lying east of "Pawtucket Avenue." The southern boundary was Harrington's lane, now North street. The northern boundary was Chace's lane. In width, the southern line of the encampment extended from a wall a few rods west of the northern termination of Camp street to the present "East Avenue," possibly a little beyond.* The entire territory is now within the limits of Providence. The location was well chosen, being near enough to the town for the convenience of the commissaries, and sufficiently remote to prevent annoyance from the soldiers. The western and north-western prospects were extensive, picturesque and enlivening. The fresh breezes from every quarter were guarantees against malaria, while the contour of the encampment rendered necessary drainage comparatively easy. The main street of the camp,

* Camp street, extending from Olney street to North street, originally bore the name of "Green Lane." March 21, 1853, the name was changed to North Brown street, and December 21, 1855, on recommendation of Alderman Isaac Thurber, the name was once more changed to "Camp street," as a suitable reminder of the French encampment. The name was suggested to Mr. Thurber by his son-in-law, Mr. John Gorham.

extending north and south upwards of half a mile, divided the plateau very nearly in the center. Each side was lined with tents. On the eastern side of the street were several ranges of huts.* Tents, huts, kitchens, hospital, sinks, etc., were located on other parts of the field in accordance with military rule. A large headquarters tent, surmounted with

HEADQUARTERS.

an ornamental urn, was pitched near the western side of the main street, and about twenty rods north of North street. By flying colors, daily drills, dress parades, and social hospitalities, many of the towns-people and others were drawn to enjoy for the hour the "pomp of war," without considering, perhaps, the terrible carnage of some hard-fought battle-field, on which many of these gay soldiers might soon be called to lay down their lives.

* The huts were fifteen feet long and twelve feet wide. After they ceased to be used by the army, they were purchased for Joseph Dexter's estate. A colored family occupied one of them for several years as a home.

The land upon which the camp was here established originally constituted a part of an estate of more than one thousand acres (so tradition says) owned by the Reverend Gregory Dexter, an early settler and a prominent citizen of Providence. From his decease until quite recently, it has remained unbroken in the hands of his posterity. In 1780, Jeremiah, Joseph and Edward Dexter, great-grandsons of Gregory Dexter, were owners of the camp-ground.

Their father was Captain Stephen Dexter, who lived on the homestead of his father, John, son of Gregory, a little northward of the North Burial Ground, on the east side of "Pawtucket Avenue." He left five sons,—John, Joseph, Christopher, Jeremiah, and Edward, —and three daughters, Susan, Freelove and Waitstill.

Jeremiah Dexter was a farmer, and resided at the foot of Harrington's lane, on the avenue above mentioned. He was celebrated as a "natural bone setter," and was a worthy man, upright and precise in all his habits and dealings. A story is told of him in the family, that at the time of the French encampment he brought one day into his house a bag of silver, which he had received from the French for the use of the land, and probably in part for farm produce sold to them. Putting it on the floor, he told his two nieces that he would give it to either of them that could lift it, but neither was able to do so. He married late in life, and died March 1, 1807, leaving nine children, the last of whom, Anna Dexter, died October 13, 1874, in the eighty-fifth year of her age. She closed her long life in the homestead where her father lived and died.

When the allies finally left their encampment, there was due to Jeremiah Dexter, for six hundred and ninety-nine cords of wood, "cut off 23 acres, 1 rod and 14 poles of land," and for damage done to fences, etc., the sum of $1,446½. In his compensation for this demand he was less fortunate than in the sales just mentioned. He was paid, not

in "hard money," but in continental paper, which, in its depreciated state, became a total loss.*

Joseph Dexter, a brother of Jeremiah, died unmarried. He owned and lived in a house on Pawtucket Avenue, nearly midway between North street and the residence of the late Honorable Edward P. Knowles, which, during the Revolution and after it, was a tavern, having a bull's head for a sign. The old main building was pulled down a few years ago. The newer kitchen portion has been converted into a cottage residence. Joseph also had a claim against the French allies for nine hundred and fifty-three and a half cords of wood, "cut off 31 acres, 3 rods and 9 poles of land," and for damage done to fences, etc., amounting to $2,047½, (estimated probably in specie,) which was paid. Incapable, from some cause, of taking care of his estate, he, for many years, was placed under guardianship. His different guardians appear to have been very faithful in the discharge of their trusts.†

* These $1,443½ ("hard money," probably,) were the sum ordered by the General Assembly to be paid to Jeremiah Dexter as the award made by a committee appointed by that body to examine into and report upon the subject. According to a tradition in the family, the amount received in continental paper was $5,000. $70 were paid to Thomas Arnold for twenty-four and a quarter cords of wood, fence destroyed, etc., $41½ to Jeremiah Snyles for four cords of wood and fence destroyed, $10 to Peter Randall for fence, etc., destroyed, and $1 to Mercy Dexter for fence, etc., destroyed. The awarding committee also received $10 in compensation for its services.

† The following bill will be in place in this connection. William Smith was then guardian of Joseph. The account with him, which appears to have begun in 1780, was rendered against Mr. Smith by Joseph's estate, in 1799:

MR. EDWARD SMITH,

To JOSEPH DEXTER, Dr.

1780.

To money you received of Thomas Arnold, that he received of the French for wood and damages done by the French army,	£615 5 0
To interest on same from 6th Jan'y, 1781, to 6th Sept., 1799,	6 3 0
To specimen or increase of sales upon the Hats purchased by you,	14 17 0
To the interest on the same,	14 17 0
To money that remained in the hand of Thomas Arnold after the first settlement with the French,	18 1 7
To interest on the same, 15 years,	11 12 3

According to tradition, much of the fuel consumed by the troops was cut from the forest within the limits of the camp ground. The trees were mostly of primitive growth.

At Newport, a demand of Joseph Lawrence, amounting to 2,755 cords and 18 dernieres, for stores furnished to the French army, was paid by M. de Baulive, August 19, 1780. Four dernieres were reckoned to a cord. The bill was rendered in the French language, and was translated into English by Colonel Thomas L. Halsey, who certified the correctness of the translation before Nathaniel Wheaton, Justice of the Peace in Providence.

He died in 1813, and Esek Esten was appointed administrator of his estate.

Edward Dexter built and occupied what is now known as the "Half-way House," on the west side of Pawtucket Avenue, the old road, a little south of the late toll gate. He was a ship-master, which occupation he followed for some years, until he was lost at sea, in 1770. He left two daughters, and two sons,— Stephen and Edward,— who, for a number of years, were in business together in Providence, where they were well known. Edward, the survivor, died in 1860, aged ninety years.

A DECAYED INTEREST REVIVED.

In the course of eighty-four years, nearly all the citizens of Providence, who in childhood or in youth had been attracted to the military display made by the French allies in the North Providence encampment, had departed this life. As no steps, either public or private, had been taken to preserve the identity of the spot, or to keep alive in the minds of the rising generation the spirit it was calculated to inspire, even the traditions of the winter quarters of 1780–81, had grown too dim to maintain a hold upon the interest of the community. Indeed, so apparent had indifference to the past become, that when, in 1865, I read before the Rhode Island Historical Society an outline of this history, which I had sketched in 1864, I introduced it with the following remarks:

Some of our citizens have long been aware of the existence of the old camp-ground occupied by the French army while quartered in this State, in the years 1780, 1781 and 1782; but few, perhaps, can define its exact locality, or point out to the stranger the spot as one of the visible landmarks of the Revolution still existing in and around our city. Already one portion of the ground, where our faithful allies were sheltered, has been dotted with dwellings, and another has been overturned by the plough and the spade of the husbandman. In a few years, probably, all traces of the encampment will be lost, and its site will become a matter of tradition. It is much to be regretted, that a plan of the encampment had not been made

before this work of obliteration was begun, and it seems strange that a spot around which so many interesting memories gather should have retained so feeble a hold upon public attention. It would have appeared more natural for patriotism to have erected a memorial stone upon the ground, to commemorate the event and to identify the place. But ours is less the age of sentiment than of utility. Patriotic promptings, as once existing, have given place to thrift; and the fact that a spot which, in a Roman age, would have been marked by a military arch, has been suffered to pass into comparative oblivion, must take its place beside another fact even more remarkable, viz.: that "What Cheer Rock," sacred to the memory of the founder of Rhode Island, has been allowed, without thought or remonstrance, to be buried beneath the sand and rubbish of street excavations.*

Considering all the circumstances that marked the tarry of the French army among us, and the fact that Rhode Island troops were its companions in arms in the siege of Yorktown, the surrender of which was the last great military event of the war of the Revolution, it would be eminently proper that some memorial of the friendly relations of 1780–1782 should be placed upon the camp-ground, to mark its locality in all coming time. A simple *monument* with an appropriate inscription, set in the center of grounds reserved as a PARK, would be at once suitable for the purpose here suggested, and attractive to visitors from other parts of our country. It is to be hoped that something of this kind will yet be done.

Fifteen years later, public indifference, it is gratifying to record, had given place to interest in historical localities and events of the Revolutionary period. The seed sown in hope had germinated; quickened, perhaps, by the centennial commemorations of the capture of General Prescott and of the battle on Rhode Island, together with the prospective national commemoration of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown; but even now (1882) there are but few persons in Providence, compared with the entire population, who have visited the camp-ground, or who can inform a stranger where to find it.

* The preservation of this Rock, as a historical memorial of the founder of the State, from a fate that seemed almost inevitable, was several times a topic of conversation at meetings of the Rhode Island Historical Society, and a committee was appointed, of which the late President, the Honorable Zachariah Allen, was chairman, to confer with the City Council and others upon the subject. This interposition secured the quarrying and removal of blocks of the stone, in sufficient quantity for a monumental purpose. When the eastern extremity of Williams street shall have been graded to meet the new marginal street, which cuts the curve of "What Cheer Cove," the bed of the rock will be covered from fifteen to twenty feet beneath the surface. The quarried stones, it has been suggested, should be built into a monument to mark the spot.

The Honorable Samuel G. Arnold, late President of the Rhode Island Historical Society, shortly before his lamented death, February 13, 1880, expressed a wish similar to the one uttered by myself in 1865. It was "that something might be done to commemorate the encampment in the north part of our city of the French troops of our Revolutionary army, beyond "the mere calling of Camp street in its remembrance." He suggested "that a Park be arranged on the site in honor of the troops," if practicable; but if not, then that there should be given to streets the names of Rochambeau, Viomesnil and Gimat, "on no account omitting the latter, who, in a less pre-eminent position, showed great bravery, and led the American forlorn hope at the storming of Yorktown." The suggestion of a Park was to me a pleasing coincidence, coming as it did, in a solemn moment of life, from the lips of the accomplished historian of Rhode Island. This wish was communicated by Mrs. Cornelia E. Green, a sister of the deceased, in a letter addressed to the Hon. Amos Perry, Secretary of the Rhode Island Historical Society, who, in accordance with a request of Mr. Arnold, laid it before that body at a meeting held July 6, 1880. In approbation of its contents, a committee was appointed, consisting of Professor William Gammell, Judge John H. Stiness and General Horatio Rogers, to take suitable action upon the subject. The committee subsequently conferred with the Mayor of the city, the Hon. Thomas A. Doyle, who informed them that names were usually given to new streets when they were laid out by proprietors, and long before they were offered to the city for acceptance, and that when once accepted, it was undesirable to change their names, if it could be avoided. He advised, therefore, that the committee present the wishes of the Society to the owners of the land through which these streets were opened, by whom it would probably be easy to carry them into effect. He further advised that the names selected for this purpose should not be difficult of pronunciation by ordinary English-

speaking people. The committee reported the results of its interview with the Mayor, and expressed itself as ready to give "still further attention to the matter in accordance with the judicious advice of the Mayor."

Here the matter temporarily rested, or rather the leaven began quietly but effectively to work. At a meeting of the Historical Society, held February 21, 1882, the Secretary, Mr. Perry, announced that a gentleman who was "interested to see in the State of Rhode Island a monument that shall indicate and foster the spirit of gratitude to the French nation for co-operating with the American people in their struggle for liberty and independence," had authorized him to purchase a portion of the camp-ground suitable for a public Park. This has been done. Twenty-seven acres were purchased of Mr. John Morris, who occupies the Jeremiah Dexter house, at the corner of Pawtucket Avenue and North street. Several additional acres of adjacent land were also purchased, for the purpose of rendering the lot more symmetrical—the whole making a tract of nearly thirty-two acres. This operation was conducted with entire secrecy, and when the injunction was removed, the public-spirited citizen proved to be Henry T. Beckwith, Esq., of Providence. When Mr. Perry announced to the meeting what had been done, the most lively interest was manifested, showing on its part complete surprise. Professor Gammell well remarked, "that this Park must henceforth be regarded as a national affair. The generous and public-spirited citizen who had planned and executed this work by the assistance of the Secretary, merited and would receive lasting honors."

Thus the long-desired Park has been insured; and when, in the future, private or municipal munificence shall have employed æsthetic taste and skill in adorning the grounds with walks, shade trees, flowers, a fountain and a statue of Rochambeau, or with some other appropriate monument,

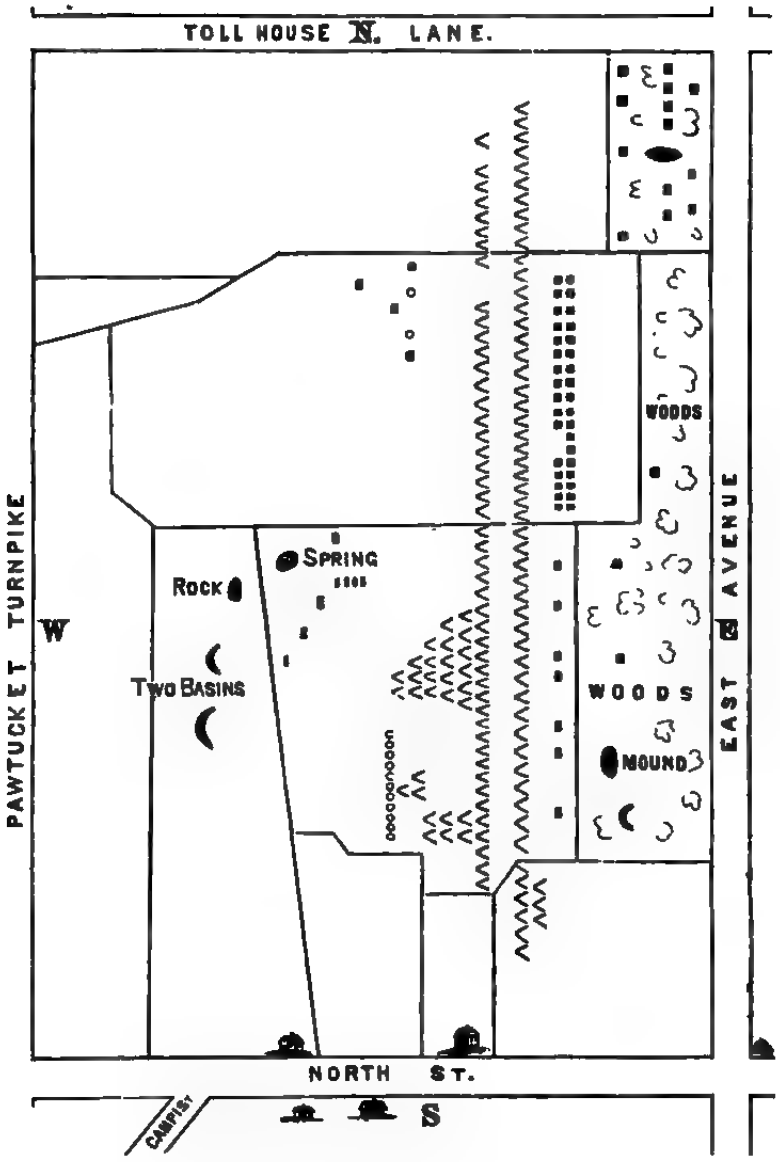


DIAGRAM OF THE FRENCH ENCAMPMENT IN NORTH PROVIDENCE, 1780-82.

the magnetic attraction of the spot will draw multitudes to enjoy its refreshing breezes and its delightful rural scenery.

SURVEY OF THE CAMP-GROUND.

In 1865, assisted by Mr. Henry R. Davis, of the Providence Journal, I made a careful survey of the encampment, for the purpose of preserving such of its remains as time and thrift had spared. In this survey we were successful beyond our most sanguine expectations. Going over the grounds several times, we found no difficulty in tracing clearly defined sites of three hundred and thirteen huts, tents and fire pits. These, of course, were not all; but it was a source of great satisfaction that, amidst the mutations of years, so many evidences of the winter home of our French allies were still visible. To insure entire accuracy, I subsequently went twice over the ground, comparing my diagram with the sites that had been noted upon it. The result of the survey was placed upon a plat, which accompanies this volume. The note in the margin will make the plat entirely intelligible to the reader. In this plat, most of the division walls and fences of the encampment have been omitted, as tending to confuse the mind in regard to its topography. On the preceding page is a diagram of the encampment, with lines indicating the division walls and fences, as they appeared in 1865. It was an off-hand sketch, made from points where the grounds could be overlooked, but with no pretension to a surveyor's accuracy. The ground enclosed in the rear of the center house on North street, as seen on the diagram, was cultivated as a garden. The lot between that house and the corner of East Avenue was used as a vegetable patch. The field next north, in which a spring is indicated, had been used as a pasture ever since the French allies ceased to occupy it. Here, remaining tent sites could easily be counted. The ridges of earth thrown up from the drainage ditches, by becoming hard turf, had left the outlines plain. The field next north had long been

under cultivation, and we were none too soon in securing the tent and hut sites within its limits. In this field was located the largest number of huts, as shown on the diagram by small, black squares. In the third field the tent sites were less numerous, but were readily discerned. Along the eastern border of the encampment will be noticed a skirting of woods, in which appears a number of hut sites. In the unploughed field, between the main street of the encampment and the woods, are seven black, oblong figures. There should have been eleven. These represent excavations, about three feet square and fifteen inches in depth, used, probably, for fire-places of tents or huts. Against the southern side of each of these pits was found placed a stone fire-back, darkened with smoke, and at the bottom were remains of charred wood. Just in the edge of the southern end of the woods was a symmetrically formed mound; but the purpose for which it was raised can only be conjectured. Near by, in the form of a basin, was an excavation, indicated on the diagram by a crescent. Two similar basins were noticed in a field adjacent, on the west, to the pasture-field already mentioned. A second mound, smaller than the first named, was found in the woods in the north-east corner of the encampment. But further details are unnecessary. It is sufficient to add, that the vestiges of the encampment remaining visible in 1865, as here described, have now, with few exceptions, totally disappeared. The woodman's axe has felled the forest grove; the tent and hut sites have been buried beneath the multiplied furrows of the plough; stone walls have been removed; the location of fences has been changed; and when I made my last visit to the grounds for a final revision of my plat,* so changed had they become, that I sought in vain for some of the familiar landmarks, as guides to spots I wished particularly to inspect.

* May 4, 1879

ASSIGNMENT OF HOMES TO OFFICERS.

As may well be supposed, the French officers, who were to pass the winter in the camp or in the town, received a cordial welcome. Among the principal citizens, who extended to them courtesies, were Governor Nicholas Cooke, Deputy-Governor Jabez Bowen, Messrs. Nicholas, John and Joseph Brown, Joseph Russell, Colonel Joseph Nightingale, Colonel Ephraim Bowen, Jr., Dr. Truman, John Smith, Dr. Chase, Colonel Daniel Tillinghast, Captain Daniel Bucklin, Richard Olney, Cyprian Sterry, Captain Paul Allen, Theodore Foster, William Wheaton, Daniel Jackson, Colonel William Barton, Amos Atwell, Esek Aldrich, Nathaniel Greene, John Innis Clarke, John Foster and Samuel Nightingale. The number of officers received into different families, as appears by the following list, was sixty-four. This list is copied from the original French manuscript, now in the possession of Henry Thayer Drowne, Esq., of New York city, by whom it was courteously loaned to me. The list bears no date, and may have been intended to cover the entire period in which the military guests were entertained in Providence. The headquarters of General Rochambeau were maintained in Newport until, with his army, he joined Washington in 1781. He came to town frequently, and his being formally assigned on this list to the hospitality of Deputy-Governor Bowen, in whose family he was always a welcome guest, may have been for his convenience, as "a standing invitation" whenever he visited Providence.* In arranging the list, the width of the printed page required the omission of braces, where two or more officers were received into the same family; and in these instances the name of the street and that of the host have been repeated. In all other respects, it is an exact transcript of the original. For the convenience of readers not acquainted with the French lan-

*Ante, p. 242.

guage, a translation of the names of the streets on which the officers resided is given in the accompanying note.*

ÉTAT DES LOGEMENTS MARQUÉS DANS LA VILLE DE PROVIDENCE POUR L'ARMÉE.

aux Ordres de M'r Le Cte. de Rochambeau.

[QUARTERS OF THE FRENCH OFFICERS IN PROVIDENCE.]

Messieurs. [*Names of Officers.*]	*Rues.* [*Streets.*]	*Chez.* [*At the House of*]
QUARTIER GÉNÉRAL.		
Le C'te de Rochambeau, Général,	Grande rue, près le pont,	Le Gouverneur Bowen.
De Tarlé, Intendant,	Grande rue en deçà du pont,	John Brown.
Le Baron de Viomesnil, Maréchal de Camp,	Idem,	Jos. Brown.
Le Chev. de Chatellux, Idem, faisant les fonctions de Major-Général,	Idem,	Jos. Russel.
Le C'te de Viomesnil, Maréchal de Camp,	Idem,	Colonel Nightingale.
De Choisy, Brigadier,	à coté de la maison de ville,	Colonel Bowen.
ÉTAT-MAJOR DE L'ARMÉE.		
De Béville, M'al-G'al des Logis,	Back street au delà du pont,	Théodore Foster.
AIDES MAR'AUX GÉN'AUX DES LOGIS.		
Le V'te de Rochambeau,	Absent,	
Collot,	Back street au delà du pont,	Cap'e Paul Allens.
De Béville,	Près de la maison de ville,	M'e Ben Coushin.
AIDES MAJOR-GÉNAUX DE L'INF'IE.		
De Ménonville,	Grande rue en deçà du pont,	Cyprian Sterry.
De Tarlé,	Grande rue, idem,	Nath. Angell.
Dubouchet,	Grande rue au delà du pont,	Cap'e Creads.

*Grande rue près le pont,— The Main street near the bridge.
Grande rue en deçà du pont,— The Main street this side the bridge.
Back street au delà du pont,— Back street beyond the bridge.
Back street en deçà du pont,— Back street this side the bridge.
Près de la maison de ville,— Near the Town Hall.
Grande rue au delà du pont,— The Main street beyond the bridge.
à coté de la maison de ville,— Next to the Town Hall.
Grande rue près la maison de ville,— The Main street near the Town House.
Grande rue vis a vis la maison de ville,— The Main street opposite the Town Hall.
"Back street this side the bridge," is now Benefit street.
"Back street beyond the bridge," is now Westminster street.
"The Main street this side the bridge," is now North and South Main streets.
"The Main street beyond the bridge," is now Weybosset street.

Messieurs. [*Names of Officers*]	*Rues.* [*Streets*]	*Chez.* [*At the House of*]
	CORPS DE GÉNIE.	
Desandelains, Colonel Commandant,	Grande rue en deça du pont,	John Clark.
De Querenel, Lieutenant-Colonel,	Grande rue au delà du pont,	Dr. Truman
De Pelys, Major,	Grande rue en deça du pont,	Cap'n Dan. Buklin,
De Dovre, Capitaine,	Grande rue en deça du pont,	Nath. Angell
Crublier d'Opterre, Idem,	Grande rue en deça du pont,	Nath. Angell
De Gazarac, Idem,	Grande rue au delà du pont,	Hawkins
Le Baron de Turpin, Idem,	Grande rue en deça du pont,	Will Tylor
De Plancher, Lieutenant,	Grande rue en deça du pont,	Will Tylor.
	ARTILLERIE.	
D'Aboville, Colonel Commandant,	Grande rue au delà du pont,	Will Tylor
De Lazier, Major des Équipages,	Idem,	Digt Nightingale
Manduit, Aide Major,	Grande rue au delà du pont,	Dan Jackson
Romaney, Idem,	Grande rue au delà du pont,	Dan Jackson.
	INTENDANCE.	
Blanchard, Com'rc des gu'es ppal,	Grande rue au delà du pont,	Will Wheaton.
De Villemanzy, Idem,	Grande rue près du pont,	Montfort
Gau, Idem, et de L'Artillerie,	Back street au delà du pont,	Widow Clark.
	PETIT ÉTAT MAJ. DE L'ARMÉE.	
Mullins, Cap'e des Guides,	G'de rue vis à vis la maison de ville,	John Smith.
	PREVOTÉ.	
De Ronchamp, Prévot,	Grande rue en deçà du pont,	Gov'er Cooks
La Prison de la Ville,	Vis à vis la maison de ville,	
	AIDES-DE-CAMP DE M'R LE COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.	
Le Comte de Fersen,	Grande rue en deça du pont,	Nic Brown
Le Marquis de Vaubau,	Grande rue en deça du pont,	Nic. Brown.
Le Marquis de Damas,	Grande rue en deça du pont,	Nic Brown
Le Chevalier de Lameth,	Grande rue en deça du pont,	Do'tr Bowen
Damas,	Grande rue en deça du pont,	Doc'r Bowen.
De Lauberdière,	Grande rue en deça du pont,	John Foster
Le Baron de Closen,	Grande rue en deça du pont,	John Foster.
	AIDES-DE-CAMP DE M'R LE BARON DE VIOMENIL.	
D'Angely,	Grande rue en deça du pont,	Jos. Brown.
Le Chevalier de Viomenil,	Grande rue en deça du pont,	Jos. Brown.
De Chabannes,	Grande rue en deça du pont,	Jenkins
Brintaneau,	Grande rue en deça du pont,	Jenkins.
St. Amand,	Grande rue en deça du pont,	John Hopkins.
De Puisge,	Grande rue en deça du pont,	M Field
Desoteux,	Grande rue en deça du pont,	Dr. Chase.
Brison,	Idem,	Jos. Brown.
	AIDES-DE-CAMP DE M'R LE CHEV'ER DE CHATELLUX.	
De Lintz,	près la maison de ville,	Cousins
De Montesquiou,	près la maison de ville,	Cousins.

Messieurs. [*Names of Officers.*]	*Rues.* [*Streets.*]	*Chez.* [*At the House of*]
AIDES-DE-CAMP DE M'R LE COMTE DE VIOMESNIL.		
D'Olonne, l'aîné,	Back street en deçà du pont,	Edouard Spauldings.
D'Olonne, le cadet,	Back street en deçà du pont,	Edouard Spauldings.
Stack,	Idem,	Mrs. Jenkins.
AIDE-DE CAMP DE M'R DE CHOISY.		
De Tressan,	Grande rue près la maison de ville,	Richard Olney.
AIDE-DE-CAMP DE M'R DE BÉVILLE.		
De Béville,	Back street au delà du pont,	Théodore Foster.
LE TRÉSOR.		
De Baulny, Trésorier,	Grande rue au delà du pont,	Colonel Barton.
LES VIVRES.		
Daure, Régisseur,	Grande rue au delà du pont,	Amez Attwel.
Morion, Caissier,	Grande rue au delà du pont,	Nath. Green.
Bourguin, Directeur,	Idem, long Warff,	Eisach Aldrich.
HOPITAUX.		
De Mars, Régisseur,	à l'hopital,	
De Coste, 1st Médecin,	Grande rue en deçà du pont,	Tillinghaste.
Robillard, 1st Chirurgien,	Grande rue en deçà du pont,	Samuel Yong.
L'abbé de Glesnon, Aumônier,	Idem,	Benj. Allen.
RÉGIE DE LA VIANDE.		
Buret de Blegier, Régisseur,	Grande rue au delà du pont,	Mrs. Stevens.
FOURRAGES.		
Louis, Régisseur,	Grande rue en deçà du pont,	Jos. Laurens.
EFFETS DU ROY.		
Martin, Garde-Magasin,	Grande rue au dela du pont,	M'e Clark Trésorier.

Officers not included in the foregoing list were entertained in other families. Several of them were quartered in the families of Jeremiah and Edward Dexter. A number was accommodated at a public house near the old toll house, then kept by Jeremiah Sayles. Others found a home at the Bull's Head Tavern,—the Joseph Dexter house. Two or three were provided for by Esek Easton, who lived a short distance north-west of the toll-house. A number of others obtained board in the house occupied by Benjamin Randall, situated west of Pawtucket Avenue, and in proximity to the Edward Dexter place. On the mantle of the

kitchen fire-place were to be seen, a few years ago, the letters LE·FEY, and also the letter A, said by the late Mary Randall to have been carved by the French boarders. At the Morris house, east of East Avenue, on the Swan Point road, officers were provided for.

The ancient brick house near the Butler Hospital, occupied as the quarters of a general officer, was often the scene of social festivities. Tradition informs us that on one occasion a splendid ball was given there, graced by ladies from town.

Two officers boarded with Dr. Throop, on North Main street, and quite shocked their landlady by preparing forced meat in the Doctor's wig box!

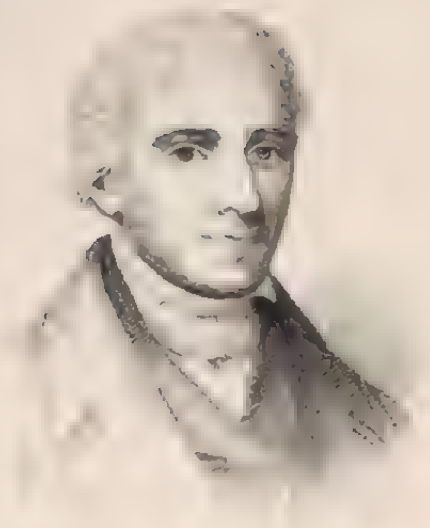
A part of the house of Colonel Amos Atwell having been

OLD BRICK HOUSE ON THE SWAN POINT ROAD.*

used by a French officer and his attendants, and for quarters for Captain de la Barrolier and his attendants seven months and two days, from September 1st to April 1st, following, he was allowed and paid £18 2*s* 6*d*, "lawful silver money."

Captain Jaimaeco, "an officer in Count Rochambeau's army," occupied half of the house of Captain William Chace, four and one-half months, who was allowed and paid by the town £4 10*s*, "silver money," therefor.

* This house is understood to have been built by Richard Brown, "yeoman." In order of time, it is the second brick house erected within the limits of Providence,—the house on North Main street, in which Lafayette was occasionally entertained, (*Ante p. 31*,) being the first.



Solomon Drowne, M.D.

Major Elihu Robinson received £2 2*s*, "lawful silver money," "for the use of his great room seven weeks by Mr. Dumas."

Mrs. Penelope Peck was allowed and paid £1 16*s*, "lawful silver money," for rooms furnished to Dr. Ferson, "principal marine physician of the navy of France," from October 4 to November 8, at 6*s* per week.

John Larchar was paid £6 2*s* "lawful silver money," for rent of rooms furnished two French surgeons, viz., Mons. Fownee and Mons. Ségur. And for providing quarters for another French officer he was allowed and paid £1 13*s*, "lawful silver money."

Two officers found a hospitable home in the family of Dr. Solomon Drowne, who attained to great eminence as a physician and surgeon, and as Professor of Materia Medica and Botany in Brown University. A soldier requiring surgical aid, submitted to the operation of trepanning, which was skillfully and successfully performed by Dr. Drowne, being the first case of the kind that ever occurred in Providence. The patient recovered.

"Solomon Drowne, M. D., was a great grandson of Leonard Drowne, of Boston, Massachusetts. His grandfather and father were also named Solomon, and the latter settled in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1730, where the subject of this sketch was born March 11, 1753. Dr. Drowne graduated at Rhode Island College, (now Brown University,) in 1773; studied medicine, and received medical degrees from the University of Pennsylvania and from Dartmouth College, New Hampshire. He served as surgeon for several years, (1776-1780,) during the war of the Revolution, in hospitals under Dr. John Morgan in the States of New York and Connecticut, and with Dr. Jonathan Arnold in Rhode Island, also in Colonel Crary's and Colonel Atwell's Rhode Island regiments of the continental line. He was in Sullivan's expedition upon Rhode Island, and had charge of the hospital at Bristol. In the fall of 1780 he went on a cruise as surgeon in the private sloop of war 'Hope,' his journal of which, with the genealogy of his family, has been printed. He won the regard of Lafayette, the Counts de Rochambeau and D'Estaing, as well as of other French officers, to such a degree, by his medical ability and skill as a surgeon, that the chief of the medical staff entrusted invalid soldiers to his care when the French left for home. The letters he received from the officers evince

the highest estimation, not only of Washington as *Generalissimo*, but of the Rhode Islanders generally.

"In 1783 he was elected to the Board of Fellows in Brown University. A year later he went to London, and spent several months in travelling over England, and in visiting the hospitals and medical schools. In May, 1785, he visited Holland and Belgium for similar purposes, and then went to Paris. While in France he was often a guest of Dr. Franklin, at Passy, in whose society he met Mr. Jefferson and other distinguished men. On his return to Providence, he resumed the practice of medicine; but in 1788, journeyed to Ohio, and resided for nearly a year at Marietta. While there he delivered a funeral eulogy on General James M. Varnum, (whom he attended in his last sickness,) and also the first anniversary oration on the settlement of Marietta April 7, 1789. He was also present participating with General St. Clair and others, in the treaties at Fort Harmar, in 1788-9, with Corn Planter and other Indian chiefs. Returning to his native town he continued his practice until 1792, when, in consequence of impaired health, he removed with his family to Morgantown, West Virginia, stopping *en route* to see General Washington at Mount Vernon; and in 1794, the danger from border incursions of Indians being over, he went to Union, Fayette county, Pennsylvania, where he lived seven years. In 1801 he retraced his steps to Rhode Island, and a little later settled in Foster. He called his place Mt. Hygeia, and here he resided the remainder of his days, devoting himself to professional duties, to his botanical garden, and to his scientific, classical and literary studies.

"Dr. Drowne filled several public offices. He was, in 1811, appointed Professor of Materia Medica and Botany in Brown University; and in 1819 was elected a delegate to the convention which formed the National Pharmacopœia, by the Rhode Island Medical Society, of which he was Vice President. He took an active part in the organization and proceedings of the Rhode Island Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Industry, before which he delivered addresses on several occasions. In 1824, in connection with his son William Drowne, he published the *Farmer's Guide*, a comprehensive work on husbandry and gardening. He contributed various scientific and literary articles to the journals of the day and participated in the proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and other learned bodies, of which he was a member. His '*Lines to the Memory of Dr. Joseph Warren*,' written shortly after the battle of Bunker's Hill, are truly patriotic and evince the brotherly regard that existed between them professionally and as 'Sons of Liberty.' During his life he delivered many botanical lectures, public orations and addresses, highly creditable to him as a man of refined taste and varied acquisitions, among which may be mentioned several commemorative of American Independence,—his '*Eulogy on Washington, February 22, 1800*,' and his '*Oration in Aid of the Cause of the Greeks, February 23, 1824*.' The latter was delivered by the venerable orator at the First Baptist Meeting House,

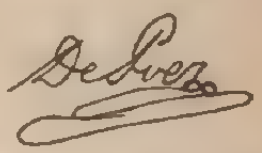
in Providence, when he was upwards of seventy years of age, with such remarkable fervor and pathos, 'that it was pronounced the most brilliant performance of his life.' He died February 5, 1834."

SOCIAL LIFE IN PROVIDENCE, 1780-81.

THE presence of the French allies in Providence inspired the life of the town, and the liberality with which they circulated their silver and gold rendered them welcome customers at a period when a Spanish milled dollar bore a fabulous value in paper currency. The exact discipline of the soldiery, and the rigid restrictions under which they were permitted to pass out of camp and mingle with the citizens, were strong safeguards against the indulgence of excesses, and left little cause for complaint on that score. The officers were on terms of pleasant intimacy with the leading families, and their presence imparted an additional charm to social gaiety. Balls, parties, and other entertainments were frequent, and the repetition of reciprocal courtesies served to strengthen mutual respect and friendship. The old Field homestead, at Field's Point, before mentioned, was much frequented by the French officers, where they were always sure of a hearty hospitality, and where they participated in social assemblies with the characteristic zest of mercurial temperaments. The impressions made upon the community were of the most agreeable character, and during the subsequent years of those at whose homes the officers were received as guests, the memories of those days were cherished as among the pleasantest of their recollections.

The patriotism of the Field family was of the purest type. In 1780, William Field was appointed Captain of a company in the second regiment of Providence county militia. Abner and Nehemiah Field were distinguished for personal beauty.

When the news reached them of the battle of Bunker's Hill, and of the burning of Charlestown, like Putnam, they instantly left the field, and with rifle in hand joined the volunteers crowding on to the scene of action. They were placed in the body of reserves. During the war Abner was taken prisoner, and thrust into the notorious Jersey prison ship, where he soon became covered with vermin. Both Abner and Nehemiah held commissions. Captain William Field, with a noble heart, was "plain of speech." One day, Major De Prez, an officer of the Royal Deux-Ponts, engaged in fortifying the Point, called upon him, and while the Captain was occupied outside the house in his morning ablution, the following colloquy ensued. Said the Major, in a respectful tone, "Are you Esquire Field, the gentleman who owns the land adjoining this beach?" "I am," was the laconic reply. "I have made bold," continued the Major, "to land my guns below, and hope no offence is given." "None at all," was the sententious answer. "We are about to become neighbors, and I hope we shall be friends," continued the Major. "Amen," responded the sturdy "Lord of the manor," and applied himself vigorously to the cleansing process. The Major having thus taken the gauge of his host, silently raised his chapeau, and proceeded to Providence. The Field family at the Point was numerous. The last survivor of the William Field family was Eleanor, a woman of uncommon natural endowments. She sold the Point estate to the city of Providence, and removed to Elmwood, and died March 8, 1864, aged ninety-one years. The family burial-ground was near the homestead house, but after the estate became the property of the city, the bodies there buried were removed to the North burial ground.



Conspicuous among the young ladies of Providence and its vicinity whose refined culture, graceful manners and per-

sonal beauty rendered them objects of constant admiration, were the Misses Bowen, Miss Checkley, Miss Waity Arnold, a beautiful young woman, who, in after life could boast of having danced at a ball with Lafayette,* the Misses Church, Miss Polly Arnold, daughter of Colonel Benjamin Arnold, of Warwick, the Misses Eliza and Sally Arnold, daughters of Captain Rhodes Arnold, of Pawtuxet,† Miss Cynthia Aborn, daughter of Colonel Samuel Aborn, of the same town, subsequently married to Captain Pierre Douville,‡ and Miss Sally Arnold, daughter of Dr. Jonathan Arnold, of Providence, distinguished as Hospital Director,§ as a member of Congress, as an active friend of popular education, and as prominent in town affairs, who became the wife of the Honorable James Burrill, Jr., a lawyer of eminence. He was Attorney General of Rhode Island from 1797 to 1814, and delivered the oration on the death of Washington, in Providence, in 1800. Subsequently, Mr. Burrill was returned a member of the General Assembly, and became Speaker of that body. The town of Burrillville, which was incorporated November 17, 1806, was named in honor of him. He received the appointment of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and in 1817 he was elected a Senator in Congress, and voted against the extension of slavery. He died suddenly in Washington December 25, 1820.

The fascinations of Miss Sally Church, who at this time was in Providence, appear to have been strongly felt by M. de Silly, an officer of the Bourbonnois regiment. While temporarily in Newport, early in 1781, he sent her, through his friend, Dr. Solomon Drowne, "this little inscription," (message,) "If you had given me your heart, I would not have returned it." On the reverse of the message was inscribed, "To Miss Sally Church, by her most humble servant Le Chevalier de Silly, Lieutenant au de Bourbonnois."

* "The young American ladies have always considered it as one of their greatest honors to have danced with that nobleman."—*Chastellux.*

† Ante, p. 51. ‡ Ante, p. 235. § Ante, p. 8.

"I regret infinitely," he writes to Dr. Drowne, "to have known her so little time. Her loveliness shall captivate all hearts."

In reply to M. de Silly's letter, Dr. Drowne says:

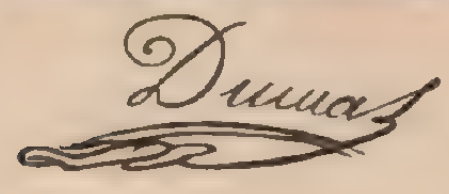
"I received your generous epistle the 14th instant, and delivered with pleasure the enclosed inscription to the amiable Miss Church. She received it with one of those smiles which would make the blood thrill in a hermit's veins. She and her sister desired me to present their compliments to you. I did not see the other ladies, nor Mr. Hitchcock. I should seem wanting in friendly justice to your merit, not to mention how highly you are esteemed here by all who had the happiness of your acquaintance: particularly at Mrs. Checkley's; particularly Miss R——, who not knowing you departed so soon, sent her compliments, and an invitation to drink tea with her."

Subsequently, the impressible Lieutenant admired scarcely less the beautiful Miss Bathsheba Bowler, daughter of the Honorable Metcalf Bowler, of Newport. Her charms were recognized by several of the French officers quartered in that town. One of them, M. Laufrey Dehsle, married her, and before the war was over, took her to his home in France. Dr. Solomon Drowne saw her there, when he visited Paris in 1785, as attractive as when conquering hearts in Newport. A miniature of her, still extant, represents her as a graceful, swan-like beauty, of the captivating order.

Of Dr. Ephraim Bowen's admired daughters, Eliza,—or Betsey, as she was familiarly called,—was in some respects the most attractive. She was very elegant in her person; her face was beautiful; her eyes were peculiarly brilliant, yet soft and sweet; her voice was melody itself. She sang with great taste and feeling. Her intellect was fine and highly cultivated, and altogether her heart, mind, person and manners "formed one harmonious whole." She was married to Mr. John Ward; and when, many years after, she visited Paris, her old friends of the French allies sought her out and bestowed upon her the kindest attentions. Her sisters were very superior women, and traditions of their graces are still fresh.

Count Dumas, who was on terms of intimacy with Dr. Bowen's family, thus speaks of the young ladies:

"I had left at Providence, in the house of Dr. Bowen, and especially entrusted to his amiable daughters, a small box containing various papers and notes which I had made in the course of our two campaigns. This box, which I had supposed to be lost, has been carefully preserved by Mrs. Ward, the youngest of those ladies, the only survivor of her family, and



who has done me the honor to remember me. After a lapse of forty years, having met at New York with General Lafayette during his triumphal progress, Mrs. Ward was so good as to inquire after me, and requested the General to convey this box to me, with an affecting testimony of our former friendship." *

* Count Dumas was born in Montpelier, France, November 23, 1755. After returning to France, from America, he was employed two years in exploring the sea coasts and islands

The Misses Eliza and Sally Arnold were distinguished in their day as "belles." The former was married, as already mentioned, to Dr. Isaac Senter, of Newport. The latter was married to Captain Pierre Dubosque, a French officer who remained in Providence, where he died.

In speaking of the deportment of parties assembled for mirthful enjoyment, Count Ségur says:

"I do not recollect to have seen anywhere else an assemblage, in which a greater degree of mirth prevailed without confusion, in which there was a greater number of pretty women and married people living happily together, a greater proportion of beauty free from coquetry, a more complete mixture of persons of all classes, whose conduct and manners presented an equal degree of decorum, which obliterated all appearance of unpleasant contrast or distinctions." *

The domestic habits of families in Providence and in other parts of the State did not escape the quick eye and the retentive memory of the intelligent allies. M. Blanchard, whose opportunities for observation were extensive, and who, when in Providence, frequently dined at the table of a Mr. Bowker, a merchant of that town, has left on record the following:

"They do not eat soups and do not serve up ragouts at these dinners; but boiled and roast and much vegetables. They drink nothing but cider

of Turkey. At the opening of the French revolution, he joined the constitutional party with Lafayette, and became a member of the legislative assembly. Under the consulate, he was invested with several important missions. In 1806, he was minister of war under Joseph Bonaparte, in Naples. He served in Spain and Germany. On the return of Napoleon from Elba, he was indisposed to join him, but through the earnest entreaties of Joseph Bonaparte, he was induced to superintend the organization of the National Guards. On this account, Louis XVIII after resuming the crown, placed him on the retired list. He was with Napoleon in the Russian campaign, and in 1828 was a member of the Chamber of Deputies. In the revolution of 1830, he was active in the elevation of Louis Philippe to the throne. He was a copious military writer, and published, in two volumes, "Memoirs of his own Times; The Revolution, The Empire, The Restoration." In his later years he experienced the almost total loss of sight. When in Providence, Count Dumas was about twenty-seven years of age. The late Dr. Levi Wheaton, of Providence, who knew him well, described him as a gay young Frenchman, fond of the society of ladies, and gentlemanly in manners. He died in Paris, October 16, 1837, aged eighty-five years, one month and seven days. The portrait of him here given was copied from a French engraving, representing him in advanced years, and wearing the decorations of office.

* Ségur, p. 295, 296.

and Madeira wine with water. The dessert is composed of preserved quinces or pickled sorrel. The Americans eat the latter with the meat. They do not take coffee immediately after dinner, but it is served three or four hours afterward with tea; this coffee is weak, and four or five cups are not equal to one of ours; so that they take many of them. The tea, on the contrary, is very strong. This use of tea and coffee is universal in America. The people who live in the country, tilling the ground and driving their oxen take it as well as the inhabitants of the cities. Breakfast is an important affair with them. Besides tea and coffee, they put on table roasted meats, with butter, pies and ham; nevertheless they sup, and in the afternoon they again take tea. Thus the Americans are almost always at the table; and as they have little to occupy them, as they go out little in winter and spend whole days along side of their fires and their wives, without reading and without doing anything, going so often to table is a relief and a preventive of *ennui*. Yet they are not great eaters.

"They are very choice in cups and vases for holding tea and coffee, in glasses, decanters and other matters of this kind, and in habitual use. They make use of wall papers which serve for tapestry; they have them very handsome. In many of the houses there are carpets also, even upon their stairs. In general, the houses are very pleasant and kept with extreme neatness, with the mechanic and the countryman as well as with the merchant and the general. Their education is very nearly the same, so that a mechanic is often called to their assemblies, where there is no distinction, no separate order. I have already mentioned that the inhabitants of the entire country are proprietors. They till the earth and drive their oxen themselves. This way of living and this sweet equality have charms for thinking beings. These manners suit me very well. Burning a great quantity of wood is one of their luxuries, it is common. One-half of the districts which I have traversed are wooded, almost altogether with oaks, among which there are some very handsome ones. Yet wood is very dear, owing to the difficulty of transporting it. It costs us for a league about fifteen livres a cord.

"I have spoken of the cups, the glasses, the paper hangings, the carpets, and other articles in which the Americans are very choice, and which they procured from England before the war."

Speaking of the reverence shown in Boston for the Sabbath, he adds:

"This is the same almost everywhere in America. At Providence some amiable women, of a lively disposition, at whose houses I called, were even unwilling to sing on Saturday evening."

In explanation of this, it may be proper to say, that in

most families the Sabbath was recognized as beginning at sunset on Saturday.

To what the author above cited has said, it may not be out of place to add, as a testimony honorable to the young women of the period, that "housekeeping" in all its departments, was well understood by them. Besides a familiar knowledge of every variety of ornamental needle-work — many specimens of which have been preserved — there were few who could not spin, knit, weave and construct garments; while they were equally versed in all culinary mysteries. By the more wealthy families dinners were served on Liverpool ware, of novel patterns and of mixed colors — blue and brown, with cream-colored edges. The covers of vegetable dishes were moulded into the forms of pies, tarts and other devices, while tureens were made to resemble a roasted turkey. This class of ware was in use as late as the close of the last century. In matters of dress, ladies and gentlemen of 1780, like the same classes in 1880, were obedient to the inexorable law of fashion, and then as now, sometimes indulged in ungraceful extremes. The Marquis de Chastellux writes:

"Before I arrived here I had no expectations of discovering the traces of the French modes and fashions, in the midst of the wilds of America. The head-dresses of all the women except Quakers, are high, spreading, and decked profusely with our gauzes."

Speaking of church attendance, the Marquis rather ungallantly says:

"Piety is not the only motive that brings American ladies in crowds to the various places of worship. Deprived of all shows and public diversions whatever, the church is the grand theatre where they attend, to display their extravagance and finery. There they come dressed off in the finest silks, and overshadowed with a profusion of the most superb plumes. The hair of the head is raised and supported upon cushions to an extravagant height, somewhat resembling the manner in which French ladies wore their hair some years ago."

The Marquis does not make a local application of this criticism to Providence nor to Newport. Had he avowedly

done so, it might have been said, and in truth, that to whatever excess fashion carried some of its votaries a hundred years ago, simplicity in dress, in every-day life, dominated among the "better classes," and that in social intercourse, embracing the pleasures of the tea-table, the external costume for the occasion frequently consisted of a "short gown," a plain skirt, an ample gauze or a cambric handkerchief worn round the neck and crossed on the bust, and a spotless white apron.

CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1780.

SKETCH OF DR. PETER TURNER.—M. BLANCHARD ACTIVE.—A MASONIC PROCESSION.—A SUGGESTION OF WASHINGTON.—DEATH OF ADMIRAL DE TERNAY.

AN eventful year was fast drawing to a close, and much vigilance for the comfort of the troops was manifested by the State authorities. At the November session of the General Assembly, £900 were ordered to be paid to Peter Turner, M. D., "to provide necessaries for Colonel Christopher Greene's regiment," then stationed at Newport.*

* Dr. Peter Turner, the fourth and youngest son of Dr. William Turner, was born in Newark, N. J., September 2, 1751. He studied his profession with Dr. Campfield, of Morristown, N. J., and was licensed to practice medicine by the Supreme Court of New Jersey. He was an energetic, an industrious, and a systematic man. Though a strict disciplinarian, he was, at the same time, a most gentle, amiable and indulgent father, and an agreeable and interesting companion. Before the breaking out of the Revolution, he came to Warren, R. I., where he became acquainted with his future wife, Eliza, daughter of Cromwell Child, and sister of Mrs. General Varnum, and of Mrs. Bourne, wife of Hon. Benjamin Bourne, of Bristol.

Doctor Turner practised medicine in Warren from January, 1774, until he became Surgeon of Colonel Greene's battalion, continental army, in May, 1777. After his retirement from the army, he resumed the practice of medicine in East Greenwich, where he died February 14, 1822, aged seventy years. He was at the battle of Red Bank, October 22, 1777, where Colonel Christopher Greene, with a garrison of four hundred Rhode Island troops, killed and took prisoners a number of Hessians larger than his own. Doctor Turner had charge of Colonel Count Donop, who was mortally wounded, and whose spurs, given to him by the Count, are in possession of his grandson at Newport. He was with the army in the pursuit of Sir Henry Clinton, on his retreat through New Jersey, and was present at the action of Monmouth, in 1778, having passed the winter of 1777-8 at Valley Forge, and was in camp at the siege of Newport, under General Sullivan, August, 1778. He was quite noted for the graphic and dramatic manner in which, at a later day, he narrated the incidents connected with the battle of Red Bank, which was, without question, one of the most brilliant exploits of the war.

December opened cold and forbidding. Continuous alternations of piercing winds, snow and rain contributed greatly to the discomfort of camp life on Rhode Island, and created an urgent demand for fuel. To meet this demand as quickly as possible, Commissary Blanchard, who was constantly on the alert, kept one hundred and twenty axemen vigorously at work in the woods of Pawtuxet. On the 3d of the month, a cold and snowy day, he and M. de la Chese, an officer of artillery, who had recently arrived in Providence, mounted their horses and rode to that village, "to dine at the house of a miller's wife, whose dress, style of living and furniture differed in no respect from the best they had seen in the houses of the richest Americans," and afterwards to inspect the workmen in the forest. The next day, M. Blanchard met General Rochambeau in Providence, and gave him an account of his work at Pawtuxet, which place the General had not time to visit, and also acquainted him with some purchases that had been made for the artillery and the navy, and which apparently met with approbation.*

On the 14th, the Commissary took passage for Newport in a vessel laden with wood. The day was intensely cold. A gale of wind prevailed, by which the vessel was struck and nearly upset. However, it reached its destination without damage. A visit to Providence, a fortnight later, was signalized by witnessing a street masonic procession. "It was," he says, "Saint John's day, a great festival for the Free Masons.† There was a meeting of them at Providence, it was announced in the public papers, for societies of this sort are authorized. I met in the streets of Providence a company of these Free Masons, going two by two, holding each other's hands, all dressed with their aprons, and preceded by two men with long staves. He who brought up the rear,

*General Rochambeau had been to Lebanon, Conn., to visit the Duke de Lauzun, and to inspect the region. He was now returning to Newport, and passed the night in Providence.

†St. John's day occurs annually on the 24th of June, and M. Blanchard has evidently been misinformed as to the date of the company. The procession witnessed by him may have been going to or returning from a funeral, or from some other public gathering.

and who was probably the master, had two brethren alongside of him, and all three wore ribbons around their necks like ecclesiastics who have the blue ribbon."

On another visit to Providence, at a subsequent date, he says: "M. de Jumecourt, an officer of artillery, and M. Pisançon, my Secretary, both very zealous Free Masons, conferred on me the grade of apprentice, and in the evening I was at an American lodge, where I was present at two receptions."

AN ENTERPRISE SUGGESTED.

Washington, wearied with waiting for the arrival of the squadron that had been blockaded so long in the harbor of Brest, was anxious to engage in some enterprise that promised success, and that would not require a stronger naval force than could then be made available. On the 15th of December, he addressed a letter jointly to General Rochambeau and to Admiral De Ternay on the subject.* In this letter, he spoke of re-enforcements about to be sent to Cornwallis, to support operations at the southward, saying how important it was, "that the common enemy should be obliged to relinquish their conquests in South Carolina and Georgia." He informs them "that the Court of Spain have in contemplation two expeditions against the British settlements in the Floridas, namely, Pensacola and St. Augustine," and submits to the General and to the Admiral for their consideration, "the propriety of attempting to combine our force with that of Spain for the purpose of totally subduing the common enemy, not only in the Floridas, but in the States of South Carolina and Georgia."

Should the commanders of the Spanish land and naval forces accede to such a proposition, the squadron of His Most Christian Majesty at Newport could take under its convoy the French and American troops destined for the

* The date of this letter, it will be noticed, is coincident with the day of the Admiral's death, an event of which Washington was ignorant.

expedition against Charleston, and these corps under the command of General Greene, in conjunction with the force furnished by the Spaniards, would form an army not to be resisted by any which the British could draw together in that quarter. In making these propositions, Washington says, "I am solely influenced by motives of general good, and would not wish them carried into execution unless they shall be deemed as conducive to the interests of the powers, who have generously stepped in for our relief, as to those of the United States." For what seemed to him good and sufficient reasons, General Rochambeau did not approve of the plan, and no further attempt was made to carry it into execution.

DEATH OF ADMIRAL DE TERNAY.

On the 15th day of December, a sorrow rested upon Newport. Admiral De Ternay died, after a short confinement, of a malignant fever. In October, following his return from the conference with Washington, at Hartford, he became unwell, but no serious apprehensions of a fatal termination were excited. A few days before his decease, he was visited on board his flag-ship, the Duc de Bourgogne, by the chief-physician, M. Coste, and found to be alarmingly sick. He was immediately removed on shore to his headquarters, the mansion of Colonel Joseph Wanton, on Washington street, and there, in the south-east chamber, he expired. At this time, General Rochambeau was on a visit in Boston. The Baron Viomesnil at once sent a courier to inform him of the death of his naval friend, and he, without delay, returned to Newport. The Admiral was buried in Trinity church-yard on the 16th of December, with military honors suitable to his rank. The long procession, preceded by priests chanting the burial service, presented the most imposing funeral scene ever witnessed in the town. The remains were borne to the grave by sailors, and committed to their resting-place amidst the firing of minute guns and the solemn strains of

music. The location of the grave is near the north-east corner of the church-yard, and is designated in the accompanying engraving by the figure of a square stone.

TRINITY CHURCH AND CHURCH-YARD, NEWPORT

The conduct of the Admiral as a commander, while on his voyage to America, had been the subject of sharp criticism, and the chagrin arising from it was thought to have accelerated his disease to a fatal termination.

Lafayette, in a letter to his wife, referring to the Admiral's death, says:

"The French squadron has remained blockaded in Rhode Island, and I imagine the Chevalier Ternay died of grief in consequence of this event. However this may be, he is positively dead. He was a very rough and obstinate man but firm and clear in all his views, and, taking all things into consideration, we have sustained a great loss."

Rochambeau writes:

"His greatest enemies can never deny that he had great probity, and that he was a very skillful navigator. The French corps rendered him the justice to say, that it was impossible to conduct a convoy with greater vigilance and skill than he displayed in bringing it to its destination."*

Count Ségur bears testimony to him as "a man of information, brave, animated and pleasing;" one who discharged his duties "with as much intelligence as honor."† The Newport Mercury, of December 22, 1780, says, "His talents, zeal, and distinguished services, had merited the confidence and favor of his government and country."

Three years after the death of the Admiral, a handsome mural tablet, bearing a long Latin inscription, setting forth the rank and services of the deceased, was prepared by order of the King of France, and sent to Newport. It arrived in 1785, to be placed upon the wall in the interior of Trinity Church, but no space for the purpose being found sufficiently large, it was erected, early in July, over the Admiral's grave, where it stood until its wooden foundation decayed, when, being in danger of falling, it was removed and placed upon the outside of the north wall of the church.‡ The tablet bearing the inscription was of black Egyptian mar-

* Memoirs of Rochambeau, French ed., vol. i, p. 206. † Ségur's Memoirs

‡ "The French Consul caused a small stone building to be erected over his grave, sufficiently large to place the monument on one side, and it was accordingly placed on the west side of the building, but a number of years afterward, while the French frigate Medusa lay at Newport, the officers objected to the manner of placing the monument, and directed that the building should be demolished and the monument placed against the north side of the church, which was done, where it still remains."—*Newport Mercury, August 17, 1861.*

ble, measuring seventy-nine inches in length and fifty inches in height, set in a handsome white marble frame.

On the 23d of September, 1865, I visited Newport, and made a drawing of the monument, which is herewith presented, marking upon its surface the cracks in the tablet and frame, caused by accident, or by the storms and frosts of eighty years. I also copied the inscription upon the tablet, which reads as follows:

D. O. M.
CAROLVS LVDOVICVS D'ARSAC DE TERNAY
ORDINIS Sti. Hierosolymitani Eques, non dum vota professus,
a vetere et nobili genere, apud Amoricos, oriundus.
unus e regiarum Classium præfectis,
CIVIS, MILES, IMPERATOR,
De Rege suo, et Patria, per 42. annos bene meritus,
Hoc sub Marmore JACET.
FELICITER AUDAX,
naves regias, post Croisiacam cladem,
per invios VICENONIÆ fluvii anfractus disjectas,
é cæcis voraginibus, improbo labore, annis 1760, 1761.
inter téla hostium,
detrusit, avellit, et stationibus suis restituit incolumes.
Anno 1762, TERRAM NOVAM in America invasit.
Anno 1772, renunciatus PRÆTOR
ad regendas BORBONIAM et Franciæ Insulas,
in GALLIÆ commoda, et Colonorum felicitatem
per annos Septem, totus incubuit.
FOEDERATIS ORDINIBUS, pro libertate dimicantibus,
A REGE CHRISTIANISSIMO missus, subsidio anno 1780,
RHODUM INSULAM occupavit:
Dum ad nova Se accingebat pericula,
IN HAC URBE
inter Commilitorum planctus
inter FOEDERATORUM ORDINUM amenta et desideria,
Mortem obiit gravem bonis omnibus, et luctuosam Suis,
die 15 a. Xbris M.DCC.LXXX,
natus annos 58.

REX CHRISTIANISSIMUS, everissimus virtutis judex,
ut clarissimi Viri memoria posteritati consecretur,
hoc monumentum ponendum jussit
M. DCC LXXXIII.

The following is a translation of the inscription, made in 1785:

In the name of GOD
CHARLES LEWIS D'ARSAC DE TERNAY
Knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem,
Though the Vows of the Order he had never acknowledged,
descended from an ancient and noble Family of Britagne,
One of the Admirals of the King's Fleets,
a Citizen, a Soldier, a Chief,
serviceably faithful to his King and to his Country,
for 42 Years,
now rests beneath this Marble.
Happily resolute
in the years 1760, and 1761, after the Croisian Battle,
with painful Difficulty, amidst the Weapons of Enemies,
he rescued, and brought off from dangerous Whirlpools
the Royal Fleet, dispersed near the innavigable Eddies of
the River of Vicenza,
and gave his ships the stations he wished without any
Damage.
In the year 1762, he invaded Newfoundland in America.
In 1772, having resigned his command,
he received the Regency of Bourbon, and the French
Islands adjacent.
in which Office, for seven Years,
To the Emolument of France and the Happiness of the
Colonies.
He was assiduously faithful.
Being ordered by His Most Christian Majesty in the year
1780, with Assistance to the United States, engaged in the
Defence of Liberty, he arrived in Rhode Island,
when, while he was prepared to encounter the Dangers
of his Command,

To the inconsolable Grief of his Fellow-Soldiers,
To the sincere Sorrow of the United States,
He expired in this City,
Regretted by all the Good; but particularly lamented by
those, to whom he was related,
December 15th, M DCC, LXXX.
Aged 58.
His Most Christian Majesty, strictly just to Merit,
In order that the Memory of this illustrious Man
might be consecrated to Posterity,
Hath ordered this Monument to be erected,
M. DCC. LXXXIII.

NOTE.—It will be seen that Vicenza and Vicenonia are Latin designations of Vilaine A few years ago, a somewhat more euphonious translation was made by Sidney Everett, Esq., an accomplished scholar. It was published in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for October, 1873.

THE DE TERNAY MONUMENT IN TRINITY CHURCH, NEWPORT.

The monument, thoroughly repaired, may now be seen in the western vestibule of Trinity church.

Ten years ago, (1872,) the dilapidated condition of the grave of Admiral De Ternay attracted the attention of the Marquis de Noailles, the French Minister at Washington,

N T Bettinger

It is deeply to be regretted that an engraved portrait of Admiral De Ternay could not be obtained to appear in this volume, but careful inquiry has failed to bring one to light. An autograph signature of the Admiral has been sought, though with no better success. Dr. King informed me that he once possessed one, but that it had been lost.

In the course of years, subsequently to the removal of the monument from Admiral De Ternay's grave, the public had forgotten the spot where he was buried, and in 1850, but one citizen of Newport was living who could point it out. That was the late Dr. David King.* In early youth, the

individual or by any other government. De Ternay did not, like Lafayette, inspired by the love of liberty, volunteer his maiden sword in aid of our struggling nationality but with willing obedience to the commands of his sovereign, he brought to our assistance skill, experience, and a name renowned in war. His premature death prevented the benefit which the country expected from his services, yet those services, so long as life lasted, were appreciated by both governments. His own government honored his sepulchre, and left it in the charge of ours, on the soil which he had defended, and among the people whom he had succored. We cannot delegate that trust or permit any but the highest authority to administer it.

"We must not, in the honors which we pay to the heroes of our own time, forget those whose deeds illustrate our earlier annals, lest the fame which we now celebrate may, in its turn, be put aside by that which is not brighter in lustre, but nearer to the living generation. But let us hold in equal remembrance those who have identified their names with the glory of the country, in whatever time they flourished, from whatever clime they came. And let the coming generations be taught that those who contribute to the defense, the advancement, the renown of the Great Republic, shall never be forgotten, but shall live in grateful remembrance, coeval with its immortal life.

"It may be proper, although it is not necessary, to say that I propose this resolution wholly without the knowledge of the Marquis de Noailles."

In the House of Representatives the Honorable Benjamin T. Eames, in an earnest support of the bill, said: "France, in aid of the colonies in their struggle for independence, expended upwards of fourteen hundred thousand francs, and laid upon the altar of liberty the sacrifice, not only of this treasure, but also the lives of many of her brave soldiers and sailors, and stood nobly and faithfully by her guarantee until the close of the contest. And it seems to me that this recognition is demanded on the part of the government of the United States in grateful remembrance of the aid of France, and as a means of keeping fresh in the memory of the American people her invaluable services, as well as of assuring the French people that, although the lapse of nearly a century may obliterate the inscription on the monument, erected by the French King in memory of the distinguished naval officer, yet it can never obliterate or efface from the hearts of the American people a grateful recollection of the generous support and sympathy of France in our struggle for national life."

Soon after the passage of the bill, the Marquis de Noailles addressed a letter to Senator Anthony, expressing his gratification at the action of Congress, and the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, having received from Mr. Washburne, the American Minister at Paris, a copy of the bill, with Mr. Anthony's speech, expressed himself in a similar manner.

* It becomes a painful duty to record here the death of this distinguished physician, scholar and antiquarian. Dr. King was the son of Dr. David and Ann Gordon King, and

location had been shown to him by an aged man who was present at the interment, and who saw the coffin lowered into the grave. Ever, after having received this information, Dr. King kept the spot in view, and sacredly guarded it against invasion. In 1879, in answer to inquiries concerning the Admiral, I received from him the following exhaustive and graphic account of his sickness, death, interment and mural monument:

was born in Newport in 1812. He died March 7, 1882, in the seventieth year of his age. He graduated at Brown University in 1831, taking, as his brother, the late Hon. George G. King, had done before, the valedictory honor. He studied medicine in the Jefferson Medical School, in Philadelphia, where he graduated in 1834. After his graduation, he visited Europe, with the view of improving his knowledge in his profession. Upon his return, he entered upon the exercise of his profession in Newport, succeeding to the practice of his father, who died about the time of his graduation. Dr. King rose rapidly in his profession, and has ranked for many years as one of the most distinguished physicians of Rhode Island. He was a man of culture, and was possessed of a refined and an intense love of literature. Historical and antiquarian researches especially attracted him, and the vast accumulation of Newport and Rhode Island Historical remains he made, shows how large a place this work filled in his life. His library is one of the finest and rarest in the State. Very largely through his instrumentality the Newport Historical Society was organized and incorporated. He became its president, and from year to year was reelected to the time of his death. He was also a member of the Rhode Island Historical Society. His love of antiquarian research led him to a familiar acquaintance with local events, and in all that related to Newport and to the island of Rhode Island he was regarded as a final authority. He was for many years President of the Board of Corporators of the Redwood Library, and at the time of his decease was one of the Board of Directors. He was the first President of the State Board of Health. He was also a member of the Sanitary Protection Society, a member of the Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati, and had been President of the Island Cemetery.

Soon after taking his medical degree, in 1834, Dr. King married Miss Sarah G. Wheaton, daughter of Rev. Salmon Wheaton, then rector of Trinity church. His widow, two sons, and four daughters survive him. His sons are William Henry and David, Jr. One daughter, Sarah, was married to Dr. William H. Brickhead, and another to a Mr. Pomeroy, of New York. Of Dr. King's brothers, George G. and Edward are deceased, and William H. alone survives.

By the death of Dr. King, the city of Newport has been bereaved of one of its most cultivated citizens, and the Rhode Island Medical Society, of which he had been a President and a Censor, has lost one of its brightest ornaments. The author of this work, while prosecuting his historical inquiries, has been indebted to Dr. King for repeated courtesies, and with the large circle, which will miss his genial presence and instructive conversation, mourns his death as a personal loss.

The remains of Dr. King were interred in the Island Cemetery. The funeral services took place in Trinity Church, in the presence of a crowded audience, embracing the prominent citizens of the city. They were conducted by the rector, the Rev. George J. Magill, and his assistant, the Rev. Mr. Maurau. The bearers were Professor William Gammell, of Providence, Hon. William P. Sheffield, Thomas R. Hunter, Esq., Colonel William Gilpin, James Eddy Maurau, Esq., H. R. Stone, M. D., Henry E. Turner, M. D., and Ex-Mayor George H. Culvert.

Rev. J. Lanes.

NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND,
October 21, 1879

REV. E. M. STONE:

Dear Sir:—I send the manuscript account of De Ternay. It is submitted to your inspection for publication in your book.

I am yours, very truly,

David King

"When I was a youth there resided in Newport a venerable old chronicler of past times, Mr. Thomas Hornsby. At one period of his life he devoted himself to taking care of invalid gentlemen who came to Newport for the benefit of the restorative powers of its climate. In the last century, under Dr. Senter, Dr. Fletcher, Dr. Eyres, Dr Olyphant and Dr. Easton, he had acquired much experience. And for the benefit of various gentlemen, and his friends in later times, he was always ready to exercise his skill in the regulation of the diet and regimen, and the management of a sick room until he himself became disabled. He possessed a wide knowledge of the familiar occurrences, and an extensive acquaintance, more or less intimate, with the intelligent families and distinguished visitors of Newport.

"From him I heard the story of the French Admiral De Ternay's death and funeral. De Ternay's death occurred very suddenly, and was supposed to have resulted from an attack of malignant fever. When quite a youth, he went with those appointed for the purpose, into the chamber where the Admiral died and saw the body placed in the coffin. Every mark of honor was paid to the remains of the brave Admiral. The catafalque upon which he was placed was draped in black crape, but its distinctive decoration was the national flag, with the hat, the epaulettes and the sword of the deceased, together with the medals of honour he had received and the insignia of the Orders to which he belonged. The room in which he was placed was shrouded in black. The whole apartment was lighted up by the many wax candles that surrounded the catafalque. Dying in the Wanton house in Washington street, the Admiral was carried from thence to Trinity church-yard by a select body of sailors from his own flag-ship. The funeral cortege was very imposing, as it took its way along Washington street, up the long wharf, through Thames street, and up church street to the church yard. The bands of the army and navy played their mournful and melancholy strains as the brilliant procession passed along the streets. Every eligible place was used by the people to witness the scene; every window and housetop was crowded

along the way. There, in the procession near the bier of their late commander, appeared the most distinguished Captains of the French navy, with badges of mourning. In the funeral train the forces of the navy were quite numerous, and the curious observer could discern, among the officers, the frequent use of the decoration of St. Louis. All eyes were directed upon the more celebrated officers of the French army — with whom the people seemed more familiar. First in importance was Count de Rochambeau, Lieutenant-General, Commander of the French land forces in Rhode Island, accompanied by his aids,— de Fersen, de Lameth, and de Damas. Many of the favorite officers were absent, as the accomplished Chevalier de Chastellux, the chivalric de Lauzun, the graceful de Noailles, and the spirited de Montesquieu, and some of the ablest senior officers, the Marquis de Laval the Count de Custine and the Count de Deux Ponts. But the people remarked the noble bearing of the brothers, — the Baron and the Count de Viomesnil,— and were fully gratified by the splendid, brilliant and peculiar uniforms of the various regiments, in the procession. The Bourbonnois, under Lieutenant-Colonel de Bresolles, the Royal Deux-Ponts, under its fascinating Colonel, the Duke de Deux-Ponts; the Soissonnois, under Count de Saint-Maime; the Saintonge, under Count de Charlus; the Regiment of Artillery, under Colonel D'Aboville, and the Royal Corps of Engineers, under Colonel Desandrouins. Such a magnificent assemblage of troops, well appointed in arms and accoutrements, had never before been seen in Newport.

"The body of the French Admiral was carried into the church-yard by a select number of French sailors. The coffin was preceded by twelve Priests, and, as the funeral was at twilight, with lighted torches in their hands. Around the grave they chanted the Roman Catholic service, and performed all the customary rites of the Catholic Church, with a genuine feeling of sadness, naturally awakened by the ability and virtues of the distinguished dead. The coffin was sadly lowered into the grave, which was prepared for the Admiral in the north-east part of Trinity church-yard.

"The troops gave their last salute to their brave commander, and left him to sleep in the American soil, under the protecting care of the American flag. The vast assemblage dispersed, and the troops returned to their quarters, with the most animating strains of military music, so strikingly in contrast with the gloom and melancholy of the funeral march towards the grave. The people were deeply impressed by this strange, fascinating and mournful scene. They seemed to feel for a moment that the pomp of death had a sublime reality, and that the grand ceremony they had witnessed, was not the vain thing which their education had taught them to believe.

"In 1785 the monument of Admiral De Ternay was received in Newport, and in the early part of July was erected in Trinity church-yard It was consigned to the care of Peleg Clarke, Esq., who had been much employed in the French service during the Revolutionary war. He had

accurate instructions for erecting the monument. It was designed for the interior of Trinity church, but no fitting place could be found for it. And in consultation with the Vestry of the church it was resolved to erect it over the grave of the Admiral. It was placed on a stone foundation, and supported by a wooden structure. In the course of time the wood decayed, and it became necessary to renew it, or to remove the marble slab with its stone foundation to the north side of the church. The latter course was decided upon. Here it remained for many years, its gilding gradually fading out, and some of the stones of which it was composed being cracked, by the frosts of our severe winters. Seeing the exposed situation of the monument, I took measures about the year 1835 to protect it and, with the aid of some liberal friends, erected a wooden casing with folding doors, which could be unlocked, for the gratification of visitors interested in the monument.

"During my youth, and I presume ever after the monument was removed to the north side of the church, the grave of Admiral De Ternay was undistinguished, and the location of the grave was entirely forgotten. It was, in fact, supposed to be directly under the slab erected on the north side of the church. It was covered with the green sward, and the stone casing of the grave was about three feet below the surface of the ground, with no mark to indicate its location. In the meantime, I kept in remembrance the locality pointed out to me by Hornsby, as in the north-east part of the yard. On the 29th of October, in 1850, finding a new grave made in that portion of the church yard, I became apprehensive for the safety of the remains of the French Admiral, and instituted, immediately, some explorations by means of which I discovered the precise place of his burial. The gratifying result was, that the grave of the Admiral was easily found in the north east part of the church-yard, about three feet below the surface of the ground, solidly encased in stone. I at once took a plat of the ground, marking upon it the precise spot, by accurate measurement, from fixed points. I still have in my possession this plat, and I intended to have deposited it in the archives of the Newport Historical Society, hoping to propose to the Society, at some future day, the erection of a monument over the grave of Admiral De Ternay. A few years afterwards, when a committee was appointed by Trinity church corporation to regrade the grounds, and to restore monuments which had been neglected, I obtained the consent of the committee to place over the grave of the French Admiral some large slabs, whose inscriptions had been effaced by time, thus securing the means of always designating the location. The Admiral's grave remained in this state, when, in the summer of 1872, the French Minister to the United States, the Marquis de Noailles was informed of the condition of the monument to De Ternay on the north side of the church, and of the apparently neglected state of the grave,—the site of which I had discovered in 1850. The Marquis de Noailles resolved to repair the original monument, and to place it against the wall in the vestibule of the church. He resolved likewise to place a granite

slab over the grave of the Admiral in the church yard. These resolutions he carried into effect.

"The original monument is of black Egyptian marble, surrounded by moulded casings, and supported by carved brackets of white marble. Between the brackets, and beneath the Egyptian marble, is an escutcheon on which are carved the insignia of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, to which order the Admiral belonged, but at the time of his death had not professed the vows or taken the oaths.

"In Potter's monthly illustrated magazine, volume 4, page 586, for August, 1875, Philadelphia, in an article by Mr. George C. Mason, I see that the monument of De Ternay is illustrated by a fac-simile of the original drawing sent out from France, but now in the possession of his father, Mr. George C. Mason, of Newport.

"Having been from an early period of life interested in everything relating to De Ternay's monument, I had several interviews with the late Mr. Peleg Clarke, in which he informed me, that he had in his possession the drawings that had been used by his grandfather in setting up the monument in Trinity church-yard. At some convenient opportunity, he promised me a view of them. Henceforth the original monument of De Ternay, gilded and restored in 1872, under the superintendence of the Marquis de Noailles, will be preserved and protected within the vestibule or portico of Trinity church.

"There is a common misapprehension, among recent writers, concerning the house in which Dr. Hunter lived. Dr. William Hunter never lived in Washington street, as has been said. His residence was in Thames street, in the house now owned and occupied by Mr James Taylor, near Main street. Dr. Hunter died in this house on Thames street in 1777. His family, subsequently to his death, resided in the same house, and it is of the entertainments given in this house to the French officers of Rochambeau's army by Mrs. Hunter, and her brilliantly handsome daughters, that de Lauzun, in his Memoirs, speaks so enthusiastically.

"Admiral De Ternay resided and died in the house of Colonel Joseph Wanton, Jr., on Washington street, which, at the time, was sequestered, and afterwards, as the property of a loyalist, was confiscated by the State.* It was sold by a committee of the General Assembly, September 20, 1786, to Benjamin Bourne, Esq , for £2,700, one-fourth of the value being paid at the time of sale It passed by deed to a succession of individuals, until at length it came into the possession of John L. Boggs, Esq., by whom, on January 17, 1809, it was sold to the late Hon. William Hunter, the member of the United States Senate, and the Minister to Brazil Mr. Hunter made it his residence, and died there December 3, 1849.

"In the Latin inscription on De Ternay's monument we find a detailed

* Hornsby said the Admiral died in the south-east chamber, where he was placed in the coffin Hornsby likewise said that the room under the chamber, viz , the south-east room on the first floor, was used as the treasure room of the French navy.

account of the principal events of De Ternay's life. Now the English translation, which was printed in the Newport Mercury, July 9, 1785, with the Latin inscription, was probably the production of some distinguished scholar of France, and sent out with the monument to America. I will venture to suggest as its author the Marquis de Chastellux, a splendid General of the French army and an accomplished member of the French Academy. He was familiar with the English language, and translated into French, for the benefit of his countrymen, Colonel Humphrey's address to the American army. The General, too, was not unacquainted with the principal incidents in De Ternay's career."

PART VI.

M. DESTOUCHES SUCCEEDS TO THE COMMAND.

CALENDRIER FRANCAIS — LIST OF VESSELS COMPOSING THE SQUADRON, AND OF OFFICERS ATTACHED TO EACH VESSEL.

IMMEDIATELY upon the death of Admiral De Ternay, M. Destouches, the senior Captain of the squadron, assumed command. He held the respect and confidence of all his officers. Prior to the Admiral's death, several vessels were added to the squadron. Changes were also made among the officers. On preceding pages, the names of the principal officers of the French land forces are given. As a complement of these, a list of the vessels composing the squadron, and of the names of the officers attached to each, at the beginning of 1781, here follows. It is copied from the "*Calendrier Francais*," of that year, printed by authority at the Royal Marine Press in Newport.*

ESCADRE.—[SQUADRON.]

ETAT-MAJOR.

M. DESTOUCHES, Brigadier des Armées navales, Général.
M. DE GRANCHAIN, Major chargé du détail général.

*At this press the Marquis de Chastellux caused twenty-four copies of his "Travels in North America," to be printed for distribution to his friends in Europe, not more than half of which was known to have reached its destination. The "*Calendrier Français*," is now rare. The Newport Mercury of April 16, 1881, says, "we believe there are but two copies preserved." Whether the copy in my possession is a third, there are no present means of determining.

Le Neptune, de 74 canons.

MM. De la Vicomté Cap. en second du Général.
De Beaupoil, Lieutenant de vaisseau.
De Chabot, *idem.*
De Kermorial, *idem,*
De Moulins, *idem.*
Bill, *idem.*
Le Cher. de Goesbriant, Enseigne de vaisseau, faisant fonction de Sous-Aide-Major de l'Escadre.
d'Aigremont, *idem.*
Berthelot, Officier auxiliaire.
Bassiere, *idem.*
Lemoine, *idem.*
De la Garde., *idem.*
Deligny, Garde de la Marine, faisant les fonctions de Sous-aide-major de l'Escadre.
Le Cher. de la Gueriviere, *idem.*
De Pigniere, *idem.*

De Combette, Capit. commandant le Détachement de Bresse.
Le Cher. de Monty, Lieutenant.
Le Cher. de Coursay, sous-Lieutenant.

Le Conquérant, 74 canons.

MM. De la Grandiere, Capitaine commandant.
De Cheffontaine, Capitaine en second.
Dupuy, Lieutenant de Vaisseau.
Blessing, *idem.*
De la Jonquiere, Enseigne de vaisseau.
De Kergus, *idem.*
De Macarty, *idem.*
De Bellegarde, *idem.*
De Buissy, *idem.*
Cordier, Officier Auxiliaire.
Deshais, *idem.*
Guesenec, *idem.*
Moraslin, *idem.*
Delivec, Garde de la Marine.
De Lourmel, *idem.*
De Leiritz, *idem.*

MM. De Laubanay, Capit. du détachement de la Sarre.
De Lamotte, Lieutenant.
De Loyac, Sous-Lieutenant.

L'Eveillé, 64 canons.

MM. Le Gardeur de Tilly, Capitaine commandant.
Le Cher. de Beauvoir, Lieutenant de vaisseau.
Le Cher. de Maslys le grand, *idem.*
De Camus, Enseigne de vaisseau.
Dupont de la Roussiere, *idem.*
Le Gardeur de Tilly, *idem.*
Du Couëdic, *idem.*
De Kerbiquet, *idem.*
Costés, Officier auxiliaire.
Fustel de la Villehoux, *idem.*
Pottier, *idem.*
Desperots, *idem.*
De Valentin, Garde de la Marine.

MM. De Boquemare, Capitaine du détachement de Bourbon.
De Marsilly, Lieutenant.

La Provence, 64 canons.

MM. Delombard, Capitaine commandant.
De Mesnard, Lieutenant de vaisseau.
Puké, *idem.*
De Garat, Enseigne de vaisseau.
De Bremoy, *idem.*
De Watronville, *idem.*
Perrault, Officier auxiliaire.
Devachers, *idem.*
De Contrepont, *idem.*
Quesnel, *idem.*
De Pensentenyd de Kervereguen, Garde Marine.
Desol de Grisolles, *idem.*

MM. Le Baron d'Erff, Capitaine du détachement de Rohan-Soubise.
Guardic, Lieutenant.

Le Jason, 64 canons,

MM. De la Clochetterie, Capitaine commandant.
Douville, Lieutenant de vaisseau.
Du Trevoux, *idem.*
De Boischâteau, Enseigne de vaisseau.
Duvivier de Barnave, *idem.*
Laroche Keraudraon, *idem.*
Basterot de la Barriere, Enseigne de vaisseau.
Henin, Officier auxiliaire.
Goyer, *idem.*

Pignol, *idem.*
Passart, *idem.*
De Lavillegouan, Garde de la Marine.
De Vernes, *idem.*

MM. De Millerelle Capit. du détachement de Colonel-Général.
Besson, Lieutenant.

Le Duc de Bourgogne, 80 canons.

MM. Le Cher. de Médine, Capitaine commandant.
De L'Erondel, Lieutenant de Vaisseau.
Le Comte de Capellis, *idem*, faisant fonction d'Aide-Major de l'Escadre.
Le Cher. de Roqueseuil, *idem.*
De Ferrieres *idem.*
Desloges, Capitaine de Brûlot.
Saunier, Enseigne de vaisseau.
De St. Vincent, *idem.*
De Visdeloup, *idem.*
Buisson, Officier auxiliaire.
De Villegris, *idem.*
Pinquer, *idem.*
Douville, *idem.*
De la Rochefoucault, Garde de la Marine.
De la Roche St. André, *idem.*

Daverton, Capitaine du détachement de Colonel-Général.
De Surville, Lieutenant en second.
De Lamotte, *idem.*
De Tourville, Sous-Lieutenant.

L'Ardent, 64 canons.

MM. Le Cher. Bernard de Marigny, Capit. command.
De Launay-Tromelin, Lieutenant de vaisseau.
De la Tranchade, Enseigne de vaisseau.
Le Cher. de St. Peru, *idem.*
De Tourville, *idem.*
Le Groing de la Romagere, *idem.*
Le Veneur de Sieurne, *idem.*
Dupuit, Officier auxiliaire.
Mongon, *idem.*
Bourgeois, *idem.*
Lamoisse, *idem.*
De Cheux, Garde Marine.
Le Seige de Villebrune, *idem.*

De la Pinconniere, Capitaine du détachement de Bourbon.
Bonnifaix, Sous-Lieutenant.

La Frégate la Gentille de 32 canons.

MM. De la Villebrune, Capit. de vaisseau, Command.
Le Cher. de Buor, Lieutenant de Vaisseau.
Etienne, Officier auxiliaire.
Alliot, *idem.*
De Gouyon, *idem.*
Keruersause, *idem.*
Buisson, *idem.*

La Surveillante, 32 canons.

MM. Le Cher. de Villeneuve-Cillard, capitaine de vaisseau, commandant.
Misnessi de Quier, Enseigne de vaisseau.
Bonniec, Officier auxiliaire.
Le Sieur, Officier auxiliaire.
Tranchant, *idem.*
Thibaut, *idem.*
Scot, Garde de la Marine.
La Soudiere, *idem.*

De Rhis, Lieutenant au Régim. de Rohan-Soubise.

L'Hermione, 32 canons.

MM. De Latouche, Lieutenant de vaisseau, command.
Duquesne, Lieutenant de vaisseau.
Lacroix de Vagnas, Enseigne de Vaisseau.

Trois Officiers auxiliaires.

La Guêpe, de 14 canons.

Le Cher. de Maulevrier, Enseigne de vaisseau, commandant.
Ganot, Officier auxiliaire.
Le Gloanec, *idem.*

Le Fantasque de 24 canons.

MM. Le Cher. de Vaudoré, Lieutenant de frégate, commandant. &c.

OPENING OF THE YEAR 1781.

WASHINGTON DISAPPOINTED BY A RETROSPECTIVE GLANCE AT THE PAST.—NAVAL EXPEDITIONS.

AS the year 1780 drew towards a close, Washington wrote, in review: "Disappointed of the second division of French troops, but more especially in the expected naval superiority, which was the pivot upon which every thing turned, we have been compelled to spend an inactive campaign, after a flattering prospect at the opening of it, and vigorous struggles to make it a decisive one on our part." The opening of 1781 did not brighten his words. In a letter to Meshech Ware, President of New Hampshire, he says:

"The aggravated calamities and distresses that have resulted [to the soldiers] from the total want of pay for nearly twelve months, the want of clothing at a severe season, and not unfrequently the want of provisions, are beyond description. . . . . I give it decidedly as my opinion, that it is vain to think an army can be kept together much longer under such a variety of sufferings as ours has experienced, and that unless some immediate and spirited measures are adopted to furnish at least three months' pay to the troops in money, which will be of some value to them, and at the same time ways and means are devised to clothe and feed them better (more regularly I mean) than they have been, the worst that can befall us may be expected."

Money, and a naval force that would insure superiority at sea, were two pressing wants of the hour. With these, the war could be made to take a vigorously offensive form. Without them, offensive movements would be constantly embarrassed. But Washington, after "hoping against hope," was watchful of the enemy, and used his stinted means of resistance according to the dictates of a comprehensive judgment.

In February, 1781, General Lafayette, with a body of twelve hundred men, was sent to Virginia, to act in conjunction with the local militia, and with a naval force detached by M. Destouches from his squadron, to operate against the enemy in that State. This detachment, commanded by M. de Gardeur de Tilly, consisted of the flagship "l'Eveillé," sixty-four guns, "la Gentille," and "la Surveillante," frigates, Captains de Villeneuve-Cillard and de la Villebrune, and the cutter "Guêpe." They sailed from Newport, February 9th, for Chesapeake Bay, where they arrived on the 18th. They drove Arnold's fleet up Elizabeth river, took a sloop with one hundred barrels of flour, etc., on board; the privateer "Earl Cornwallis," of sixteen guns and fifty men; the privateer "Revenge," of twelve guns and twenty men, with three of their prizes; also another privateer of eight guns and twenty-five men. On the 19th, they sailed in pursuit of two vessels, which proved to be the British ship "Romulus," of forty-four guns and two hundred and sixty men, Captain Gayton, and a large brig, having on board one hundred and fifty-nine Virginia refugees, with their effects, bound from Charleston to Virginia to re-establish themselves at their old habitations. These two vessels struck, after firing only one gun. The "Romulus" had £10,000 sterling on board, with which to pay Arnold's troops, and also a quantity of clothing. The brig had four men killed from the fire of one of the frigates, and the others were taken out, and the vessels burnt with all the effects. On the 3d of March the "l'Eveillé" and the two frigates returned to Newport, with the "Romulus," having sent the prizes they took in Virginia to a safe port in that State, under the care of General Nelson. The cutter, which parted from the other ships in a snow storm, the night they sailed from Newport, arrived safely in Philadelphia, having taken and carried in with her a privateer brig of sixteen guns and two prizes she had in company.

The vessels driven up Elizabeth river to near where Arnold was entrenched on a neck of land were the "Charon," forty-

four guns; "Thames," thirty-six guns; "Amphitrite," twenty-six guns; "Hope," eighteen guns; "Loyalist," sixteen guns; "Bonetta," sixteen guns; "General Monk," sixteen guns; "Vulcan," fire-ship; with the "Comet" and the "Hussar," galleys, carrying two eighteen pounders each. The detachment returned to Newport on Monday, March 26th.

M. Destouches was earnestly desirous of operating against the English on the Penobscot. A fort held at the extremity of our coast gave protection to a nest of "corsairs and pirates," that preyed upon the commerce of the Atlantic cities, and he was strongly solicited by merchants to attempt its destruction. But the project did not meet the approval of Washington, who considered the risk as not warranted by the advantages to be gained, and it was abandoned.*

The success of this expedition, under M. de Tilly, induced M. Destouches to engage in another with his entire fleet. Accordingly, having received on board 1,156 men from the land forces, together with several pieces of artillery under the command of Baron Viomesnil, he set sail from Newport on the 8th of March, and on the 14th was off Cape Charles. The subsequent events of this expedition are given in the words of a report apparently official:†

"The south winds, which blew very hard, did not allow them [the fleet] to rise in the wind so as to go into Cape Henry; on the contrary, they were drove northward, and tacked about two whole days. On the 16th, at daybreak, the wind still continuing to blow from the same quarter, but with less force, and the weather foggy, the fleet having their larboard tacks aboard, a frigate was discovered two gunshots to windward. The Admiral made signal for chasing, but a short time after, many large ships appearing through the fog, he did not in the least doubt but the British fleet had got intelligence, by some enemy to America, of his going out, and that the north and north-west winds having made them run more large than the French fleet, they were arrived almost as soon as the French on the coast of Virginia. In consequence of that reflection, he called back the chase, and the wind shifting to the north-east in the same instant, he made signal to form the line, with the larboard tacks aboard. The British fleet was then two leagues off to the southward, steering the

* Memoirs of Rochambeau, i., p. 268. † Providence Gazette, April 7, 1781.

same course. At 9 o'clock, the French fleet wore round ahead by the counter-march; half an hour after, the British did the same. At half after 10, the Admiral seeing that the wind increased, and that he was approaching the shallows on the north coast of Virginia, made signal to take the larboard tacks aboard, and to wear round before the wind by counter-march. The Chevalier Destouches was conscious that not having got into the Chesapeake before the enemy, his expedition could not take place; he knew it was impossible to land his troops even from the men-of-war under the fire of a superior fleet; his only care was for the glory of the arms of his King, without endangering his fleet.

"The enemy taking advantage of their superiority in sailing and force, continued to rise in the wind, crowding a great deal of sail, and having their starboard tacks aboard. At noon, they wore in the French fleet's wake; a little before one, their van approached within half a league of the rear of the French line, and they seemed to have a mind to attack to the leeward. Till then the Chevalier Destouches had worked his ships so as neither to avoid nor seek the engagement, because he was conscious that even the happiest issue of it would hinder him from fulfilling his principal object; but the honor of the King's arms which he must sustain before America, would not let him give room for the British to boast that they had pursued him, even with a superior force, and he took the resolution of attacking himself, by falling on their van, wearing round by a counter-march, and fighting them on opposite tacks, to leeward, that his ships might with facility make use of their lower deck guns.

"At 1 o'clock, the headmost ship of the French line was within gunshot of the headmost ship of the enemy, and a few minutes after, the engagement began. The van of the British fleet fell to leeward, and the van of the French fleet did the same, to keep up with the enemy, so that these two parts of the fleet fought for some time, running before the wind. A little before 2 o'clock, the Admiral seeing that the maneuver of the British van did not allow it to run more to leeward, made his fleet haul in the wind, with larboard tacks aboard, by a successive motion, which made his whole line file off upon the van of the enemy; this maneuver had a complete success. The foremost ship had scarcely borne the fire of the fifth French ship, when she fell to leeward, took the wind on her starboard side, and left the line, accompanied by a frigate which came to her relief. However, the rear of the British fleet had kept to windward, and was near enough to fight the French rear, whilst it was making a motion to get in wake of the head of the line. The attack of the enemy's van did very little damage to the ships that sustained it, though the 'Conquérant' suffered considerably; having fought with the British van, she sustained all the fire of their centre; she especially fought with a three-decker, whose loss of her main-topsail yard, and of great part of her tackling, compensated the damage she had done to the 'Conquérant.' At a quarter before 3, the firing having ceased on both sides, and the French fleet being ahead, and to leeward of the British, the Admiral made signal

to form the line promiscuously, larboard tacks aboard; in a short time this was done, and the fleet ran under small sail, in expectation the enemy would attack a second time. The Admiral then proposed to wear round and fall upon their van, but the enemy had been so ill used in their first encounter that they did not think it prudent to expose themselves to a second, and during the rest of the day they kept to the windward and astern, without taking advantage of their superiority in sailing to renew the fight. In the beginning of the night the enemy's fleet fell to leeward, and the French fleet continued to run to the south-east with very little sail, and all their lights hung out.

"The next day the enemy were not to be seen; and the Chevalier Destouches, though the advantage was on his side, was obliged to renounce his hopes of succoring Virginia, and in consequence steered towards Newport to repair his ships that had been damaged, and to put them in a condition of undertaking new operations."

The report, in conclusion, says:

"Too much praise cannot be given to the intrepid firmness shown by the Captains, officers, crews and troops. Their courage more than counterbalanced the number and superior strength of the enemy's ships; and the expedition would have been successful, had it been depending on the superiority of courage. The loss of the first amounts to eighty men killed, or dead of their wounds, and one hundred and twenty wounded. Among the first are sincerely to be lamented Monsieur De Chaffontaine, Captain of the navy, and Monsieur De Kergu, Ensign."*

The French fleet with the exception of the "Guêpe" and the "Hermione" arrived at Newport March 26th. The "Guêpe" was lost off Cape Charles, but her commander, the

*FRENCH FLEET IN ORDER OF BATTLE.		BRITISH FLEET IN ORDER OF BATTLE	
The Conquerant,	74	London,	98
The Jason,	64	Royal Oak,	74
The Ardent,	64	Robust,	74
The Duc de Bourgogne,	80	Bedford,	74
The Neptune,	74	Europe,	64
The Romulus, frigate,	44	America,	64
The Eveillé,	64	Prudent,	64
The Provence,	64	Adamant,	64
OUT OF LINE.		OUT OF LINE.	
The Hermione,	32	1 frigate, thought to be	44
The Fantasque Fink,	32	1 frigate,	28 or 32
		1 frigate,	28 or 32
	582		684

Chevalier de Maulevrier, and all her crew were saved. The "Hermione," after going to Philadelphia, dropped anchor in Newport harbor, April 13th, and the next day eleven of her crew were drowned by the sinking of a deeply-laden boat.

WASHINGTON AT NEWPORT.

HIS RECEPTION.—A GRAND BALL.—HE DANCES WITH MISS CHAMPLIN.—ENTERTAINMENTS.—OVATIONS ON HIS RETURN JOURNEY.—RECEPTION IN PROVIDENCE.—FRENCH OPINIONS.

THE 6th day of March, 1781, unusual excitement prevailed in Newport. This was occasioned by the arrival of General Washington, accompanied by two members of his staff,—Colonels Hamilton and Humphreys,—and other distinguished officers. He set out from his headquarters at New Windsor March 2d, and occupied four days in the journey. One object contemplated in this visit was to consult with General Rochambeau on military affairs; and another was, probably, to hasten the departure of the naval expedition under M. Destouches, which sailed two days after his arrival. He crossed over from the mainland, by Conanicut Ferry, in the Admiral's barge, and after paying his respects to M. Destouches on board the "Duc de Bourgogne," where all the French Generals not absent from the army were assembled, he landed at long wharf, under a salute of cannon from the French fleet. At the wharf, he was received by the army of the allies, drawn up in double lines extending to the State House, and from thence to the headquarters of General Rochambeau. Between these lines Washington walked, with the French Commander-in-Chief on his left, followed by a procession composed of the subordinate commanders. An eye witness* thus describes the scene:

* Honorable Daniel Updike.

"I never felt the solid earth tremble under me before. The firing from the French ships that lined the harbor was tremendous; it was one continued roar, and looked as though the very bay was on fire. Washington, as you know, was a Marshal of France; he could not command the French army without being invested with that title. He wore on this day the insignia of his office, and was received with all the honors due to one in that capacity. It is known that many of the flower of the French nobility were numbered in the army that acted in our defence. Never will that scene be erased from my memory. The attitudes of the nobles, their deep obeisance, the lifting of hats and caps, the waving of standards, the sea of plumes, the long line of French soldiers, and the general disposition of their arms, unique to us, separating to the right and left, the Chief, with Count Rochambeau on his left, unbonneted, walked through. The French nobles, commanders, and their under officers, followed in the rear. Count Rochambeau was a small, keen-looking man, not handsome as was his son, afterwards Governor of Martinique. A Prussian Baron and a Polish Count, officers of high standing in the army, walked next. But the resplendent beauty of the two Viomesnils eclipsed all the rest. They were brothers, and one of them a General in the army, who bore the title of Count, too. Newport never saw anything so handsome as these two brothers. I thought, as the breeze lifted the shining curls from the fair forehead of the elder Viomesnil, and discovered the sparkling eyes, and blooming cheeks, and wonderfully fine mouth, that nothing could surpass him, but when I looked at his brother, I was puzzled to tell which was the handsomest. Both were of commanding height and well proportioned, as were very many of those who accompanied them.

"But we, the populace, were the only ones that looked at them, for the eye of every Frenchman was directed to Washington. Calm and unmoved by all the honors that surrounded him, the voice of adulation or the din of battle had never disturbed the equanimity of his deportment. There were other officers of inferior grade too that followed, and I afterwards saw them on horseback, but they did not sit on a horse like Washington. The roofs and windows of every house in sight were filled with the fair part of creation; and oh! the fluttering of handkerchiefs, and showing of favors! It was a proud day for Newport."

The procession paused at the State House, after which Washington was escorted to the headquarters of his distinguished host, whose guest he continued to be while he remained in the town.

The presence of Washington in Newport was the signal for a succession of public and private festivities, and nothing was omitted that could contribute to the pleasure of the dis-

tinguished guest. A review of the troops was ordered, who appeared in new uniforms, and made a brilliant display. The line extended from "Townsend's corner," or the corner of Pelham street, in Newport, to "two mile corner," out of town. Along this line rode Washington and Rochambeau, with their respective staffs, gratified with its exact soldierly bearing.*

"In the evening of the day that Washington arrived, the town and fleet in the harbor were beautifully illuminated. At that time comparatively few were able to take part in the joyful ceremony; but that all should share in the honors paid to so distinguished a visitor, the Town Council ordered that candles should be purchased and given to all who were too much distressed through continued losses, to purchase for themselves, so that every house should show a light. The procession was led off by thirty boys, bearing candles fixed on staffs followed by General Washington, Count Rochambeau, and the other officers, their aids, and the procession of citizens. The night was clear, and there was not a breath to fan the torches. The brilliant procession marched through the principal streets, and then returned to the headquarters. On reaching the door, Washington waited on the step until all the officers and their friends had entered the house; then, turning to the torch-bearers he thanked them for their attention. This was glory enough for the young patriots.

"An anecdote is related of Washington at this time. A little boy had heard so much of Washington that he conceived a strong desire to see him. His father, to gratify his wish, lifted him in his arms and approached an open window, near which Washington stood, whom he pointed out. The child was amazed, and exclaimed aloud, 'Why, father, General Washington is a man!' It reached the ear of the hero, who turned round and said, as he patted the boy on the head, 'Yes, my lad, and nothing but a man.'" †

The following morning, a committee of the town, consisting of Christopher Ellery, William Channing, William Taggart and Solomon Southwick, waited upon Washington, and in behalf of the inhabitants, presented him with a congratulatory address. "Happily guided," they said, "by the

* The uniform of the *Bourbonnais* was black and red, and that of the *Royal Deux-Ponts* white. The *Saintonge* wore white and green, and the *Soissonnais* was distinguished by facings of pink, grenadier caps ornamented with pink, and plumes. The artillery wore blue, with red facings.

† Newport Illustrated, pp. 36, 37.

Supreme Director of the American Councils, Your Excellency was placed at the head of the armies; our gratitude is greatly due to Heaven for the protection of Your Excellency's person through all those scenes of danger and enterprise incident to war, and which Your Excellency has sustained with patriotism and fortitude unparalleled in the page of history." "Suffer us here, Sir," they added in conclusion, "because we know it must give Your Excellency a most sensible pleasure, to express the happiness this town has enjoyed with the army and fleet of our illustrious ally, who have, by the wisdom and prudence of their commanders, as well as their own most zealous inclinations, allied themselves to us, not as soldiers only, but as friends and citizens. Armed with a most righteous cause,—engaged for all that men hold most dear,—what blessings may not America, under the auspices of a kind and overruling Providence, be led to expect from the future exertions of Your Excellency, the military ardor of the American troops, and an army and fleet of a most generous and magnanimous ally, thirsting for glory, and eager to bleed in the cause of liberty and mankind."

To this address General Washington returned an appropriate answer, acknowledging, "with peculiar satisfaction, the expressions of esteem and attachment that had manifested themselves in the citizens of this ancient town." "My happiness," he said, "is complete in the moment that unites the expressions of their sentiments for me with their suffrages in favor of our allies. The conduct of the French army and fleet, of which the inhabitants testify so grateful and so affectionate a sense, at the same time that it evinces the wisdom of the commanders and the discipline of the troops, is a new proof of the magnanimity of the nation. It is a further demonstration of that generous zeal and concern for the happiness of America, which brought them to our assistance, a happy presage of future harmony—a pleasing evidence that an intercourse between the two

nations will more and more cement the union by the solid and lasting ties of mutual affection."

In the evening, a ball was given at Mrs. Cowley's Assembly Room, graced with the presence of the most fashionable families of the town and of many of the gay French officers.* By request, Washington opened the ball. For a partner, he selected Miss Margaret Champlin, radiant with the charms of beauty and of culture.† Requesting her to select the dance, she named "A successful campaign," a popular dance of the day. In this selection there was a significance that delighted the French officers present. They saw in it Miss Champlin's success in gaining, amidst an assemblage of beautiful women, the first choice of the American Chief, and with characteristic enthusiasm and gallantry seized the instruments of the musicians and played in their stead. The sensation of the occasion did not pass away with the hour. It made a permanent impression on Newport society, and while a multitude of interesting incidents has passed into oblivion, the story of the stately minuet led off by Washington and Miss Champlin survives.

Among the social courtesies accorded to the General was a tea party, given by Mr. Christopher Ellery, at which a number of French officers and prominent citizens of Newport was present. Mr. Ellery being then a widower, his daughter, Miss Betsey, a young woman of beauty and refinement, presided at the table. She was suffering from a severe cold, and could scarcely speak above a whisper. The General, noticing her condition, said to her that he was frequently troubled with a sore throat, and applied a remedy which he found very beneficial. This he would recommend to her, were he not sure she would decline to take it. To

* "Mrs. Mary Cowley lived on Church street, and there kept a public hall, in which were held those delightful entertainments that were given during the time the French were on the island, when Washington and Rochambeau, and the young French officers danced with the lovely girls and dames of Newport. When the British were there, it was called the 'Crown Coffee House.'"—"*Aquidneck*," *in Providence Journal, March 9, 1882.*

† (Antr, p. 296.

this Miss Ellery replied, "I am sure I would take any remedy that General Washington would propose." "Well, then," said the General, "it is this, onions boiled in molas-

NOTE.—The above silhouette portrait of Washington, at the age of sixty years, is copied from a photograph of the original by Messrs. Davis and Son, of Richmond, Virginia. The original was executed in India ink, in the year 1792, presumably from life. It is oval, of small size, measuring four and a half by five and a half inches, and presents a contour somewhat different from the majority of the portraits of Washington. The artist, *Michel Benvenit Pottiaux, Sr.*, was a native of Brussels, where he was born in 1770. He emigrated to the United States in 1791, stopping for a while in Charleston, South Carolina. He settled permanently in Richmond in 1798, and died there in the year 1864. He was a highly educated and accomplished gentleman, and was no less skillful as a musician than as an artist. The portrait is now in the possession of a son of the artist, Captain Michel Benvenit Pottiaux, a well known citizen of Richmond. For the copy in my possession I am indebted to the kindness of R. A. Brock, Esq., Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society, and Editor of the Historical Department of the *Richmond Standard*.

ses. It has cured me often." The remedy was taken, and a cure was effected. Miss Betsey Ellery became the wife of Mr. Samuel Vernon, an eminent merchant of Newport.* She died in her native town a few days before the ninety-third anniversary of her birth. She delighted in relating to her children and grandchildren "the trials of the patriotic sons and daughters of Newport, who were exiles during the British occupation of the town."†

According to tradition, Mr. Metcalf Bowler, a wealthy East India merchant, gave a select dinner party in honor of the General. Among the guests were General Rochambeau and other French officers, the Hon. William Ellery, the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., and the Rev. Ezra Stiles, D. D. Mr. Bowler had caused to be prepared for the occasion a dozen bottles of cider made from the sunny-side half of mellow Rhode Island Greenings, which he labeled "Eden Champagne." This, with two of the best brands of French Champagne he placed before his guests, requesting their opinion of the merits of each. The palm was accorded to the "Eden Champagne." When the fact came to be revealed, that the delicious beverage, which the French gentlemen declared "could be no other than the fabled nectar of the gods," was simply Rhode Island Eden-greening cider, Dr. Hopkins "was heard to remark, that he should always henceforth have more charity for Mother Eve's unfortunate slip!"‡

In the war with France and Spain, from 1756 to 1763, Mr. Bowler was actively engaged with the Malbones, Wantons

*Ante, pp. 229, 257.

†Newport Correspondent of Providence Journal, November 1, 1873. The round mahogany table—a relic of the Revolution—at which the distinguished coterie sat, was presented by Mrs. (Ellery) Vernon to her son, Dr. Thomas Vernon, who in turn gave it to his son, Mr. John W. Vernon, its present owner.

‡Newport Mercury, June 28, 1879. Mr. Bowler represented Newport in the Rhode Island General Assembly, and in 1766 was a Commissioner to the Congress held in New York. In 1768, he was Judge of the Supreme Court, and after the peace, he removed to Providence, where he lived until his death, in September, 1780, at a very advanced age.

and Vernons in privateering. The "Vernon House," * the headquarters of Rochambeau and of Washington, is understood to have been built by him. Besides his town residence, he owned one in Portsmouth, which he occupied during the summer months, and where he dispensed a princely hospitality. His grounds were extensive, and were beautified with exotics from all parts of the world.

Washington remained in Newport until March 13th, when, having completed his business with General Rochambeau, he set out on his return to New Windsor. The town was early astir to tender parting respects, and from the French army, drawn up in line, he received, as he passed, the highest military honors, including a salute of thirteen guns from the artillery. General Rochambeau accompanied him a short distance out of the town, while the American General Howe, Count Dumas, and other French officers of distinction, attended him to Providence. Middletown, Portsmouth, and the hamlets along the road turned out their populations to gaze upon the noble form and features of one who, eight years later, became, by the unanimous suffrages of his countrymen, the supreme ruler of the nation which his patriotism had so largely aided in establishing. It was to them a "red letter day," and the memory of it, through after life, was held as one of their most cherished recollections.

At Bristol, the General received an enthusiastic welcome. A cavalcade of citizens met him at the ferry and escorted him into the village, where he was further honored with a salute of cannon. "When," says the author of the "Annals of Bristol," "he passed Bradford street, the inhabitants, clad in their best apparel, stood upon either side of the street, being divided according to their sex, and as he passed, showed their respect for him by strewing his path with flowers, evergreens, etc., accompanied with highest marks of civility. When Washington reached the bridge, he turned

*Ante, p. 229.

to the inhabitants and addressed them in a brief but eloquent manner, returning thanks for the kindness and civility which had been shown him." According to the same writer, the widow of the Rev. John Burt, pastor of the Congregational church in Bristol from 1741 to 1775, wishing to impress upon the minds of the pupils of her school the event here described, required them to commit to memory the following lines:

> "In seventeen hundred and eighty-one,
> I saw General Washington."

Slowly the distinguished party pursued its way, receiving at Warren and along the entire route gratifying expressions of respect. It was night before the General reached Providence. Here he found the entire population assembled to greet him. He was met at the lower ferry by a number of the leading citizens of the town, and was escorted to the house of the Hon. Jabez Bowen. Children partook of the spirit of the occasion. Crowds of them, bearing torches, gathered around him, reiterating the acclamations of the citizens. All were eager to approach him, and so close was the press, that for a time his advance was impeded. The General was much affected by this enthusiastic demonstration of regard, and, turning to Count Dumas, who rode by his side, he said, with strong emotion, "We may be beaten by the English; it is the chance of war; but here is an army they can never conquer." A salute of thirteen guns was fired by the park of continental artillery and by the shipping in the harbor. During the evening the town was brilliantly illuminated.

On the day following the General's arrival, a complimentary dinner was given him at the State House, which was attended by him, by his military companions, and by other distinguished guests. Thirteen toasts were drunk under the discharge of cannon. In the course of the day an address, signed by Ex-Governor Nicholas Cooke, Deputy-Governor Jabez Bowen, John Innis Clarke, Jonathan Arnold, Nicho-

las Brown and John Brown, was presented to the General in behalf of the citizens of the town, expressive of their sense of his great military abilities, his unquestionable patriotism, and the perfect confidence reposed in him by a free people. "We beg leave to assure Your Excellency," they said, "that we will manifest our attachment to Your Excellency, and the great cause in which we are engaged, by exerting our utmost abilities in enlisting and supporting such a force, as, with the aid of our generous allies, will be sufficient to bring the war to a happy issue."

In reply, the General said, "I am happy in the opportunity which your address affords me, of testifying to you how deeply I am penetrated with those demonstrations of attachment which I have experienced from the inhabitants of this town. Conscious," he added, "of a sincere desire to promote that great object, (the securing of peace,) however short of my wishes the success of my endeavors may fall, I console myself with a persuasion that the goodness of my intentions in some measure justifies your approbation. The determination you are pleased to express, of making every effort for giving vigor to our military operations, is consonant with the spirit that has uniformly actuated this State. It is by this disposition alone, we can hope, under the protection of heaven, to secure the important blessings for which we contend."

The festivities of the day were closed with a splendid military ball, (probably at "Hacker's Hall,"*) which was honored by the presence of Washington, his staff, General Howe, Count Dumas and other prominent personages. Early the next morning, General Washington and his suite continued their return journey. They were escorted a few miles from the town by General Howe, and a cavalcade composed of military and civilian gentlemen. The stay of Washington in Providence, though short, was a season of

*Ante, p. 322.

unusual pleasure to the people of the town, who were delighted with the opportunity to show him honor. To their eminent guest it was no less agreeable, as the demonstrations of the three days made clear a gratifying attachment to his person, and gave assurance that the fire of patriotism was still burning as brightly here as when the patriots of Providence were called to the field by the rattle of musketry at Lexington and Concord and by the booming of cannon at Bunker's Hill.

The impression made by Washington upon the French officers appears to have been uniformly favorable. All were struck with his towering stature, his dignified manners, his affable conversation, his courteous attentions to guests, that placed them at ease in his presence, and with his wisdom, prudence and patriotic devotion as a military commander. Says Count Dumas, who met him first at Newport: "His dignified address, his simplicity of manners and mild gravity surpassed our expectation, and won every heart."

"His physiognomy," says Commissary Blanchard, "has something grave and serious, but it is never stern, and, on the contrary, becomes softened by the most gracious and amiable smiles. He is affable, and converses with his officers familiarly and gayly."

The Prince de Broglie, who had carefully studied the characteristics of the great chief, is equally emphatic: "In his private conduct he preserves that polite and attentive good breeding which satisfies everybody and offends no one. He is a foe to ostentation and to vain-glory."

The Marquis de Chastellux, in the exuberance of his admiration, exclaims: "The continent of North America, from Boston to Charleston, is a great volume, every page of which presents his eulogium. . . . . It is not my intention to exaggerate. I wish only to express the impression General Washington has left on my mind. Brave without temerity, laborious without ambition, generous without prodigality, noble without pride, virtuous without severity,

he seems always to have confined himself within those limits, where the virtues, by clothing themselves in more lively but more changeable and doubtful colors, may be mistaken for faults. . . . . It will be said of him, at the end of a long civil war, he had nothing with which he could reproach himself."

WAS WASHINGTON A MARSHAL OF FRANCE?

THIS of late years has been a debated question. From the year 1780 until the "Life and Writings of Washington," by Jared Sparks, were published, it appears to have been the universal understanding that the great leader of the American armies held the position of a Marshal of France. Stedman, in his "History of the War in America," who served in the British army under Generals Howe and Clinton, and who had large opportunities for obtaining information, gives him this character. Gordon, in his "History of the American Revolution,"* says, "That propriety might exist in reference to the intended aid from France, when arrived, General Washington has been appointed Lieutenant-General of His Most Christian Majesty's troops in America, and Vice Admiral of the White Flag." Barnes' "Centenary History"† says, when Lafayette returned to America from France, "he brought the Commander-in-Chief a commission as Lieutenant-General of the army of France, and Vice Admiral of its navy." When, at a dinner party given by Captain De la Touche, on board the "Hermione," in Boston harbor, in April, 1780, the name of Washington was toasted, a salute of seventeen cannons was fired, "the

*Vol. III., p. 355 † Page 365.

number," says the account, "given to a Marshal of France." At Newport, "in consequence of orders received from the Court of France," Washington "received all the honors ever paid to the Princes Royal or a Marshal of France, greater than which can be rendered only to the King;" * and Count Deux-Ponts, in reference to the same occasion, says, "General Washington arrived at Newport, and was received with all the honors due to a Marshal of France." †

George Washington Custis, the adopted son of Washington, says he was a Marshal of France; that the appointment was procured by Colonel Laurens when he went to Paris as a special ambassador, and that a friend of his (Custis) had heard him so spoken of at the siege of Yorktown. Mr. Custis further says: "In regard to Washington as a Marshal of France, I have in this house 'proof strong as holy writ,' in an engraving of Napier of Merchistown, the celebrated inventor of the Logarithms, which was presented to Washington by the Earl of Buchan, a relative of the philosopher, with the indorsement in the hand-writing of the Earl: 'To Marshal General Washington, with the respects of Buchan.' Now Buchan lived in the age of the Revolution, and was the associate of courts, and certainly would not have addressed to one he so loved and admired, as he did to the Chief, a title to which the Chief had no claim. Lord Napier on a visit to the Arlington House, was greatly gratified by a sight of a reminiscence of his ancestors among the relics of Washington." Mr. Custis then goes on to describe the origin of the title:

"The history of the title, 'A Marshal of France,' is simply this: In 1781, when Colonel Laurens went to France as special ambassador, a difficulty arose between him and the French Minister as to the command of the combined armies in America. Our heroic Laurens said: 'Our chief must command; it is our cause, and the battle is on our soil.' '*C'est impossible!*' exclaimed the Frenchman, 'by the etiquette of the French

* Providence Gazette, March 17, 1781.

** My Campaigns, p. 101.

service, the Count de Rochambeau being an old Lieutenant General, can only be commanded by the King in person, or a *Mareschal de France.*' 'Then,' exclaimed Laurens, 'make our Washington a *Mareschal de France.*' It was done. A friend of mine heard Washington spoken of as *Monsieur le Mareschal* at the siege of Yorktown. Our beloved Washington never coveted or desired rank or title; but it is beyond a doubt that, from the force of circumstances just related, the rank and title of *Mareschal de France* was conferred upon the General-in-Chief of the combined armies of America and France."

A writer in the "Historical Magazine"* points out an error in the statement of Mr. Custis by the fact that Colonel Laurens did not sail for France until the 13th of February, 1781, whereas Rochambeau arrived in Rhode Island on the 10th or 12th of July, 1780. "Still," he adds, "his communication affords evidence, similar to much found elsewhere, that the belief was very general at the time, among well informed persons, that Washington did receive some military appointment from the French Court: which belief the fact of his commanding Rochambeau, does not seem sufficiently to explain away as an error. And Gordon, whose activity and perseverance in gathering and storing up the facts of the Revolution, as they occurred, render him invaluable contemporary authority, enters this as an undisputed fact under its date, and after a lapse of eight years afforded him for revisal, and during the life-time of all the prominent actors in it, he deliberately prints it, without gainsay from them."

According to the statement of "an eye witness" † Washington, at his military reception in Newport, wore the insignia of a Marshal of France. Mugs, pitchers and bowls of Revolutionary date, bearing the effigy of Washington standing or on horseback, with the legend beneath, "George Washington, Esq., General-in-Chief of the United States army, and Marshal of France," were common and are still occasionally to be seen. These commemorated a supposed fact. It seems extraordinary that the French allies, with-

* Vol. iii., p. 127, 1859. † Ante, p. 361.

out authority, should bestow upon Washington honors which only a Marshal of France could claim; and it is scarcely less a cause for wonder that he should have accepted the honors, and on public occasions have worn the insignia of an unbestowed office.

In refutation of the statements made by Gordon, Stedman and others, two facts are relied upon. First, that Mr. Sparks did not find among Washington's papers a commision or other official document showing that the French King had conferred upon him the office here being considered; and second, Washington's letter addressed to Mr. Lemont, in 1785, three years after Rochambeau's army left the country. Mr. Lemont had dedicated to him a volume of poems. In that dedication he styled him a Marshal of France. Washington, in acknowledging the courtesy, said, "I am not a Marshal of France, nor do I hold any commission or fill any office under that government." This, at the time, was true, and there may have been political, as well as other reasons, for making this disclaimer; but it does not necessarily militate against the common belief of the day. It would seem from the statement of Gordon, in regard to the offices of Marshal and Admiral, "that these appointments, if received by Washington, were, so far as the French government was concerned, purely titles of courtesy, conferred for the purpose of satisfying the laws of military etiquette and military precedence, then most imperious at the Court of France. The rank and powers which they implied, though only nominal, were also apparently limited in their application to the French forces in America. In this case, the mere departure of those forces, after the war was over, would put an end to them without further act. This view of the question is quite consistent with Washington's assertion in the letter of 1785, that he then held no commission under the French government. It also, perhaps, accounts for the fact that no record of such commission, if previously held, can be found

in the archives of France." * In regard to the part ascribed to Lafayette in the matter, "might he not have procured for Washington the title of Marshal, or those of Lieutenant-General and Admiral, *provisionally*, to be promulgated and used only in case of necessity? No such necessity, it is well known, ever occurred. It is possible that the unpublished manuscripts, still in possession of his family, might furnish the answer to this question." †

That Mr. Sparks did not find among Washington's papers evidence of his having been commissioned a Marshal of France, is at most a negative testimony against the belief that for more than seventy years prevailed unquestioned. In examining this subject, two facts appear. First, that Washington could not, without violating a law of France, have subordinated Rochambeau to his command, unless in some way authorized so to do. Second, that Washington did command both the American and the French troops, and that Rochambeau never undertook an enterprise with his forces without the approval of the former. From whence did this superior authority come? By whom and how was it conferred? By reference to the instructions of Louis XVI. to Rochambeau, that General was always, and in all cases, "to be under the command of General Washington;" that "all projects and plans for the campaign or private expeditions should be decided by the American General; that the French troops being only auxiliaries, should, as was done in Germany, in the campaign of 1757, yield precedence and the right to the American troops; that "in consequence of the above article, the American officers with equal rank and the same date of commissions, shall have the command, and in all cases the American troops shall take the right. In all military acts and capitulations, the American General and troops shall be reckoned first, and will sign first, as has always been the custom, and in accordance with

* Hist. Mag., iii., April, 1859, p. 126. † *Ibid*, p. 127

the principles laid down with regard to auxiliary troops;" and finally, that "it is His Majesty's expectation and very positive order to Count de Rochambeau, that he will see to the exact and literal execution of the above four articles." The reservation in behalf of the French troops was that they should not be dispersed, but "collected together in one corps," and "act in one body under French Generals." The orders of the King were communicated by Rochambeau to Washington, and he writes, "We are now, sir, under your command." *

The official information thus communicated to Washington, although not a commission in the usual form, was a practical equivalent, and may explain why, at Newport, he wore the insignia of a Marshal of France, and why he was recognized by the French officers and soldiers as the *Generalissimo* of the two armies. But on this subject the reader will form his own conclusions, unbiased by the opinions of the author.

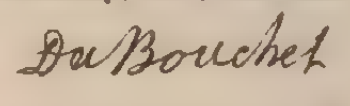
BOUNTY JUMPERS.

A WANT SUPPLIED.—MONEY AND TROOPS ARRIVE FROM FRANCE.—NOTICES OF COLONEL ROCHAMBEAU AND M. DE BARRAS.

BOUNTY jumping was practised with success during the Revolution, and the French officers were often made victims of the sharp practice. Men would enlist into the French army, obtain clothing and advance pay, and then desert, and enlist again in the continental service. When caught, they escaped under a clause of the constitution

*Ante, pp. 213-215.

which forbade soldiers serving in any other battalions than their own, unless the State to which they belonged had completed its full quota. This the "jumpers" were careful to ascertain before enlisting. In February, 1781, the Chevalier Du Bouchet, "Deputy-Adjutant-General of the Army of His Most Christian Majesty," having represented to the General Assembly that certain deserters had enlisted into this State's continental battalions, Christopher Ellery and William Taggart, Esqs., were appointed a committee to wait upon the Chevalier and inform him that the men mentioned in his communication were Americans, and for the reasons just mentioned could not be returned. But willing to "do every thing to contribute to the service of His Most Christian Majesty and his army," the Chevalier was assured that the persons who engaged the aforesaid soldiers for the continental service should immediately pay back the balance due for money advanced, clothing, or other things received by the said deserters.



But while the State was careful to prevent impositions of this character, the officers of the allies were not always as fortunate, when in the hands of army officials, with whom they had financial transactions. One of them, in settling with a continental commissary, brought a bag of gold, and having counted out most of it in payment of an exorbitant bill, said with a slight tone of displeasure: "You may as well take de whole. You sharge for de handle of de broom; den you sharge for de brush; den you sharge for de twine dat ties it; and den, by gar, you sharge for de broom!"

A WANT SUPPLIED.

In April, 1781, Count Dumas having solicited needed quarters in Providence for the officers and the army of His Most Christian Majesty, Captain Paul Allen, Colonel Wil-

liam Wall and Edward Thurber, Esqs., were appointed a committee "immediately to procure such rooms as shall be requisite for the said officers, and that the said committee agree to pay to the owners of the rooms such rent therefor as said committee shall judge reasonable, to be paid out of the town treasury; and in case that it shall be necessary, that the said committee be empowered to assign the necessary quarters notwithstanding they cannot agree with the owners.

"And as Major Dumas hath also requested that the upper part of the Market House, and such part of the lower room thereof as can be spared, may be appropriated for storing the baggage of the said army, it is resolved, that one-half of the Market House Building, now improved for the market, with all the upper part thereof, be appropriated as aforesaid, to be divided off by a partition in such place as shall be directed by Mr. Eleazer Harding, James Lovet and Welcome Arnold, Esqs."

MONEY AND TROOPS ARRIVE FROM FRANCE.

It was agreed at the conference at Hartford that Colonel Rochambeau, son of the General, should carry the results thereof to the Ministers at Paris, and also the requisitions for men, ships and money. The latter was particularly important, as the necessary means for liquidating the advances due to the soldiers could be obtained only by onerous loans.* Colonel Rochambeau committed the contents of the despatches to memory, so that he might repeat them verbally to the Ministers, in case he should be captured by English cruisers, and be sent home on parole; designing in the former event to throw them overboard. M. de La Pérouse was charged with all the despatches of Admiral De

*Joseph Mark, Vicomte de Rochambeau, Aide-de-Camp to his father, and Colonel of a regiment, was an officer of superior merit. He served in the West Indies, Italy, St. Domingo, and Flanders. He was made a General, and was killed at the battle of Leipsic, October 18, 1813, aged sixty-three years.

Ternay, and with conveying in his frigate Colonel Rochambeau to France. This able officer took his departure from Newport on the 28th of October, in a violent gale, which scattered the English blockading squadron. He passed through this, accompanied by two frigates bound on a mission to Boston. The vessels were discovered, and were closely pursued by the enemy's cruisers. The frigate of La Pérouse was dismasted, but fortunately she had already so far outreached her pursuers, that the chase was abandoned.

On the 6th of May, 1781, Colonel Rochambeau arrived in Boston on his return voyage from France, in the frigate "Concorde," accompanied by M. de Barras, who came to assume the command of the French squadron, made vacant by the death of Admiral De Ternay.* They brought the intelligence that a powerful fleet had sailed from Brest, under Count de Grasse, a part of which was destined to re-enforce the French naval armament in the West Indies, and the residue to go to the Cape of Good Hope. After getting to the south of the Azores, de Grasse was to detach six hundred troops under the convoy of the "Sagittaire," to join the forces in America, being the only succor in men that could then be sent. The presence of a numerous English fleet off Brest had prevented the sailing, during the preceding year, of the second division of the army, as was originally contemplated; and the King, to make good the loss of such a valuable

* Louis, Count de Barras Saint Laurent was born in Provence, and served with distinction in the French navy. He was a particular friend of the Count D'Estaing, and commanded his van guard, when he entered Newport harbor. He was then about sixty years of age. After cooperating with Count de Grasse, at the siege of Yorktown, he took part in an engagement with Admiral Hood, whose fleet anchored under the guns of St. Christopher, January 25, 1782. On the reorganization of the navy, in the same year, he was made Vice Admiral. He died about 1800.

auxiliary, and to lessen the disappointment occasioned by its non-arrival, had assigned six millions of treasure, to be devoted to the needs of the American army. For the greater security of transmission, the money sent over was divided between the "Sagittaire" and the "Concorde."

From a financial stand-point, the "six millions of treasure,"— in federal currency $1,200,000,— must have been to Washington a gleam of light breaking the cloud that had but recently enveloped him, while the six hundred troops, though a poor substitute for the six thousand long promised and expected, were a welcome addition to the strength of the allies. In surveying the prospect before him, however, he felt the necessity of urging upon the States a speedy augmentation of his forces, and of earnestly soliciting the influence of the French Minister, M. de Luzerne, in securing the close co-operation of the fleet of Count de Grasse, then serving in the West Indies.

DEATH OF COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE.

THE 13th day of May, 1781, sent arrows of sorrow to many hearts in Rhode Island. On the night of that day, Colonel Christopher Greene, who, with his battalion, had been withdrawn from Newport, and placed on duty near Croton Bridge, New York, was barbarously murdered by an assaulting party, under Colonel Delancey, numbering over two hundred men. The attack was a surprise. Colonel Greene was overpowered and cut down in his quarters by a band of assailants, several of whom fell beneath his defensive sword. His left arm was cut off, his right arm was wounded to the bone in two wide gashes, his left shoulder was terribly mutilated, his stomach was pierced by a

sword, his right side was shockingly lacerated by a bayonet, and his head was badly mangled. In this condition he was dragged to a wood about a mile distant, and there left. Major Flagg, his next in command, was also brutally killed, and both were buried in the church-yard at Crompond.

Colonel Christopher Greene was a son of the Honorable Philip Greene, a Judge of the Superior Court of Rhode Island, and was born in that part of Warwick called Occupassatiouxet. His natural endowments were of a superior order, and his mental powers were improved by education and refined social intercourse. At an early age, he was elected to represent his native town in the State legislature. When the rights of the Colonies were invaded, he took a bold stand against the King and the Parliament. After the "Kentish Guards" were organized, in 1774, he was chosen Lieutenant. In May, 1775, he was appointed Major in the army created for the defence of the State. He marched to Cambridge, and was made Lieutenant-Colonel of the first battalion formed for Arnold's expedition against Quebec. He underwent all the fatigues and privations of the extraordinary march through the wilderness of Maine and that of Canada; bore a conspicuous part in the unsuccessful assault upon Quebec, and after three hours of hard fighting was compelled to surrender. For eighteen months he experienced the discomforts of prison life, and after being exchanged, in 1777, received a commission of Colonel. He fought with great bravery and success at Red Bank, where Count Donop, the commander of twelve hundred Hessian assailants, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. In this fierce and desperate fight, the Hessians were driven back and defeated, with heavy loss. Colonel Greene caused Count Donop to be buried with all the honors of war. The late Dr. Peter Turner, of Newport, who was in this battle, used to narrate the effect that this act of courtesy had upon the surgeon of the German brigade. He was a

Frenchman, and as he beheld the American troops following the corpse of his beloved commander, and depositing it with every manifestation of respect in the grave, he sprang up, and striking his feet together, exclaimed, with the vivacity of his countrymen, "Be Gar, if dey bury me so, I die dis moment." *

SWORD PRESENTED BY CONGRESS TO COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE

From 1768 to 1781, Colonel Greene's military services were confined to Rhode Island. How heartily he entered into the plans of General Sullivan, and how nobly he led his colored battalion in the campaign on Rhode Island, preceding pages show.† His death was an occasion of deep sorrow to Washington and to Rochambeau, both of whom appreciated his worth as a man, and as a skillful, meritorious officer.

For his gallant defence of Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, Congress voted him an elegant sword. The Colonel did not live to receive it, and it was forwarded to Job Greene, Esq., the son and legal repre-

* Kent Co. Atlas. R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll., vi., 54.

† In reference to the valuation of the slaves enlisted in Colonel Greene's battalion, (*ante, p. 86.*) Governor Greene writes to Messrs. Marchant and Collins: "I enclose you the certificate of one of the committee who valued the slaves that now belong to Colonel Greene's regiment, neither of which are prized at more than $400, a consideration by no means adequate to the benefit they are to the United States, *as they are good soldiers*, and serve during the war, without any other allowances than what is paid them by the continent, when the others, doing the same duty with them, are allowed what is called subsistence money, the amount of which has been more in one year than either of them were valued at. As Congress has recommended to the southern States to raise a number of blacks in the same way, for which the owners of them were to be allowed $1,000, there appears to be the same reason that the owners of those raised by this State should be allowed the same price."—*R. I. Hist. Coll., vi., p. 242.*

sentative of the deceased. It is now in the possession of one of the grandchildren of Colonel Greene, Simon Henry Greene, Esq., of River Point, R. I. Its sheath is of rattlesnake skin, the blade a polished rapier, and its principal decorations are of silver and gold. By kind permission, an engraved copy of the sword is here presented.

At the time of his death, Colonel Greene had entered upon his forty-fifth year.* In 1758, he married Miss Anne Lippitt, a daughter of Mr. Jeremiah Lippitt, of Warwick. He left three sons and four daughters. His height was about five feet ten inches. His round, capacious chest, upright form and muscular limbs indicated the enjoyment of perfect physical vigor. A portrait of him, copied from an original owned by Simon Henry Greene, Esq., was presented by that gentleman to Brown University, and may be seen in its attractive gallery of eminent Rhode Island men.

Colonel Greene died at an age when his military experience, maturity of judgment, and energy of character gave promise of rapid promotion. Had he lived to the close of the war, his rank, probably, would have been second only to that of his distinguished kinsman, General Nathanael Greene.†

* He was born May 12, 1737.

† The author, in Vol. vi. R. I Hist. Soc. Coll.

ARRIVAL OF M. DE BARRAS AT NEWPORT.

COMMUNICATES WITH WASHINGTON.—HIS REPLY.—CONFERENCE AT WETHERSFIELD.—BRITISH FLEET OFF BLOCK ISLAND.—PLANS FOR FUTURE OPERATIONS.—THE ALLIES PREPARE TO LEAVE RHODE ISLAND. THE FLEET TO REMAIN AT NEWPORT.—TROOPS DETACHED TO PROTECT THE FLEET AND THE ISLAND.—ATTEMPTED MURDER OF M. LA BOROLIERE. FAREWELL DINNER. ROCHAMBEAU ISSUES A PASS TO JOHN BEVERLY. SKETCH OF THE LATTER.

THE Count de Barras arrived at Newport May 10th, and the next day addressed a letter to Washington informing him of the fact. He also informed him that the King had appointed him "to the command of his squadron in these seas"; that both himself and General Rochambeau were anxious for a conference with the American Chief; and added: "I am very impatient to have the honor of making an acquaintance with you, and to assure you that I have nothing so much at heart as to render myself serviceable to the King and to the United States."

In reply, Washington said: "Give me leave to congratulate you on your safe arrival, and your appointment to the command of His Most Christian Majesty's fleet and sea forces upon these coasts. It affords me no small degree of pleasure to find the command devolves upon an officer of Your Excellency's distinguished character."

To meet the wishes of Count de Barras and Count de Rochambeau, as well as his own, Washington appointed a conference at Wethersfield, to be held May 21. Washington was accompanied by Generals Knox and Duportail; Rochambeau was attended by the Chevalier de Chastellux. On the eve of departure, the British fleet under Admiral

Arbuthnot, appeared off Block Island, threatening Newport. For this cause, M. de Barras, who deemed it prudent to remain and watch the movements of the enemy, did not attend. The plans for the future were deliberately discussed and decided. It was settled to operate against New York in preference to making further detachments to the southward. "The weakness of the garrison at New York, the central position for drawing together men and supplies, and the spur which any attempt against that place would give to every exertion, were among the reasons which prompted to that undertaking, and promised the fairest prospect of success, unless the enemy should recall a considerable part of their force from the southward." *

It having been decided that in the next campaign New York was to be the first objective point, preparations for the departure of the French allies from Rhode Island were at once commenced. For several weeks great activity prevailed in Newport and in Providence. Siege guns and magazines were brought up from the former to the latter town, for greater safety, to be forwarded when required, and Providence temporarily became a grand depôt of military stores. Teams for the transportation of commissary stores and forage were, as rapidly as possible, secured. It was decided in council, after due consideration, that M. de Barras should remain at Newport, rather than go with his fleet to Boston. In consequence of this decision, five hundred French troops were detached from the main army, to which were added one thousand American militia, all placed under the command of M. de Choisy, "Brigadier of the forces," to remain for the protection of the fleet and of the island.

On the night of May 28th–29th, an attempt was made in Newport to assassinate M. la Boroliere, an officer of artillery. The officer, although having received several sabre

* Washington to Hon. John Sullivan, May 29, 1781.

NOUS, JEAN-BAPTISTE-DONATIEN DE VIMEUR, Cte. DE ROCHAMBEAU,

Lieutenant-général des armées du Roi, Grand'Croix de l'Ordre Royal & Militaire de St. Louis, Gouverneur de Villefranche, en Roussillon, commandant un Corps de Troupes de Sa Majesté très-chrétienne en Amérique

Mais recommandons aux gardes placés dans l'intérieur ou à l'extérieur du Camp de laisser passer le — Nommé John Beverley Sheriff de l'Etat de — Rhode-Island pourvu qu'il ne fasse arrêter tous les gens suspects et mal intentionnés à la Cause de l'Amérique et de les garder moins forts en cas qu'il les arrête — besoin.

Le Cte de Rochambeau

Fait à l'Orvidiere le quatorze de Juin 1781

Par Mon[redacted] ordre du Cte de Selles

Pass issued by Rochambeau to John Beverley.

wounds, survived. The would-be assassin, a sergeant in his company, endeavored to drown himself, but was drawn out of the water, tried without delay, condemned, and after having his hand cut off he was hung.

On the 7th of June a grand farewell dinner was given by M. de Barras on board the "Duc de Bourgogne." Sixty guests were present, several of them being ladies from Newport and the vicinity. The quarter deck was arranged with sails, and made a very handsome hall. On the same day a council of administration, composed of officers of the land and sea services, was held.*

During all the weeks of preparation, and up to the hour of his departure, General Rochambeau was busily occupied. One of the last uses he made of his pen was to attach his signature to a pass given to John Beverly, Esq., High Sheriff of Providence county. A slightly reduced fac-simile copy of this document is given on the preceding page.†

* Blanchard.

† John Beverly, Esq., was born in Dighton, Mass., January 21, 1739, and died in Providence, May 19, 1811, in the seventy-third year of his age. He removed to Johnston, where he married Anna Sheldon, who was born January 21, 1740, and died in Providence, September 6, 1787, in the forty-eighth year of her age. In 1770, Mr. Beverly was elected a Deputy from Johnston to the General Assembly. The date of his removal into Providence does not appear. In 1779, he was appointed a recruiting officer, "to recruit men to fill up the battalion raising within the State." In 1780, he was elected by the General Assembly High Sheriff for Providence county, and in that year received from the public treasury £651 "for expenses in apprehending burglars." He held the office of Sheriff for several years, and faithfully discharged his duties. In politics he was of the Jefferson school, and actively advocated the principles of his party. The issue of his marriage was five children, viz. Stephen, born March 8, 1760, and died July 4, 1832. Mary, born October 11, 1765, and died April 28, 1809. Anna, born December 3, 1767, and died September 27, 1804. Sarah, born March 29, 1778, and died October 8, 1821. Elizabeth, born January 19, 1780, who was married to John Holden Greene, the father of the late Judge Albert Gorton Greene. She died February 17, 1856. The remains of Mr. John Beverly, and those of his family, lie in the North Burial Ground. The record on his grave-stone, is, that he was "a kind, indulgent husband and father, an obliging neighbor, and friendly to all men." Of his consort it is recorded that, "she was a devoted wife, daughter, sister and friend, a generous, sympathizing, unostentatious alms-giver, a meek, confiding, liberal christian. Such she was in life and in death."

THE ARMY ON THE MOVE.

PRELIMINARY MOVEMENTS.—TROOPS LEAVE NEWPORT.—ENCAMP IN PROVIDENCE.—MARCH TO DOBBS' FERRY.—CAMPAIGN AGAINST NEW YORK ABANDONED.—MARCH TO PHILADELPHIA.—RECEPTION THERE.—MARCH TO YORKTOWN.

AS the day of departure of the troops drew nigh, M. Blanchard and Count Dumas were sent forward on the designated route of march, to mark out a succession of encampments, and by anticipation to provide for the immediate wants of the army. M. Blanchard, with two servants and three horses, left Providence June 16th. He dined at Waterman's Tavern, fifteen miles from the town. A dinner for the three, and forage for the horses, cost him nine livres—by no means an extravagant charge. The night was passed at Plainfield, at a cost of eighteen livres. At Bolton he lay sick "after a fatiguing march," and at Hartford he spent several days in establishing a Hospital, and where, he says, "I was, by way of parenthesis, compelled to fight, in the presence of a great number of Americans, with three nurses who mutinied." Pursuing his journey, he reached the American army June 26th. On the 29th he dined under a tent with Washington. Twenty-five covers were laid for officers of the army. "The table was served in the American style, and pretty abundantly: vegetables, roast beef, lamb, chickens, salad dressed with nothing but vinegar, green peas, puddings and some pie, a kind of tart greatly in use in England and among the Americans. They gave us on the same plate, beef, green peas, lamb, etc. At the end of the dinner the cloth was removed and some Madeira wine was brought, which was passed around, whilst drinking dif-

ferent healths, to the King of France, the French army, etc."* Of the sentiments given at the table, one was in honor of Count de Grasse.

FAREWELL TO NEWPORT.

On the morning of June 10th, at 5 o'clock, the French camps that for eleven months had been maintained in Newport and vicinity, were broken up, and the brigades of Bourbonnois and of Soissonnois took their departure for Providence. Anxious, as the officers had often expressed themselves, to exchange the scenes of gaiety, to which they had largely contributed, for the field of Mars, the hour of separation from families in which they had found welcome homes, was tinged with sadness. These scenes were never to be repeated, and adieus were uttered in tones of affectionate regret.

The troops were conveyed to Providence in boats, and reached the town at nine o'clock in the evening. It was then too late to lay out a camp, pitch the tents, and obtain the necessary straw and wood. The Baron Viomesnil obtained permission from the town authorities to occupy several large empty houses, and there the soldiers lodged for the night. The next day camps were formed on the plain adjacent to the "West Burial Ground," where the troops remained one week.

Under the authority of the General Assembly, George Irish, Esq., impressed in Newport county a sufficient number of teams to transport the baggage and stores of the army from Newport to Bristol Ferry; and Nathaniel Fales, Esq., was empowered to make a similar impressment within the county of Bristol, to convey the baggage and stores from Bristol Ferry to Providence. On the 13th of June, General Rochambeau bade adieu to his memorable headquarters, and to his numerous Newport friends. The same day he arrived in Providence.

* Blanchard, p. 116.

"A finer body of men was never in arms, and no army was ever better furnished with everything necessary for a campaign. The exact discipline of the troops, and the attention of the officers to prevent any injury to individuals, have made the march of this army through the country very agreeable to the inhabitants; and it is with great pleasure we assure our readers, not a single disagreeable circumstance has taken place."

On their march through Connecticut, the French troops were everywhere received with marked attention. In Plainfield, Windham and Bolton, in Newtown and Woodbury, in Middletown, Wallingford, North Stratford, and Hartford,

THE COLONEL SAMUEL B. WEBB HOUSE, WETHERSFIELD, CONN.*

* In this house, Washington and Rochambeau held their conference, and decided upon the plan of campaign against New York. *Antè p. 385.* Colonel Samuel B. Webb was born in Wethersfield, December 16, 1753. During the Revolutionary War, he was successively a member of the military families of Generals Putnam and Washington. He afterwards commanded a regiment of continental troops, and in 178[illegible] was made Brevet Brigadier General. He was an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati. He was the father of General James Watson Webb, for many years the influential editor of a New York daily paper, and of General Alexander S. Webb, who distinguished himself for gallant services as an artillery officer in the late "War of the Rebellion." The subject of this brief notice was noted for a generous hospitality. He died at Claverack, N. Y., November 4, 1807.

THE MARCH COMMENCED.

On the 18th of June, "the sparkling regiment of Bourbonnois," on the 19th the regiment of Royal Deux-Ponts, on the 20th the regiment of Soissonnois, and on the 21st the regiment of Saintonge, left successively the camps at Providence, keeping always between each other the distance

THE BARON VIOMESNIL.

of a day's march. Crowds were present to witness the departure.

On the 24th, the General, with the first division of his army, reached Hartford. The three other divisions arrived on the three following days. The first division left on the 25th, and the others followed in the order of their arrival. The troops made a very favorable impression. A Hartford paper, under date of July 3, says:

"A finer body of men was never in arms, and no army was ever better furnished with everything necessary for a campaign. The exact discipline of the troops, and the attention of the officers to prevent any injury to individuals, have made the march of this army through the country very agreeable to the inhabitants, and it is with great pleasure we assure our readers, not a single disagreeable circumstance has taken place."

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THE COLONEL SAMUEL B. WEBB HOUSE, WETHERSFIELD, CONN.*

* In this house Washington and Rochambeau held their conference, and decided upon the plan of campaign against New York, (*Vide p. 78.*) Colonel Samuel B. Webb was born in Wethersfield, December 16, 1753. During the Revolutionary War he was successively a member of Gen. Putnam's famous of General Putnam and Washington. He afterwards commanded a regiment of continental troops, and in 1781 was made Brevet Brigadier-General. He was an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati. He was the father of General James Watson Webb, for many years the influential editor of a New York daily paper, and of General Alexander S. Webb, who distinguished himself for gallant services as an artillery officer in the late "War of the Rebellion." The subject of this brief notice was noted for a generous hospitality. He died at Claverack, N. Y., November 3, 1807.

the inhabitants vied with the rural population along the routes pursued by the several divisions of the army in furnishing refreshments, and in rendering other services to relieve the march from tedium.

Barrack-masters, appointed by Governor Trumbull and his council, waited upon the allies at every important station. Some of these masters, by especial direction of the Governor, accompanied them on their march — as did particularly Dr. Joshua Elderkin, of Windham, with great satisfaction to Rochambeau, all the way from the point where the troops first touched Connecticut on the east to their encampment on the green meadows of Hartford. Fresh horses and oxen from farms by the way were also freely loaned, to hasten up the tent equipages delayed by slow ox teams, wearied by a long day's march beneath a broiling sun, while a hospitable welcome was given in private dwellings to many weary officers.*

While halting for a night at Woodbury, where their encampment extended "a distance of nearly three miles," they were regaled by David Sherman with a liberal supply of apples and "seven or eight barrels of new cider," the product of his mill. The evening hours were enlivened with a dance, "in which some of the Woodbury damsels joined." †

On the 2d of July, General Lincoln with a detachment of eight hundred men, attempted the surprise of the enemy's posts upon the north end of York island. The enterprise proved unsuccessful. On the 6th, General Rochambeau with his army formed a junction with General Washington, near "Dobbs' Ferry," on the Hudson. The Americans encamped in two lines, with their right resting on that river. The French occupied the left, in a single line extending to the river Bronx.‡

* Life of Gov. Jonathan Trumbull, p. 55. † Hist. Woodbury, p. 213.

‡ Sparks

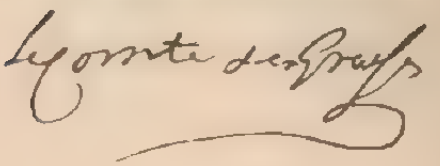
Immediately after the arrival of the French allies, Washington issued the following order of thanks:

"The Commander-in-Chief with pleasure embraces the earliest public opportunity of expressing his thanks to His Excellency the Count de Rochambeau for the unremitting zeal with which he has prosecuted his march in order to form the long wished for junction between the French and American forces, an event which must afford the highest degree of pleasure to every friend of his country, and from which the happiest consequences are to be expected. The General entreats His Excellency, the Count to convey to the officers and soldiers under his immediate command the grateful sense he entertains of the cheerfulness with which they performed so long and laborious a march at this extreme hot season. The regiment of Saint Ange is entitled to peculiar acknowledgments for the spirit with which they continued and supported their march without one day's respite." *

The united forces lay here encamped during six weeks, and plans for a general attack on the enemy were formed, but it soon became apparent, that without a superior naval force, it would be difficult to carry these out. General Rochambeau had corresponded with Count de Grasse in reference to operating upon the southern coast, presenting "a picture of the distresses of the southern States, and, above all, of Virginia, which had nothing to oppose the inroads of Lord Cornwallis but a small body of troops under Lafayette." While hesitating to make the general attack above mentioned, there was received at Newport, from Count de Grasse, a letter, stating that he should soon sail from St. Domingo with his entire fleet, having on board three thousand two hundred land troops, to be employed in the Chesapeake. This letter was forwarded to General Washington. The time that the Count had prescribed for this operation was between the middle of August and the middle of October. Such intelligence led at once to a change in the plan of operation. Further immediate attempt upon New York was abandoned, and the two Generals decided upon a campaign in Virginia, to act against Cornwallis. Yorktown,

* Washington's Orderly Books, Am. Hist. Rec., iii., 89.

therefore, became the second objective point. Leaving the command on the Hudson with General Heath, orders were given to break camp and take up the line of march.



"The American army passed from their encampment along the road near the river to King's Ferry, and crossed to Stony Point on the 21st. The French army marched by the way of White Plains, North Castle, Pine's Bridge and Crompond, and crossed the river with all their baggage and stores between the 22d and 25th. The two armies pursued their march to Trenton, by different routes, one column passing through Chatham, Springfield and Brunswick, for the purpose of keeping up as long as possible an appearence of threatening Staten Island, or of marching round to Sandy Hook to facilitate the entrance of the French fleet into the har-

bor. A French bakery was also established at Chatham, as a blind to the enemy, which should strengthen the opinion that operations were intended in that quarter. General Washington remained with the army till the 30th, when he and Count de Rochambeau set off for Philadelphia, and arrived there the next day. He immediately applied himself to provide vessels and other means of transporting the army, baggage, and stores from Trenton to the head of the Elk. So few vessels could be found, that one regiment only went by water, with the stores, down the Delaware and up Christiana creek. All the remaining troops marched by land, and reached Philadelphia September 4th." *

RECEPTION AT PHILADELPHIA.

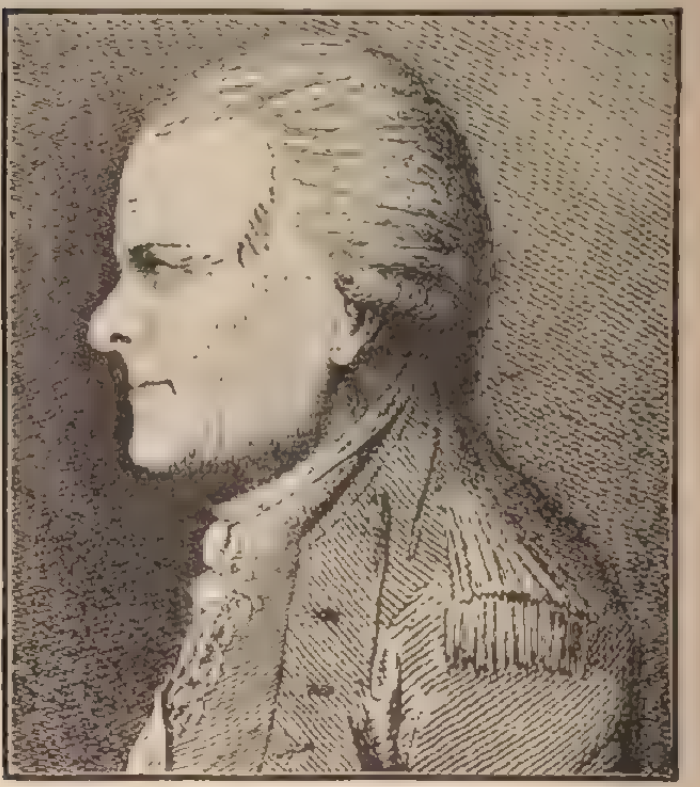
"The arrival of the French army at Philadelphia was more like a triumph than simply a passing through the place. The troops made a halt about a quarter of a league from the city, and in an instant were dressed as elegantly as ever the soldiers of a garrison were on a day of review. They then marched through the town with the military music playing before them, which is always particularly pleasing to the Americans. The streets were crowded with people, and the ladies appeared at the windows in their most splendid attire. All Philadelphia was astonished to see people, who had endured the fatigues of a long journey, so ruddy and handsome, and even wondered that there could possibly be Frenchmen of so genteel an appearance.

"The troops next marched in single file before the Congress and M. le Chevalier de la Luzerne, Minister from the Court of France, and afterwards encamped in a large plain contiguous to the river Schuylkill. The next day after our arrival, the regiment of Soissonnois went through the exercise of fire arms. At least twenty thousand persons, and a vast number of carriages remarkable for their lightness and elegance, added to the lustre of this exhibition, which was still heightened by the pleasantness of the situation and the remarkable serenity of the day. The rapidity of the military evolutions, the soldierly appearance of the troops in general and the exactness of their motions, surprised and captured the beholders.

"We were a good deal amused with a mistake of some of the common people, who took for a General one of those alert fellows, whom our commanding officers commonly have in their retinue, to run up and down to carry their written orders. His short, tight-bodied coat, his rich waistcoat with a silver fringe, his rose-colored shoes, his cap, adorned with a coat-of arms, and his cane, with an enormous head,— all appeared to them so many tokens of extraordinary dignity. Though he approached his master, the Colonel Commandant, merely to receive and publish his orders, they imagined that he gave them of his own accord, and directed the movements of the troops, independently of any superior.

* Sparks.

"The President of Congress, the Honorable Thomas McKean, Esquire, in a suit of black velvet, honored this review with his presence. These honest Pennsylvanians differ very considerably from us in the ceremonies of dress, as we differ from them again in our modes of legislation.



"MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE GRASSE.

"Drawn from the life by M. Jones.

"Published Aug. 20th, 1782, by John Harris, Sweetings' Alley, Cornhill.

"Price, 1s 6d."

NOTE.—The above portrait of Count De Grasse is a reproduction, by the photo-lithographic process, of a rare engraving executed in London, in 1782. When "drawn from life by M. Jones," the Count had reached the age of fifty-nine years. The portrait on page 86 was evidently taken when he was considerably younger.

"The manœuvres of our troops raised the most flattering expectations in the minds of the spectators, and they did not hesitate to declare that such soldiers were invincible. This day was destined for favorable omens. M. le Chevalier de la Luzerne, who on this occasion received his countrymen with the dignity and generosity of the representative of a great monarch, and the frankness and cordiality of an individual, after the review invited all the officers to dine with him. Hardly were we seated at the table when an express arrived; a disquieting silence immediately seized every guest. Our eyes were fixed on the Chevalier de la Luzerne, every one endeavoring to guess what the message would turn out to be. 'Thirty-six ships of the line,' said he, 'commanded by Monsieur le Comte de Grasse, are arrived in Chesapeake Bay, and three thousand men have landed and opened a communication with the Marquis de la Fayette!' Joy and good humor immediately resumed their place on every countenance. Our impatient leaders began to count the days, and reckon how long it would be before they could have it in their power to face the enemy, and their heated imaginations made it much shorter than it afterwards proved to be. Healths were next drank, and that of the Minister of the Marine of France was not forgotten, whose activity and great ability have paved the way to the most brilliant successes of our fleet; the presence of his son, M. le Comte de Charlus, second Colonel of the regiment of Saintonge, added still more to our pleasure and satisfaction.

"Among others, Charles Thompson, the Secretary of Congress, the soul of that political body, came also to receive and present his compliments. His meagre figure and furrowed countenance, his hollow, sparkling eyes, his white straight hair, that did not hang quite so low as his ears, fixed our thorough attention, and filled us with surprise and admiration.

"The important news of the arrival of the Count de Grasse was soon spread throughout the city, and echoes of joy were heard from every quarter. Some merry fellows, mounted on scaffolds and stages, pronounced funeral orations for Cornwallis, and uttered lamentations on the grief and distress of the tories. The people ran in crowds to the residence of the Minister of France, and '*Long live Louis the Sixteenth*' was the general cry.

"Thus you see the people are universally persuaded of the success of this expedition. Could those flattering hopes be realized, they would hasten a peace, which in our situation, and under the wise and benevolent prince that governs us, would place France in a point of view that has been wholly unknown since the existence of her monarchy." *

The French troops, on their march from the Hudson to Philadelphia, observed the same exact discipline, and the same freedom from trespass that distinguished their march

* Castellux's New Travels, pp. 39–41.

from Providence to Dobbs' Ferry.* From Providence to Newtown they marched by regiments, and thence by brigades. A table of the several encampments, with distances, is here given. It is copied from one prepared by the Abbé Robin, a French chaplain who came to America with the Count de Barras, and joined the Soissonnois at Newport. It is printed in his "*Nouveau Voyage dans L'Amerique Septentrionale, en L'Annee, 1781.*" A similar table is to be seen in the Journal of Count William Deux-Ponts, entitled "*My Campaigns in America,*" a work admirably translated by the Honorable Samuel A. Green, M. D., Mayor of Boston.

ROUTE ET CAMPS

qu'a faits l'armée du Comte de Rochambeau, dans le cours de la campagne de 1781.

DATES.	CAMPS.	DISTANCES.
Juin.	*De Newport dans Rhode Island.*	*Milles Angl.*
11.	a Providence.	30
11 au 20.	*Sejour,*	
20.	a Waterman,	15
21.	a Plainfield,	16
22.	a Windham,	16
23.	à Bolton,	16
24.	a Easharford,	12½
25 and 26.	*Sejour,*	
27.	a Farmington,	12½
28.	a Baron's-Tavern,	13
29.	a Breakneck,	13
30.	a Newton,	15

* Du Ponceau says, "the army of Rochambeau, in its march from Newport to Yorktown, was so thoroughly well conducted, that there was not even a single instance of one of the soldiers taking an apple or a peach from an orchard without leave having been previously obtained." A worthy table, as a note from the Du Ponceau manuscripts, these words: "It was given out in general orders, that if a Frenchman should have a dispute with an American, the Frenchman should be punished, whether he was in the right or in the wrong, and this rule was strictly adhered to. I believe there is no example of anything similar in history." *From Mag. Hist. and Bkg., ii, No. 7, 1875.*

Peter Stephen Duponceau was born in the Isle of Rhe, France, June 3, 1760. He came to America with Baron Steuben, and assisted him in preparing his system of army discipline. He was made brevet Captain, was Secretary to R. R. Livingston, and head of foreign affairs. He studied law, and became eminent in the profession. Turning his attention to literature and science, he attained world wide distinction as a philologist. He died in Philadelphia, April 2, 1844.

DATES.	CAMPS.	DISTANCES.
Juillet.		
1 er	*Séjour,*	
2.	à Ridgebury,	15
3.	à Northcastle,	20
4 and 5.	*Séjour,*	
6.	à Phillisbury,*	22
Août.		
20.	à Northcastle,	22
21.	à Crampon,	14
22.	à Kings-Ferry,	18
23 and 24.	*Séjour,*	
25.	à Stony-Point,	5
26.	à Sufferency,†	16
27.	à Pompton,	14
28.	à Wipeny,‡	16
29.	*Séjour,*	
30.	à Ballions'-Tavern,	16
31.	à Sommerset,	17
Septembre.		
1 er	à Prince Town,	13
2.	à Trenton,	13
3.	à Lion's-Tavern,	15
4.	à Philadelphie,	15
5.	*Séjour,*	
6.	à Chester,	16
7.	à Newport,	18
8.	à Head-Ofelke,	18
9.	à Susquineah-Ferry,	16
10.	à Burk-Tavern,	14
11.	à White-March,	15
12.	à Baltimore,	12
13, 14 and 15.	*Séjour,*	
16.	à Spire ‖	16
17.	à Coath.§	18
18.	à Annapolis,	8
	Séjour jusque au 21 où on a mis à la voile dans la baie de Chésapéack pour arriver à James-Town.	

* Phillipsburg. † Sufferns. ‡ Hanover or Whippany.

‖ Spurrier's Tavern, "now the Waterloo Tavern. It was built by one of the Spurriers of Annapolis, and known by his name."—*Note to "My Campaigns," p. 130.*

§ Scott's Plantation.

DATES.	CAMPS.	DISTANCES.
Octobre.		
25.	à James-Town,	178
26.	à Williamsburgh,	6
27.	*Séjour*,	
28.	devant Yorck,	12
	Total,	756 miles.
	qui font,	252 lieues.
	TOTAL des camps,	39

At Philadelphia, the orderly conduct of the French soldiers sustained the good reputation they had acquired on their march. Among the numerous noted complimentary addresses presented to General Rochambeau, the most unique of them was one from a deputation of Friends in that city. Approaching him in the simplicity of their dress and manners, the eldest said:

"General, it is not for thy military qualities that we come to make thee this visit. We make no account of talents for war; but thou art the friend of man, and thy army lives in perfect order and discipline. It is this that leads us to pay thee our respects."

Having completed some arrangements in Philadelphia, General Washington and General Rochambeau set out for Mount Vernon, which they took in their way to the future field of action. They reached Williamsburg, the headquarters of Lafayette, September 14th, in advance of the army.

After a short rest, the troops resumed their march. On arriving at Elkton, it appeared that there was a deficiency in boats for the transportation of the troops. Those provided could convey only twelve hundred men, and were all devoted to the use of the grenadiers, chasseurs and infantry of Lauzun's legion. The main body of the army, therefore, marched to Baltimore, where it arrived September 12th, and after halting there until the 16th, continued its way to

Annapolis. Here it embarked on board the "Romulus," the frigates "Gentille," "Diligente," "Aigrette," "Iris," the "Richmond," and nine transports,—in all, fifteen vessels. The squadron set sail September 21st, and the next day anchored in Lynn Haven Bay. The day following, it set sail again, and entered the James River. On the 24th, it reached Hog's Ferry, where the troops disembarked, and marched thence to Williamsburg, which place they reached on the 26th, and there encamped.

For headquarters at Williamsburg,* General Washington occupied a mansion which belonged to the Custis family, known as the "six-chimney house." There are now no remains of the building proper, and even its exact position is not certainly known. The ground forms a portion of the garden connected with the Eastern Lunatic Asylum, but it still retains the name of the "six-chimney lot." There is still standing a small brick out-house, which was used as a kitchen by the former occupants of the mansion. There is a handsome yew tree, (which tradition declares to have been planted by Mrs. Washington's own hand), that is supposed to have stood just at the front of the house. There are also some majestic holly and cedar trees, forming—together with the remains of others—three sides of an oblong rectangle. Within this close, facing the west, once stood the noble old mansion.†

* WILLIAMSBURG IN 1781.—"Williamsburg, though considerable as the capital of Virginia, is in other respects a place of little importance. It is situated upon a plain, level piece of land, and the main street, passing through the midst of it, is more than one hundred feet in width. At one of the extremities, and fronting the street is the Capitol, or State House, a small but regular building. At the other end is the College William and Mary, established in 1692 [sic] capable of containing three hundred students. There is a library belonging to it of about three thousand volumes, and an apparatus for experimental philosophy, tolerably complete. . . . . The tumult of arms has driven from hence those who had the care of these philosophical instruments. . . . . We could meet only one military professor, of Italian extraction. . . . Williamsburg does not contain above one hundred and fifty houses.—*Chastellux's New Travels, pp. 46, 47.*

† It may be interesting to state in this connection that General Washington's honeymoon was spent in the "six-chimney house." Some years ago, a large black bottle of antique shape was unearthed near the site of the mansion, upon which was an embossed oval, within which the name I. CUSTIS was blown in the glass. The bottle was preserved and presented by Mrs. Mary Grey to the late James Custis, and it still remains in the family.—*Letter from R. A. Brock, Esq., to the author, September 14, 1879.*

From the start, a reluctance to march south during the hot season had been manifested by the northern troops. General Washington saw this, and was anxious to allay the feeling. He appears to have thought that a specie payment of dues might answer that end. He therefore wrote to the Superintendent of Finance:

"I must entreat you, if possible, to procure one month's pay in specie for the detachment under my command. Part of the troops have not been paid anything for a long time past, and have upon several occasions shown marks of great discontent. The service they are going upon is disagreeable to the northern regiments; but I make no doubt but that a *douceur* of a little hard money would put them in proper temper. If the whole sum cannot be obtained, a part of it will be better than none, as it may be distributed in proportion to the respective wants and claims of the men."

By a temporary loan from General Rochambeau, a considerable sum in hard money was obtained. Commissary Blanchard began his duties in behalf of the Marquis de St. Simon's troops under depressing circumstances. "I set to work," he says, "although without a piece of paper, or an employé, or a bag of flour at my disposal. I was completely overwhelmed. . . . . I caused ovens to be constructed, but I was in want of tools, and I had to run about much and negotiate to obtain even a hammer." But a brighter hour soon broke upon him. "Our Generals," he says, "came and deposited with me 800,000 livres in piasters, which M. de Grasse had brought for us." This money was placed in a room on the ground floor of his quarters, underneath which was a cellar. The floor being weak, in the course of the night it was broken through by the weight of the silver, and both the treasure and the servant having it in charge were precipitated into the cellar, without, however, any loss of the first or any injury to the latter.

It does not come within the design of this narrative to notice in detail the operations of Wayne, Steuben, Lafayette, and the renegade, Arnold, in Virginia; nor to describe the

movements of Greene and Cornwallis in South Carolina, which led the latter to set his face towards the north. Suffice it to say, that before the combined American and French forces had concentrated at and near Williamsburg, the British Chief, with eight thousand men, had taken possession of Yorktown and Gloucester Point, as strategic posts. The

Cornwallis

"boy," Lafayette, with less than three thousand men, he believed was now within his grasp. "The boy cannot escape me," he wrote to Sir Henry Clinton, and with his overwhelming force, the prediction seemed to be well founded. But Cornwallis, though an officer of superior military ability, soon found in the "boy" a skilled soldier, evidently his match. Lafayette was bold, yet wary. Now, he dashed impetuously forward, as though intending to engage in a

general battle; and now, he retired before the enemy, as if designing to draw him into an ambuscade. Through a spy, by the name of Morgan, of the New Jersey line, who joined the enemy, as a professed deserter from the American army, Lafayette was kept informed of the movements and inten-

THE CORNWALLIS COAT OF ARMS.

tions of the enemy, and was thereby enabled to deceive him in regard to his own. It was not long before the vision of an early possession of Virginia faded from the eyes of Cornwallis, and he proceeded to fortify the position, which proved a trap, from which he vainly attempted to escape.

The letter of Count de Grasse to Count de Barras, which accompanied the despatches announcing his purpose to ope-

rate in the Chesapeake, did not require him to form a junction with the West India squadron, but left him at liberty to undertake any other enterprise which he might think proper. The Count was disposed to make an expedition against Newfoundland, but this step being strongly disapproved by both General Washington and the Count de Rochambeau, it was given up. He then resolved to proceed with his squadron to the Chesapeake. This he did. He arrived there September 10th, bringing with him the French siege artillery, and the land forces, under M. De Choisy.

"It is probable, likewise, that some degree of personal feeling had its influence on the wishes of Count de Barras. In the Council of War, which was held some time before, respecting the removal of the fleet to Boston, after a debate indicating a little warmth among the officers, Count de Rochambeau represents M de Barras as using the following language: 'No person is more interested than I am in the arrival of M. De Grasse in these seas. He was my junior; he has just been appointed Lieutenant-General. At the moment his approach is made known, I shall set sail to put myself under his orders. I will finish this campaign; I will never make another'"*

"Hence it appears, that the two naval commanders stood in a delicate relation to each other; and it may be presumed, that this was the reason why Count de Grasse left Count de Barras at liberty to join him or not, as he should be inclined; and also why the latter preferred a separate enterprise." †

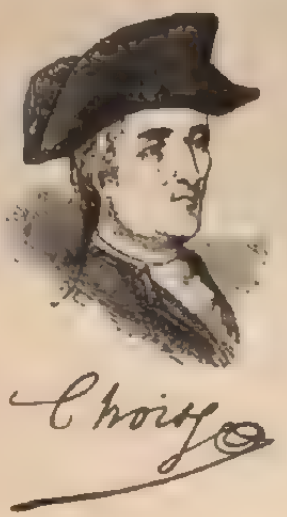
On the 31st day of August, Count De Grasse arrived in the Chesapeake with a squadron of twenty-eight ships of the line, and six frigates, having on board three thousand three hundred land troops, commanded by the Marquis de Saint Simon.‡ With the aid of boats, manned by fifteen hundred sailors from the squadron of De Grasse, they were landed at Jamestown on the 2d of September. On the 5th, Admiral Graves appeared off Chesapeake Bay. The Count de

* Rochambeau's Memoirs, I., p. 276 † Sparks.

‡ Claude Anne, Marquis de Saint Simon, was a Spanish General of superior merits, and displayed skill and bravery at Yorktown. During his services in Europe and in America he was several times wounded. He entered the service of Spain as a Marechal-de-Camp. In 1780, he was made Captain-General and a Grandee of Spain. He was born at the Castle of La Faye, France, in 1743, and died January 3, 1819.

Grasse immediately cut his cables, went out to meet him, gave battle, and gained a victory, presaging a greater soon to be obtained.* In this engagement the British ship "Terrible" was severely damaged, and unable to be kept afloat, was set on fire and destroyed.

The seasonable arrival of Count de Grasse in the Chesapeake, and his success in taking two frigates, and in driving Admiral Graves from the coast, greatly pleased General

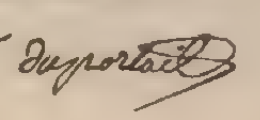


SAINT SIMON.

Washington. Immediately on his arrival at Williamsburg, he addressed a congratulatory letter to the Admiral, expressing a desire for an interview, that they might consult in

* "The French fleet lost in this affair the Sieurs de Bouzes, Captain of a man-of-war, commanding the Réflechi, Dupes d'Orvault, Lieutenant of a man-of-war, and Major of the blue squadron, Rhaab, Ensign of a man of war, a Swede, on the Caton, de la Villeon, an auxiliary officer on the Diademe; eighteen officers were wounded, and about two hundred men killed and wounded."—*Sup. Gaz. de France, November 20, 1781.*

reference to the siege. This was delivered by Count Fersen.* On the 17th of September, the General, accompanied by Generals Rochambeau and Duportail,† went for that purpose on board the "Ville de Paris," the Admiral's flag-ship, a vessel of one hundred and four guns.



* The Count Jean Axel de Fersen was born at Stockholm, September 4, 1755, and received his military education chiefly at the Academy of Turin. In the nineteenth year of his age he appeared at the French Court, where his beauty of person attracted universal attention. He was graciously received by the King and the Queen, and was the special favorite of the latter. He received the commission of Colonel in the Swedish regiment of body guard to His Majesty Louis XVI. In consequence of the deportment of the Queen towards him, the tongue of scandal was set in motion. Count Fersen was discreet above his years, and cherishing a tender regard for Her Majesty's reputation, and fearing that in her youthful thoughtlessness she might expose herself to further adverse criticism, he decided to go to America with General Rochambeau. He became a member of the General's military family, and his knowledge of the English language rendered his services, as an interpreter, highly valuable. His letters addressed to his father, from Newport, indicate that the unfavorable side of American character had not escaped his attention, and he speaks of the people as covetous, and in their dealings fleecing the French "without compensation." "Not," he adds, "but what there are some estimable people among them, there are many who are noble and generous."

The Count fought at the siege of Yorktown, and received from Washington the badge of the Society of the Cincinnati. Trumbull introduced his portrait into his painting of the surrender of Cornwallis. On his return to Paris, he identified himself with the cause of the Bourbons, and in aiding the attempted escape of the King and the Queen to Varennes, he acted in disguise as their coachman. Had it not been for the imprudence of the King, at one time, in descending from the carriage, and at another, in showing himself at its window, his plan for saving them would undoubtedly have been successful. In 1787, the Count visited England. Being still in the Swedish service, though holding a commission in the service of France, he returned, in 1788, to his native land, and was appointed the secret agent of Augustus to watch over his interests at the Court of Versailles. The sudden death of Christian Augustus awakened the unjust suspicion that Fersen had poisoned him, and June 10, 1810, while assisting at the funeral of the young King, he was assailed by a mob and cruelly murdered. The Count kept a journal from 1780 to 1791, which unfortunately was destroyed by the friend to whose care it was confided, on the eve of his flight to Varennes.

He was one of those heroic and faithful men to whom could be applied, in its full meaning, the motto, *sans peur et sans reproche*. An interesting memoir of him, prepared by his nephew, Baron Klinckowström, was published a few years ago.

† Chevalier Louis Lebegue Duportail was of French birth. He received a military education in France, and became an accomplished engineer. He came to America during the War of Independence, and in 1777 was appointed a Brigadier General. He was Commandant of the corps of engineers at the siege of Yorktown, and received the particular commendation of General Washington for his skill and bravery. In recognition of his services, Congress commissioned him a Major General. On his return to France, he was made a Marechal de Camp, and afterwards Minister of War. In the troublous times of 1792, he returned to America, from whence he was recalled by events of the eighteenth Brumaire. He died on his passage home.

"On the American Chief's reaching the quarter deck, the Admiral flew to embrace him, imprinting the French salute upon each cheek. Hugging him in his arms, he exclaimed, '*My dear little general!*' De Grasse was of lofty stature; but the term *petit*, or small, when applied to the majestic and commanding person of Washington, produced an effect upon the risi-

H Knox

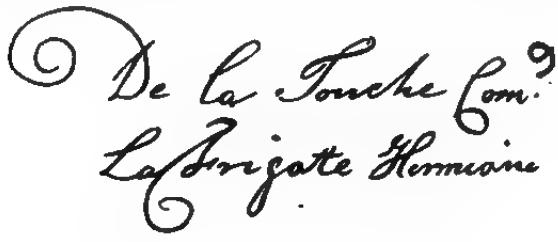
ble faculties of all present not to be described. The Frenchmen, governed by the rigid etiquette of the *ancien regime*, controlled their mirth as best they could; but our own jolly Knox, regardless of all rules, laughed, and that aloud, till his fat sides shook again." *

The fleet of Count de Grasse comprised the following vessels:

* Custis's Recollections, p. 230.

VESSELS.	NO. GUNS.	CAPTAINS.
Ville de Paris,	104	De Grasse, Lieutenant-General. De Vaugirault, Major de l'Armée.
Auguste,	80	De Bougainville, Chef d'Escadre. Castellan.
Languedoc,	80	De Monteil, Chef d'Escadre. Duplessis Parscau.
Sceptre,	80	De Vaudreuil.
Saint Esprit,	IIII	De Chabert.
César,	74	Coriolis d'Espinouse.
Destin,	74	Dumaitz de Goimpy.
Victoire,	74	D'Albert Saint-Hyppolite.
Northumberland,	74	De Briqueville.
Palmier,	74	D'Arros d'Argelos.
Pluton,	74	D'Albert de Rions.
Marseillais,	74	De Castellane de Masjastre.
Bourgogne,	74	De Charitte.
Réfléchi,	74	Cillart de Suville.
Diadème,	74	De Montecler.
Caton,	74	De Framond.
Citoyen,	74	D'Ethy.
Scipion,	74	De Clavel.
Magnanime,	74	Le Bègue.
Hercule,	74	De Turpin de Breuil.
Zélé,	74	De Gras Préville.
Hector,	74	Renaud d'Aleins.
Souverain,	74	De Glanedevés.
Glorieux,	74	D'Escars.
Vaillant,	70	Chevalier Bernard de Marigny.
Solitaire,	64	De Cicé Champion.
Triton,	64	Brun de Boades.
Experiment,	50	

The fleet of Admiral de Barras numbered fourteen vessels, —with a few exceptions the same that M. Destouches had commanded and turned over to him. Among these was the



"Hermione," Captain De la Touche, which had gained an honorable reputation.

The approach of Washington and Rochambeau to Williamsburg, and the reception given them on their arrival, are thus related by Colonel Richard Butler:

"1781.

"September 14th. About 8 o'clock an express arrived, announcing the approach of our great and good Commander-in-Chief, General Washington, and the Count de Rochambeau, the commander of the allied armies of France, now joining. At 4 P. M., the guns fired a royal salute, as the General approached the camp, on which the two armies turned out on their battalion parades. His Excellency and the Count de Rochambeau, with their suites, attended by the Marquis de Lafayette, Major-General and commander of the American, and Major-General Marquis de St. Simon, commander of the allied army, (lately arrived,) and all their suites, visited the allied army first, and then the American army, and were saluted according to custom. These ceremonies finished, the whole of the officers of the French army attended at the Marquis de St. Simon's quarters, and were introduced to the *Illustrious Hero*. The field officers of the American army all attended to bid him and the other Generals welcome. These ceremonies over, an elegant supper was served up, and the following great personages supped together, in the utmost harmony and happiness, viz.: His Excellency the Count de Rochambeau, commander of the allied army; Major-General Marquis de Lafayette, commander of the army in Virginia; Major-General Marquis de St. Simon, commander of the allied army in Virginia; Major-General Baron de Steuben, Inspector-General of the American army; Count Damas, (an officer of distinction in the French Guards, and one of the aides of Rochambeau); Count de Damas, another of his aides; Count ———, aide to Marquis de St. Simon; Brigadier-General Hand, Adjutant-General of the American army; Colonels Butler and Stewart, of Pennsylvania; Colonel Trumbull, His Excellency's Secretary; Colonel Cobb, one of his aides; Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, another of his aides; with a number of other officers; also Colonel ———, commanding the Regiment Gatinais, and many other Colonels and Lieutenant-Colonels, and other officers of the allied army. To add to the happiness of the event and evening, an elegant band of music played an introductive part of a French opera, signifying the happiness of the family, when blessed with the presence of their father, and their great dependence upon him. About 10 o'clock the company rose up, and after mutual congratulations and the greatest expression of joy, they separated."*

* Butler's Journal. Colonel Richard Butler, who commanded a Pennsylvania regiment before Yorktown, and Colonel Stewart, also of Pennsylvania, were the first two American officers that received "and took the Marquis de St. Simon and all of his officers by the hand, as they landed at Colonel Burrill's on the beach."

With no less warmth than that shown by General Washington did the patriotic Governor of Virginia, Thomas Nelson, Jr., welcome the Count de Grasse* and the land re-enforcements brought by him. While the troops were being landed at Jamestown, he addressed a letter to the Count, congratulating him on his safe arrival, and acknowledging "this signal proof of the attention of our great and generous ally." He said:

"An armament so powerful and competent to every purpose, will not only give a fortunate turn to our military operations, but will convince the incredulous and disaffected who may still lurk amongst us, that His Most Christian Majesty is both sincerely determined, and fully able, to

* Francis Joseph Paul de Grasse-Rouville, Count de Grasse, Marquis de Tilly, son of François de Grasse-Rouville, Marquis de Grasse, a Captain in the army, was born in 1723. He entered the French navy, and in 1775 was Captain of the "Robuste, 74," in which vessel he took part in the engagement off Ouessant in July, 1778. In 1779, he was Commodore of four ships of the line in active service. He was with D'Estaing in the campaign against Grenada and in the siege of Savannah. He afterwards distinguished himself in the West Indies, 1780. The King raised him to the rank of Admiral, and gave him the command of the West India fleet, which had been under D'Estaing and Guichen,—an act that awakened ill-feeling towards him in many naval officers. One account says, that he obtained this command "by his intrigues at court," while another states, that he reluctantly accepted it, and did so only when "the King insisted on being obeyed." After the capture of Yorktown, de Grasse was engaged in various naval operations until captured by Admiral Rodney, April 12, 1782. From this time he fell into disfavor with the King, and though exonerated from blame for the results of that action, he never again engaged in active service. He died January 11, 1788. A French maritime historian (Guérin) says of him, "Brave and good as a Captain of a ship, the Count de Grasse was an embarrassing Commodore, and a still more ill-starred Admiral." Washington, in a letter to Count de Rochambeau, speaks of him as "our gallant conqueror in the capture of Cornwallis," and as one whose name "will be long deservedly dear to this country, on account of his successful cooperation in the former campaign of 1781."

Count de Grasse was married three times. By his first wife, he had six children, who, during the French Revolution, came as exiles to the United States. Of the daughters, who lived for a time in Salem, Mass., the late Rev. William Bentley, D. D., pastor of the East Church in that town, made in his diary the following record:

"1795, Feb. 25. Wrote a certificate for the daughters of Count de Grasse, named Amelia Maxima Rosalia Grasse, Justina Adelaïs Maxima Grasse, Melanina Veronica Maxima Grasse, Sylvia Alexandrina Maxima Grasse. They arrived from France at Boston July 7, 1794, and have since lived at this Town, chiefly at Robertson's, and lately at Col. Pickman's House adjoining to his mansion. They have behaved well."

His eldest son, Alexander François Auguste Rouville, Count de Grasse, Marquis de Tilly, was made, by the government, Engineer of Georgia and the Carolinas, while upon his sisters was settled a pension of $10,000 a year, "a fitting return to the family of one who mortgaged his private estates to enable him to carry to Washington the money needed for the army." *Introduction to Coussencourt's Journal, p. 25.*

The youngest sister, Sylvia, was married to M. Francis de Pan, and died in New York, January 5, 1855, aged eighty-three years, leaving two sons and five daughters.

support the American United States in vindicating their rights and maintaining their independence. It will be my greatest happiness to contribute every thing in my power towards the speedy and successful accomplishment of the object we have in view, and to render the service in this State agreeable to the officers and men of His Most Christian Majesty's fleet and army." *

Both before and after the arrival of the continental and French troops under Washington and Rochambeau, great difficulty was experienced in procuring provisions in sufficient quantities to supply the daily needs of so large a body of men. This is shown by letters written by the Governor to various officials, urging them to exert themselves to the utmost, "to provide forage or provisions for the army." In aid of this object, he issued a proclamation, "laying an embargo on provisions, viz.: on all beef, pork, bacon, wheat, Indian corn, pease, or other grain, or flour, or meal, made of the same," and prohibiting "all mariners, masters and commanders of vessels, and all persons whatsoever within this State† from loading on board any vessel for exportation, and from exporting all or any of the above species of provisions, by land or by water," under penalties, until the aforesaid should be repealed.‡

Under date of "Williamsburg, September 14, 1781, 6 o'clock, P. M.," the Governor wrote to the Honorable D. Jameson:

"His Excellency General Washington arrived here about two hours ago. The first division of his army is coming down the bay, and may be expected every moment. A very little time will now determine the fate of York, and with it probably that of the continent. But what exertions will it require to subsist properly so great an army? I feel the utmost anxiety on this account, and cannot forbear, though I am persuaded it is needless, pressing you to urge the greatest and most unremitted activity and industry on every officer within your reach, whose business it is to pro-

* "In all human probability, Lord Cornwallis has nearly finished his career, and will shortly receive his reward."—*Nelson to Governor Lee.*

"This movement, in all human probability, ensures us success in this quarter."—*Nelson to General Greene.*

† Virginia. ‡ Pub. Va. Hist. Soc., New Series, No. I, 1874, p. 19.

vide forage or provisions for the army. Beef, flour, corn, and the means of transportation, should be the principal objects of attention and the country cannot censure any encouragement which is given to those who will lend their aid on this occasion."

To several others he wrote with great earnestness:

"The very large supply of provisions necessary for the armament lately arrived, and for the troops expected from the northward, require the most vigorous and unremitting exertions."

"I beg that you will have all the flour you can procure at Port Royall, or in any part of Caroline or the adjacent country, sent in vessels round into Plankatank with all possible despatch."

"The great want of flour and meal in the army requires that every possible measure be adopted to procure supplies, and that persons of influence and activity engage in this business."

"I arrived yesterday in camp, and found the greatest distress prevailing for want of flour and meal."

The Admiral evinced a disposition to co-operate to the extent of his power. It appears, however, that from naval considerations, he subsequently proposed to leave six vessels in support of the land forces, and to employ the rest of his fleet at sea, where he might meet the enemy's naval armament at more advantage in any attempt on his part to force an entrance of the passage, to succor Cornwallis. The intelligence that the British Admiral Digby had just arrived at New York, with six ships, rendered this movement, in the judgment of Washington and Rochambeau, unwise; and through the intervention of Lafayette, it was abandoned by the French Admiral, who "agreed to remain within the Capes, and blockade the Bay during the siege."*

* Operations of the French Fleet, pp. 187-189.

YORKTOWN.

YORKTOWN is pleasantly situated on a high bluff of stone marl, on the south side of York River, about twelve miles from its entrance into the Chesapeake Bay, and is the shire town of York county. It is twelve miles from Williamsburg, thirty-three from Norfolk, and seventy from Richmond. The town was settled in 1705, and as a port of entry, it was for many years a place of business importance. A Custom House is still maintained here, but for want of facilities for communicating with the interior country, business has mostly been withdrawn to ports more favorably situated. The principal street of the town is about one fourth of a mile in length. Conspicuous among the buildings is the brick mansion, once the home of Governor Thomas Nelson, Jr. He was a large land-holder. The mansion is in the English style of 1713, with corners of hewn stone. It has four rooms on a floor, with large halls between. The adjacent out-buildings, occupied by servants, must have given to the premises, in their best days, a decidedly aristocratic appearance. Another relic of interest is the original brick Custom House building, at present occupied as a grocery store. Its unique architecture will at once attract the eye of a stranger, but to what order it belongs, he may find it difficult to determine. Two other buildings worthy of note are a brick Court House, and a small Episcopal Church, built, in 1848, on the site of the original house of worship, erected in 1705.* It stands upon a high bluff, and within an enclosed

*This is the date given by a credible authority. Stevens' "Yorktown Centennial Hand book" says, the church was erected in 1696. The same authority says it was burned in 1844, and rebuilt in 1848. "During the late war, the floor and roof were torn up, but owing to the efforts of Mr Aspinwall, the church has been repaired."

"God's acre," from which an extensive and a picturesque prospect is obtained. In this ground are the tombs of several persons once eminent and influential in local and State affairs. Here, also, are the tombs of Thomas Nelson, Secretary of the ancient Virginia Council, and of his son William, President of the same body. The Nelson tombs are elaborately ornamented, one with the family arms in *bas-relief*. That of Secretary Nelson bears a Latin inscription. Near by, in an unmarked grave, lie the remains of General [Governor] Thomas Nelson, Jr., of whom mention has already been made, and concerning whom more will hereafter be said.

When I visited this spot, in 1881, the several tombs and graves within the enclosure showed signs of previous neglect, of the effects of war, and of the vandalism of relic hunters.

The plateau on which Yorktown stands is hemmed in by deep ravines, with Wormley Creek on the east, and on the west by an inlet, into which flows a small stream. Beyond the ravines and the swampy land, which take a semi-circular form, lies the "Temple Farm," receiving its name from a temple for worship, anciently built upon it, of which few relics remain. The farm consists of five hundred acres. The land is level, and the soil is light. On its northern border, not far from the York river, stands the historic "Moore House,"—a neat cottage, with dormer windows.

In 1781, Yorktown contained about sixty dwellings, with a population not exceeding four hundred. In 1881, the houses numbered about forty, and the inhabitants were estimated to be not far from three hundred. A recent plan for opening railroad connections with Richmond, and with other parts of the State, will serve, it is thought, if carried into effect, to revive trade, and to attract enterprise and capital within its precincts.

THE SIEGE.

CORNWALLIS OCCUPIES YORKTOWN AND GLOUCESTER — WASHINGTON AT WILLIAMSBURG — THE AMERICAN AND FRENCH ARMIES INVEST YORKTOWN — MILITARY TALENT PLAN OF THE SIEGE. — SIEGE OPENED. — THE NELSON MANSION SHELLED. — CORNWALLIS DRIVEN FROM HIS QUARTERS. — THE CORNWALLIS CAVE. — WASHINGTON'S FIRST NIGHT AT THE FRONT. HOSPITALS. — SORTIE. — ANECDOTE OF STEUBEN. REDOUBTS STORMED. — SKETCH OF GENERAL NELSON. ASSAULT OF THE ENEMY'S WORKS. CAPTAIN OLNEY WOUNDED.

WHEN Cornwallis evacuated Portsmouth, on the 24th of September, 1781, to occupy Yorktown, as a more tenable position, he anticipated an early assault upon his post, and commenced at once to fortify it.* "His line of works, which completely surrounded the village of Yorktown, consisted of seven redoubts and six batteries on the land side, connected by entrenchments; a line of batteries on the river bank, commanding the channel; seven redoubts on the outworks, and some field works at a communicating distance to impede the approach of the enemy. A line of intrenchments was also extended across the peninsula in the rear of Gloucester." It was a striking coincidence, that, in the "Great Rebellion" of 1861–65, eighty-one years after, General Magruder, regarding Yorktown as an important strategic point, should have fortified it in a similar manner; in some instances rebuilding the remains of the defences thrown up by Cornwallis. But, as in the case of the British Commander-in-Chief, he was unable successfully to hold the positions against the forces of besiegers.

*Ante, p. 405.

When General Greene had been informed of the situation of his Lordship, at Yorktown, he wrote to Baron Steuben: "Nothing can save Cornwallis but a rapid retreat through North Carolina to Charleston." Cornwallis was evidently sensible of his precarious condition, and wrote to Sir Henry Clinton: "If I had no hopes of relief, I would rather risk an action, than defend my half-finished works. But as you say Admiral Digby is hourly expected, and have promised exertions to assist me, I do not think myself justifiable in putting the fate of the war upon so desperate an attempt."

The Philadelphia Freemason's Journal of October 11, 1781, published the following amusing versification of the supposed contents of His Lordship's communication to Sir Henry, under the title of

"AN EPISTLE FROM LORD CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON."

"From clouds of smoke and flames that round me glow,
To you, dear Clinton, I disclose my woe;
Here cannons flash, bombs glance, and bullets fly;
Not Satan's self endures such misery.
Was I fore-doomed, like Korah, to expire,
Hurl'd to perdition in a blaze of fire?
With these blue flames can mortal man contend?
What arms can aid me, or what walls defend?
Even to these gates last night a phantom strode,
And trailed me, trembling, to his dark abode;
Aghast I stood, struck motionless and dumb,
Seized with the horrors of the world to come.
Were but my power as mighty as my rage,
Far different battles would Cornwallis wage:
Beneath his sword yon threatening hosts should groan,
The earth should quake with thunders all his own;
O crocodile! had I thy flinty hide,
Swords to defy, and glance thy balls aside,
By my own powers would I rout the foe,
With my own javelin would I work their woe;
But fate is averse, and heaven's supreme decree
Hell's serpent formed more excellent than me
Has heaven in secret, for some crime decreed,
That I should suffer and my soldiers bleed?
Or is it by the jealous skies concealed,

That I must bend, and they ignoble yield?
Ah! no,— the thought o'erwhelms my soul with grief,—
Come, bold Sir Harry, come to my relief;
Come thou, brave man, whom rebel's tombstones call
But Briton's graves, — come Digby, devil and all;
Come friendly William with thy potent aid,
Can George's blood by Frenchmen be dismayed?
From a King's *brother* once Scots rebels run,
And shall not these be routed by a *son?*
Come with your ships to this disastrous shore,
Come, or I sink, — and sink to rise no more,
By every motive that can sway the brave,
Haste, and my feeble, fainting army save;
Come, and lost empire o'er the deep regain,
Chastise these upstarts that usurp the main;
I see their first rates to the charge advance,
I see lost Iris wears the flags of France;
There a strict rule the wakeful Frenchman keeps;
There, undisturbed by dogs, Lord Rawdon sleeps!
Tir'd with long acting on this bloody stage,
Sick of the follies, of a wrangling age,—
Come with your fleet, and help me to retire
To Britain's coast, the land of my desire,—
For me the foe their certain captive deem,
And every school-boy takes me for his theme,—
Long, much too long, has this hard service tryed,
Bespattered still, bedevil'd and bely'd,
With the first chance that favoring fortune sends
I'll fly, converted, from this land of fiends;
Then, like Burgoyne, as fortunate at least,
Slip on the surplice, and be dabbed a priest."

Baron Steuben wrote: "Cornwallis is fortifying himself like a brave General who must fall; but I think he will fall with honor."

The British General withdrew from his outer-works, and retired within the town. This was thought to be an indication of his intention to abandon Yorktown, and to escape by the way of West Point. But whatever may have been his ulterior design, he was restrained from making the attempt by the expectation of early succor. In this expectation he was doomed to disappointment. The hoped for supports failed to reach him.

When Washington arrived at Williamsburg, he was received (no doubt with warmth) by Lafayette at his headquarters. Here M. Blanchard found him, with the Chevalier de Chastellux, and General Rochambeau, all of whom had reached the town in advance of the army. According to the authority of R. A. Brock, Esq., who has carefully investigated the subject, Washington's headquarters were in the "six-chimney house," now the site of the Eastern Lunatic Asylum.* The "Yorktown Centennial Handbook" assigns "the Wythe house," standing on the Palace Green, as his quarters.† The two statements may be reconciled on the supposition, that Lafayette made the Wythe house his headquarters, and there received Washington; and that afterwards, Washington went to the six-chimney house, and remained there until his army moved.

Two days at Williamsburg, for rest, sufficed the American and French troops. On the 27th of September, Washington issued an order of battle, and on the 28th, the entire combined army was put in motion, to test its strength with Cornwallis, at Yorktown.—Washington being in supreme command. The troops, 15,000 or 16,000 in number, were in good heart, while in their commanders was concentrated an array of military talent never before seen in America, and in an army of similar numbers, never since excelled. Prominent among the French allies, under General Rochambeau, were the brothers Viomesnil, the brothers Deux-Ponts, the Duke de Lauzun, the Chevalier de la Meth, the Marquis de Custine,‡ the Chevalier de Chastellux, Count Dillon,

*Ante, p. 403. † Handbook, p. 92.

‡ Adam Philipe, Count de Custine, was born in Metz February 4, 1740. He entered the French army, and obtained distinction in the Seven Years' War. He came to America with Rochambeau, in command of the regiment of Saintonge. He served with honor in the siege of Yorktown, and returning to France, in 1782, received the appointment of Marechal de Camp. Though of noble birth, he joined the revolutionary party, and was appointed Governor of Toulon, and afterwards elected Deputy to the States-General by the nobility of Lorraine. From his relations to this class, he became an object of suspicion to the Republican masses. In 1792, he was made Commander in Chief of the French army on the Lower Rhine, and subsequently had command of the northern army. Hostility to him was sleepless, and accused of treason, he was condemned to death, and August 29, 1793, was guillotined, declaring to the last his loyalty to the principles he espoused. [*Nouv. Am. Ency. The Ency. Americana fixes the decapitation on the 27th Aug.*] A few months after, his son experienced a similar doom.

Count Fersen, Count Damas, M. de Choisy, General Weedon, Count Dumas, Marquis de St. Maime, Viscount de Noailles, M. Desandrouins, the Marquis de Laval Montmorenci, the Marquis de St. Simon, M. Fleury, Viscount Charlus, M. De Béville, M. Berthier, M. d'Aboville, M. de Querenet, Baron de Closen, and a score of others not less distinguished.

In the American army, commanded by Washington, were Lafayette, Lincoln, Steuben, Clinton, Knox, Hamilton, Williams, Muhlenberg, Governor Nelson, Hand, Dearborn, Huntington, Wayne, Gimat, M. Duportail, Trumbull, Gaskins, Gist, Pickering, Stewart, Scammell, (murdered by the enemy,) Fish, Galvan, Alexander, Tilghman, Cobb, Dabney, Gibbs, Lamb, Laurens, Adams, Roxburgh, Stevens, Hazen, Humphreys, Lieutenant-Colonel Olney, and many others equally brave and competent.

The combined forces commenced their march in single column. They advanced to within about four miles of Yorktown, where the road divided, each branch leading to the scene of future action. Here the two armies separated, the American taking the right, and the French the left. On the night of the 30th of September, Yorktown was completely invested. The line extended in a semi-circle to the distance of two miles from the enemy's works, each wing resting upon the York river. The disposition of the troops was as follows:

FRENCH.

Left.—On the French extreme left were the regiments of Gatinois, Touraine and Agénois, comprising about 3 200 officers and men, under the Marquis de St. Simon. Next, on the right of these (*left centre*), were the regiments of Saintonge and Soissonnois, under Vicomte Viomesnil; and those of Deux-Ponts and Bourbonnois, under the Baron Viomesnil; in all, about 2,000 officers and men.

Centre.—In the rear of all the other troops were the French artillery, under Adjutant General, the Count de Deux-Ponts, and the American Artillery, under General Knox, consisting of about 200 men. In the rear

of these were the headquarters of Rochambeau and Washington, the former slightly advanced.

AMERICANS.

Right Centre. – The first division of the continental army, under General Baron Steuben, composed of the first brigade, General Wayne, comprising two Pennsylvania and two Maryland regiments, and one regiment from Virginia, five in all.

Right. – Light infantry corps, known as the second division, under General Lafayette. This was made up of General Muhlenberg's brigade, comprising a Massachusetts battalion, under Colonel Vose, a battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Gimat, and a New Jersey battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel Barber; the second brigade, General Hazen, comprising a Connecticut battalion, under Colonel Huntington, a New York battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, a South Carolina battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens, and Hazen's old Canadian regiment.

Extreme Right. – The third division, under General Lincoln, comprising New York and Rhode Island regiments, two New Jersey battalions, and Virginia militia.

But the plan* on page 424, with accompanying explanations, will perhaps give the reader a clearer understanding of the exact position of the troops.

* This plan is a reduced copy of the original, contained in a collection of maps, engraved by Francis Shallus, as published in Philadelphia in 1807, by C. P. Wayne, to accompany "Marshall's Life of Washington." Several other plans of the siege, American, French, and English have been published, all of which agree in the positions assigned to the American and French troops. The most elaborate of these, in artistic finish, is one prepared from actual surveys, a few days after the surrender, by Major Sebastian Bauman, of Colonel Lamb's New York second regiment of artillery. Impressions from the original plate are rare. One is preserved in the collections of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. The New York and Pennsylvania Historical societies each possess a copy. The Magazine of American History, for October, 1881, contains a plan of "The Siege of Yorktown, 178 , compiled from the Faden, (London, 1781,) and the Renault, (American, 1781, maps, by Lieutenant L. V. Cazeare, second artillery, 1881." Renault's plan was inscribed to Lafayette. Bauman's was dedicated to Washington. The former was evidently compiled from the latter.

In the Magazine of American History for June, 1880, is published a neatly drawn "Plan d'York en Virginie, avec les attaques & les campemens des armées, combinées de France & de l'Amerique." It is an illustration of an anonymous manuscript "Diary of a French Officer," believed to be the Baron Cromot du Bourg. The manuscript was found in Paris, and purchased by the late C. Fiske Harris, Esq., of Providence, R. I. Mr. Harris courteously granted to the author the free use of this manuscript.

* In 1781, William Faden published in London a plan of the entrance of Chesapeake Bay, with James and York rivers, drawn by "an officer," (probably French,) showing the position of the British forces at Yorktown and Gloucester, the position of the American and French forces under General Washington, and the position of the French fleet under Count de Grasse.

EXPLANATIONS

M.—Moore's House.
F. D.—French Depot.
P. Q.—Pigeon Quarter.
P. H.—Pigeon Hill.
G. G.—Grand Guard.
Te.—Tourraine.
Gs.—Gatensols.
As.—Agenois.
S. S.—St. Simon.
G.—Guard.
Sa.—Saintonge.
So.—Soissonnois.
R. P.—Royal Deux Ponts.
Bs.—Bourbonnois.
B. V.—Baron Viomesnil.
F. P.—Field where British laid down their arms.
F. A.—French Artillery.
A. G.—Adjutant General.
Va.—Virginia.
Md.—Maryland.
Pa.—Pennsylvania.
A. A.—American Artillery.
Ar.—Artillerists.
La.—Laboratory.
Ma.—Magazine.
G. N.—General Knox.
G. Ne.—General Nelson.
R. I.—Rhode Island.
N. J.—New Jersey.
N. Y.—New York.
G. L.—General Lincoln.
A. H.—American Hospital.
F. H.—French Hospital.
Q. M.—Quartermaster-General.

The siege was conducted with great vigor and precision. The orders of Baron Steuben,* issued to the American troops, were promptly obeyed. The French forces were equally energetic. Both Americans and allies were incessant in the work of opening entrenchments, while redoubts were quickly built, and parallels were rapidly advanced. Under the cover of night, the men, with pickaxes and spades, marched noiselessly to the posts of labor, and in the morning, as if by magic, there appeared to the anxious eye of the British Commander-in-Chief, and to the astonished gaze of his subordinates, a new evidence of power and skill.

On the 6th of October, trenches were opened, and the first parallel was established within six hundred yards of the enemy's works, with the loss of one officer of the French artillery wounded, and of sixteen privates, killed or wounded. On the 11th of October, the second parallel was opened within three hundred yards of the enemy's works. In this movement, one man was killed and three or four men were wounded.

* Frederick William, Baron de Steuben, was born at Magdeburg, Prussia, November 15, 1730. At the early age of fourteen years, he entered the army as a volunteer under his father, an officer of Frederick the Great. He became an aide-de-camp of that Monarch, and held the rank of Lieutenant-General. At a great sacrifice of station and emoluments, present and prospective, in the Prussian army, he came, in 1777, to America, and offered his services as a volunteer in the American cause. In 1778, he was appointed by Congress Inspector-General of the army, with the rank of Major-General, and rendered an invaluable service by the preparation and introduction of the Prussian system of military tactics. (*Ante, p. 150*). He was with Washington at Valley Forge, and fought in the battle of Monmouth. He displayed bravery and skill at the siege of Yorktown. He was punctilious in the observance of military proprieties, and plain in the expression of his opinions and feelings when under excitement. Under what at times seemed a stern exterior, he possessed a tender and generous heart. The Baron, in common with other officers, suffered much privation in consequence of the depreciated value of continental currency, and at the close of the war, he left the army poor. His military services were appreciated, and provision was made for his future. The State of New Jersey gave him a small farm, the legislature of New York presented him with sixteen thousand acres of wild land in Oneida county, and Congress granted him an annuity of $2,500. He settled on his wild land, and gave a tenth part to his aids, North, Popham and Walker, and to his servants. He parcelled out the rest to twenty or thirty tenants. He died at his home in Steubenville, N. Y., November 28, 1794. A Life of the Baron, by F. Bowen, was published in Sparks' American Biography. Another Life, by Friedrich Kapp, was published in New York, in 1859. In Dr. James Thatcher's Military Journal may be seen an interesting sketch of the Baron, replete with characteristic anecdotes of him.

At the commencement of the siege, the batteries being in readiness to open fire upon the enemy, it is said that Washington discharged the first gun. It is also stated that before

Thos Nelson jr.

doing so, he turned to Governor Nelson and inquired, "At what object shall this gun be aimed?" Pointing to his own dwelling, which Cornwallis was understood to have made his quarters, he replied, "There is my house; aim at that." Then turning to the gunner, he said, "For every shot you

cause to hit that house, I will give you five guineas."* This statement I received as authentic, while I was in Yorktown

* Thomas Nelson, Jr., was the eldest son of of "President" William Nelson, and was born at Yorktown, December 26, 1738. After having been under the tuition of the Rev. William Yates, of Gloucester, afterwards President of William and Mary College, he was sent, at the age of fourteen, to England, to finish his education, remaining seven years.

Thomas was first at the school of Dr. Newcome, at Hackney, then at Eton, graduating with distinction at Trinity College, Cambridge, and returning to Virginia in his twenty-second year. Whilst on the voyage, in respect to his father, he was elected a member of the House of Burgesses. He married, in 1762, Lucy Grymes, daughter of Philip and Mary (Randolph) Grymes, of Middlesex. He was associated in business with his father, from whom at the death of the latter he received a portion of £40,000.

He was a member of the Virginia Conventions of 1774 and 1775, and displayed extraordinary boldness in resisting British tyranny. He was elected by the Convention in July, 1775, Colonel of the Second Virginia Regiment, which post he resigned on being elected to the Continental Congress the same year. He was a conspicuous member of the Convention of 1776, which framed the Constitution of Virginia. He was a member of the Committee on Articles of Confederation, and July 4, 1776, signed the Declaration of Independence. Restless for active service in the field, he resigned his seat in Congress, May, 1777, and in August following was appointed Commander-in-chief of the State forces of Virginia. He soon after raised a troop of cavalry with which he repaired to Philadelphia. Resuming his duties in the Virginia Legislature, he strongly opposed the proposition to sequestrate British property, on the ground that it would be an unjust retaliation of public wrongs on private individuals. He was again elected to Congress in February, 1779, but was obliged by indisposition to resign his seat. In May, he was called upon to organize the State militia, and repel an invading expedition of the enemy. A loan of $2,000,000 being called for by Virginia, in June, 1780, and in that period of despondency and distrust being difficult to obtain, General Nelson, by strenuous endeavors and on his own personal security, raised a large portion of the amount. He also advanced money to pay two Virginia regiments ordered to the South, which refused to march until arrearages due them were paid.

In the then critical aspect of affairs, upon the resignation of Governor Jefferson, a military executive being deemed a necessity, General Nelson was, June 12, 1781, elected to succeed him, opposing in person with what militia he could command, with sleepless vigilance and untiring energy the enemy who were ravaging the State; anticipating the wants of the service with singular comprehensive foresight and a provision wonderful, in view of the difficulties which beset him. He repulsed, at Burwell's Ferry, the traitor Arnold, on his marauding expedition and gave him pursuit.

The success of Governor Nelson in organizing, equipping and providing was largely furthered by the ability and zeal of Colonel William Davies, (a son of the pious Samuel Davies, known as "the Apostle of Presbyterianism in Virginia,") who filled the office of "Commissioner of War" for the State, a post which combined a province and scope of duties analogous to those of a Secretary of War and of Navy severally.

General Nelson aided in the reduction of Yorktown, where he was in command of 5,000 militia, raised in the lower counties. His services were highly commended by General Washington in general orders dated October 20, 1781. His term as Governor expired by provision soon after,—in November. Being broken in health, he then retired from public service, spending his remaining days at his seat, Offley, in Hanover county. Here he was visited by the Marquis de Chastellux, who describes the residence as a small wooden building, and expressed himself as charmed with the simple piety, purity, and refinement of its family circle. Here, too, General Nelson breathed his last, January 4, 1789, leaving as a legacy to his family naught but an illustrious record, for his pecuniary advances for the State had impoverished him, and the claims of his remaining creditors literally beggared them. In this regard, General Nelson ranked with Robert Morris, the patriotic and self-

in 1881, from a descendant of Governor Nelson. Another version of the story substitutes Lafayette for Washington, and omits the promise of compensation to the gunner. The house was several times struck, and to this day it bears marks of the rough treatment it received.

That first fire was serious in its effects. "A party of offi-

THE GOVERNOR NELSON HOUSE, YORKTOWN, VIRGINIA.*

sacrificing financier of the Revolution, and we have no evidence that his services were ever acknowledged, pecuniarily, by either Virginia or the general government, by land grant or pension.

A fort built at Louisville, Kentucky, in 1782, was named Fort Nelson, in honor of General Nelson. His statue in bronze is one of the six which adorn the Washington monument in the public square at Richmond, Virginia.

The only portrait of him for which he ever sat is preserved in the State Library of Virginia. It was painted by Chamberlain in London, 1754, whilst the subject was a student at Eton. It represents him as a handsome, ruddy cheeked, brown haired youth, with oval contour of face and a most engaging expression of countenance. This portrait was photographed, and a copy furnished me, from which the engraving shown on page 424 is reproduced.

The family arms are as follows: Per pale or. and sa. a chev. betw. three fleurs-de-lis counter changed. Crest: A fleur de lis. According to Burke (General Armoury) these arms are of London, county Wilts, and Grimston, Yorkshire.

This coffee of General Nelson is prepared from a sketch courteously furnished me by R. A. Brock, Esq., of Richmond, Va.

* From a photograph loaned the author by Miss Kate Nelson, of Yorktown, a descendant of Governor Nelson.

cers was then at dinner. The British Commissary Perkins was with them. One of the officers was an old Scotch Lieutenant, who, when the allies first invested the place, was heard to soliloquize, as he buckled on his sword: 'Come on, Maister Washington, I'm unco glad to see you. I've been offered money for my commission, but I could na think of gangin' home without a sight of you. Come on.' Poor fellow! Washington fell upon him in a way that was quite unexpected, for that first ball struck and wounded him terribly. It also wounded the Quartermaster and the Adjutant of the seventy-sixth, and killed the Commissary-General."*

The headquarters of Cornwallis were the elegant mansion of Secretary Thomas Nelson. This was one of the most conspicuous objects in the town. Retired from public life, advanced in years, afflicted with gout, and in spirit a noncombatant, Mr. Nelson continued to reside in Yorktown unmolested, and in friendly relations with the British General, until after the siege commenced. A shot having killed one of his negroes, and the accuracy of the American gunners threatening the destruction of his dwelling, he was permitted to pass out of the British lines, and to carry with him such of his personal effects as he could convey. In this way, by the assistance of his negro, Louis, the family plate was saved.

Cornwallis, finding it imprudent to remain longer in a place that had become a target for the besiegers' artillery, took new quarters out of range of its fire. Where these were located, does not appear to be known. The story of his retreating for shelter to a cavern on the river bank in the rear of his defences,—although often repeated,—is to be received as apocryphal. True, there is a cave of considerable size under the bluff, near the centre of the town, which is known as "Cornwallis' Cave," but there is no evidence that he ever occupied it as a place of safety. He was

* "Yorktown Campaign," by Henry P. Johnston, p. 138. This is a valuable work, and is cordially recommended to my readers.

too brave a soldier, and too wise a General, to have set such an example to his army. This cave is thought to have been made by the inhabitants of Yorktown, as a place in which to secrete their valuables. It is said, that there was another cave, lined with green baize, in which Cornwallis met with his officers for consultation; but no traces of it remain.

EXTEMPORIZED HEADQUARTERS.

Washington spent his first night before Yorktown in an open field, sheltered by the out-spreading branches of a mulberry tree. Around him lay an army in which he confided for the success of a vital movement. Before him, entrenched, was an army to be conquered, composed of veteran troops, commanded by one of the ablest of the British Generals. The advantage of numbers, on the one side, was offset, on the other, by large experience, by the prestige of southern victories, by a well supplied magazine, and by the cheering expectation of an early re-enforcement from New York. In the American wing of his command, there was but one general officer (Steuben) who had a practical acquaintance with the work of a siege, while the British commander and his subordinates, were at home in the science of defence. In the few days of the future was wrapped failure or triumph. Which of these would those days disclose? What would be the phase of to-morrow? Of the next day? And of the next? The anxieties of that night must have been intense, and they must have prevented, to some extent, the repose invited by the friendly shade. The spot chosen for these extemporized headquarters should be marked and held sacred, in the name of Liberty, through all future time. Pertinently has a distinguished orator recently said:

"You will agree with me my friends, that if that tree which overshadowed Washington sleeping in the open air on his way to Yorktown were standing to-day — if it had escaped the necessities and casualties of the

siege, and were not cut down for the abatis of a redoubt, or for camp-fires and cooking-fires, long ago — if it could any how be found and identified in yonder Beech Wood, or Locust Grove, or Custis Grove, — no Wellington Beech, or Napoleon Willow, no Milton or even Shakespeare Mulberry, no Oak of William the Conqueror at Windsor, or of Henri IV. at Fontainbleau, nor even those historic trees which gave refuge to the fugitive Charles II., or furnished a hiding place for the charter which he granted to Connecticut on his restoration, would be so precious and so hallowed in all American eyes and hearts to the latest generation." *

HOSPITALS.

The American wing of the army had a Hospital on the field, in the rear of General Lafayette's headquarters, the chief Physician and Surgeon being Dr. James Craik.† Among other surgeons were Dr. James Thatcher, to whom reference has several times been made in these pages, and his assistant, Dr. Æneas Munson.

The French wing also had a Hospital on the field. Physician-in-Chief, M. de Coste; Surgeon-in-Chief, M. Robillard; Superintendent of Hospitals, M. de Mars. The Hospitals on the field appear to have been used for immediate necessities. A Hospital was established at Williamsburg, to which the wounded were conveyed in ambulances. Malarial sickness extensively prevailed among the American and French troops, and on the 14th of October, there were upwards of five hundred patients in this Hospital, including twenty officers. Every thing possible was done for the comfort of both the sick and the wounded.

FRENCH ENTHUSIASM.

"The French, in this siege, seemed to become rivals to each other, and each officer envied the lot of him who was sent upon attempts of the greatest danger; they hurried away, with the curiosity which I cannot but call rashness and madness, to examine the works of the enemy, and hasten the progress of our own. Even the obscure common soldier, whose life and death are equally consigned to oblivion, strove to out-do his renowned

* Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, at Yorktown Centennial, Oct. 19, 1881.

† Ante, p. 190.

officers in these daring enterprises, and went up in defiance of the enemy to the very edges of their intrenchments. The miner with his axe in his hand, advanced with a determined step through a shower of grape shot to cut down the tree at his leisure, which perhaps shielded him from destruction. The corps of artillery so distinguished by the abilities and intrepidity of their officers, were no less so by the activity, spirit and courage of their soldiery. General Washington himself beheld the effects of this daring spirit with astonishment; a bomb or a bullet, fortunately pointed, excited in them the lively emotions of an eager huntsman, who is upon the point of seizing his prey.

"A gunner, at one of the embrasures, had his foot carried away by a bullet. I tried to console the unhappy man in the first moments of his anguish, when he gave me for an answer, 'I am less afflicted for the loss of my foot, than for being so unfortunate as not to have had time, before it happened, to discharge the cannon I had pointed with so much care.' He soon after died of his wound, and never ceased to complain till the last, of the failure he had made in firing his piece."*

Both Washington and Rochambeau made careful reconnoissances of the enemy's defences, sometimes running serious risks. Once, to settle a question of importance, Rochambeau left the trenches, descended slowly into the ravine, taking a circuitous path; and then ascending the opposite escarpment, approached the enemy's redoubt, up to the abatis that surrounded it. After having carefully observed it, he returned to the battery, not interrupted by a single shot.

"Well," said he, "the abatis and the palisades are still entire. We must redouble our fire to break them and to level the parapet. To-morrow we shall see if the pear is ripe."†

INCIDENTS.

One day, while Washington and the Rev. Mr. Evans, a Chaplain, were standing together, a shot struck the ground so near them as to cover the hat of the latter with sand. The reverend gentleman, considerably agitated, took off his hat, and said, "See here, General." The General com-

*Chastellux. †Dumas.

posedly replied, "Mr. Evans, you had better carry that home, and show it to your wife and children."

Of General Baron Steuben, this incident is related. While on duty in the trenches, in company with General Wayne,* perceiving himself in danger from a shell thrown by the enemy, he suddenly threw himself into the trench. General Wayne, in the jeopardy and hurry of the moment, fell on him. The Baron, turning his eyes, saw that it was his Brigadier. "I always knew you were brave, General," said he; "but I did not know you were so perfect in every point of duty. You cover your General's retreat in the best manner possible." †

From the beginning of the siege, the enemy occupied two redoubts about three hundred yards in advance of his principal works, which enfiladed the entrenchment of the besiegers, and impeded their approaches. These redoubts were known as "No. 9" and "No. 10,"—the latter being also called "Rock Redoubt." Upon consultation, it was decided that they should be taken by storm. To this end, the redoubt —"No. 10"—on the left of the British garrison,

* General Anthony Wayne, son of Isaac Wayne, an officer in the Indian Wars, was born in Chester county, Pennsylvania, January 1, 1745, and was educated at an academy in Philadelphia. He early enjoyed the friendship of Dr. Franklin, who secured for him an appointment as land agent in Nova Scotia. At the commencement of the Revolution, he entered the army. In 1776 was commissioned a Colonel, and in 1777, a Brigadier-General. He served under Montgomery in Canada, and was wounded at Trois Rivières. He was with Gates at Ticonderoga, and distinguished himself under Washington at Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. He served under Lafayette in Virginia, and commanded a division at Yorktown. Near Williamsburg he was accidentally wounded by one of his sentinels. His most popular notoriety was achieved in storming Stony Point. In this attack he was wounded in the head. Congress, in recognition of his services, presented him with a vote of thanks and a gold medal. His energy in action, and bursts of feeling when strongly excited, procured for him the sobriquet of "Mad Anthony."

After the fall of Yorktown, General Wayne joined General Greene in the South, defeated Colonel Browne in Georgia, May 29, 1782, and December 14th, the same year, took possession of Charleston, on its evacuation. In 1792, he succeeded General St. Clair in the North West, gained a victory over the Indians at the Maumee Rapids, and compelled them to sue for peace.

In 1784-5, he served in the Pennsylvania Assembly, and in the Convention that ratified the United States Constitution. He died at Presque Isle, December 15, 1796, "leaving behind him the reputation of one of the most distinguished and meritorious officers of the Revolution."

† Thatcher.

bordering on the banks of the river, was assigned to General Lafayette, who appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Hamilton* to lead the advance corps, to be assisted by Lieutenant-Colonel Gimat.

The redoubt —"No. 9"— on the right of the British lines, was assigned to the Baron Viomesnil,† who appointed the

BRIGADIER GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE

* "Colonel Alexander Hamilton led on the Americans, with empty muskets and fixed bayonets. When he arrived at the right redoubt, which he was to attack, he made a short but eloquent address, which was distinctly heard by the silent but deeply interested witness Washington in the grand battery. 'Did you ever hear such a speech?' remarked Lieut. D. to Dr. M. 'With such a speech I could storm ——.' Shortly after the French officer arrived with his division before the other redoubt, when he was challenged by the sentinel

"*Sentinel.*—'Who comes there?'

"*French Officer.*—'French!'

"*Sentinel.*—Mistakes it for 'friend!' and again demands, 'Who comes there?'

"*French Officer.*—'French Grenadiers and Chasseurs, *charge!*' CH-A-R-G-E!! S-H-A-R-G-E!!'

"The word 'charge' was drawled out with so much deliberation, and with such imperfect pronunciation, as to excite hearty laughter from the witnesses in the grand battery."
—*Dr. Munson's Narrative.*

† Baron Charles Du Houx Viomesnil was born in 1728, at Fanconcourt, Lorraine. He had a large military experience in Europe, and distinguished himself under Rochambeau.

Count William Deux-Ponts* to lead the storming party. That enthusiastic officer, long eager for the excitement of battle and for the glory of successful adventure, was now in his element. As his detachment moved out of the lines, those

COUNT WILLIAM DEUX PONTS.

at Yorktown. In 1781, he was made Lieutenant General, and received, in 1782, the grand cross of St. Louis. He was the warm friend of Louis XVI., and in defending him at the attack upon the Tuileries, August 10, 1792, he was mortally wounded, and died November 9, following.

The Marquis Charles Joseph Hyacinthe Du Hoax de Viomesnil was born in 1734. His military talents were highly appreciated. After serving in America as a Major-General under Rochambeau, he was appointed Governor of Martinique. In 1816, he was made a Marshal of France, and in 1817, a Marquis. He died in Paris, March 5, 1827.

* Count de Forbach, Marquis des Deux-Ponts, (Christian,) was born at Deux Ponts, October 20, 1752. He commanded the regiment bearing his name, and distinguished himself at Yorktown.

Count William de Deux Ponts, author of "My Campaigns in America," was born at Deux Ponts, June 18, 1754. He was Lieutenant Colonel in the regiment commanded by his brother. His bravery at the siege of Yorktown, in which he was wounded, was warmly commended by the Baron Viomesnil. For his gallantry on this occasion he was made a Chevalier of the Military Order of St. Louis.

A full and an interesting account of the family of Deux-Ponts, written by the Honorable Samuel A. Green, M. D., will be found in the introduction to his translation of "My Campaigns in America," to which the reader is referred.

remaining behind wished him "success and glory." "That moment," he records in his journal, "seemed to me very sweet, and was very elevating to the soul and animating to the courage." At the signal of six shells fired, he advanced in perfect silence to the assault, and was hailed by a Hessian sentinel on the parapet, who cried out "*Wer da*,"—"who goes there?" No answer being given, the enemy opened fire, and the contest soon became sharp and decisive. With the shout of "*Vive le Roi!*" the enemy was driven from the redoubt, and victory crowned the bravery of the assailants. In this assault, the French lost nearly one hundred men, in killed and wounded. Of the former was Captain M. de Barthelot. Of the latter were Captain M. de Sireuil, who had his leg broken; Lieutenant M. de Sillegue, shot through his thigh; the Chevalier de Lameth, who received a musket ball in each knee;* and Count Deux-Ponts, who was struck in the face by sand and gravel thrown up by a ball which ricochetted in the parapet. The loss of the enemy was eighteen men killed, and one Captain, two subalterns and forty-two rank and file captured.

Of this affair, Count Rochambeau relates the following incident:

"I must here make mention of a circumstance which characterizes the courage of the French grenadiers. The grenadiers of the regiment of Gatinais, which had been formed out of that of Auvergne, were to lead the attack. The moment it was decided I said to them, 'My friends, if I should want you this night, I hope you have not forgotten that we have served together in that brave regiment of Auvergne "*Sans tache*," an honorable name which it has deserved ever since its creation.' They answered that if I would promise to have their name restored to them, they would suffer themselves to be killed,—even to the last man. They kept their words, charged like lions, and lost one-third of their number . . . .

* "Balls passed through both of his knees, and he fell into the ditch. As soon as I was informed of his wound, I hastened to my friend, who was conveyed to the field hospital. The Surgeons had just declared that his life could not be saved without the amputation of both thighs. The head Surgeon, M. Robillard, rather than reduce a young officer who gave such great hopes to such a deplorable state, refused to perform the operation, and ventured to trust to nature for the cure of such dangerous wounds. The happy result fulfilled his expectations and our hopes."—*Dumas*

The King, on the report which I made of this affair, signed the ordinance which restored to this regiment the name of *Royale Auvergne*." "*Bon pour Royale Auvergne*," was His Majesty's endorsement upon Rochambeau's petition.

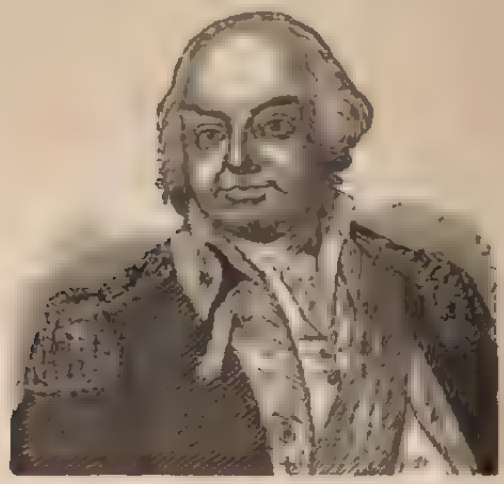
Before the American storming party moved, Washington made a brief address, admonishing the men to act the part of firm and brave soldiers. Hamilton, who led, and Gimat, Laurens, Barber, and others, who followed, showed themselves equal to the positions assigned them, and by their gallant conduct drew from Washington and Lafayette strong expressions of approbation. The assault made at the point of the bayonet was impetuous and of short duration. The enemy yielded to the prowess of the Americans, and in a few minutes the redoubt was in their possession. Colonel Campbell, the British commander, was wounded and taken prisoner, together with about thirty of his men. The remainder made their escape. The Americans had eight men killed and thirty wounded. Among the latter were Colonel Gimat, shot in the foot, Major Gibbs, and three other officers.*

In pushing this dangerous work, a friendly rivalry appears to have existed between General Lafayette and the Baron Viomesnil, as to which should soonest win the prize. Immediately upon the triumph of the former, he sent his aide, Major Barbour, to inform the latter, that he was in his redoubt, and to ask the Baron where he was. The Major found him at the abatis, waiting for it to be cleared away,—a delay that was the occasion of his heavy loss in killed and wounded.

In reply to the message delivered by the Major, the Baron said, "Tell the Marquis I am not in mine, but will be in five minutes." He kept his word.

* General Lincoln's division, from which the American "forlorn hope" was drawn, consisted of the first regiment New York, Colonel Goose Van Schaick, [illegible] men, second regiment New York, Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt, [illegible] men, first and second New Jersey regiments, (united,) Colonel Matthias Ogden, 600 men, second Rhode Island regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Jeremiah Olney, 450 men.

Washington was so deeply interested in the issue of these assaults that he could not forbear occupying a position where he could witness them. Accompanied by Generals Knox, Lincoln,* and their aides, he selected a spot for that purpose, and the party dismounted. Colonel Cobb, anxious for the safety of his General, said to him, "Sir, you are too much exposed here, had you not better step a little back?" "Colonel Cobb," replied His Excellency, "if you are afraid, you have liberty to step back."



GENERAL BENJAMIN LINCOLN

* General Benjamin Lincoln was born in Hingham, Mass., January 23, 1733, and became distinguished in military life. In an engagement in 1777 he received a severe wound, from the effects of which he never recovered. While in command at Charleston, he was besieged by a superior force under Sir Henry Clinton, and by a strong fleet under Admiral Arbuthnot, and was compelled to capitulate, but was allowed the full honors of war. After being exchanged, he joined Washington, and shared in the honors of Yorktown. He held important civil offices, being Secretary of War under Washington, Lieutenant Governor of the State of Massachusetts, and Collector of the port of Boston. Harvard University conferred upon him the honorary degree of A. M. From 1810 to May 9, 1810, the date of his death, he was President of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati. He was an early member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and also a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A memoir of General Lincoln, published in the third volume, second series, of the Society's collections, says: "In General Lincoln's character, strength

"While the attack was progressing," says Dr. Munson, "a musket ball rolled along a cannon, and fell at the feet of Washington. General Knox* seized him by the arm, and exclaimed; 'My dear General, we can't spare you yet!' Washington replied, 'It is a spent ball, and no harm is done.' When it was all over, and the redoubts were in the possession of the two parties, Washington turned to Knox and said, 'The work is done, and *well done*,' and then exclaimed to his servant, 'William, hand me my horse.'"

With the capture of these redoubts, which were at once turned upon the enemy, Washington expressed his satisfaction in a congratulatory order, commending in warm terms the conduct of the French and American detachments.

In recording the story of these important achievements, it should not be forgotten that Rhode Island has an unquestionable right to share with the French allies and with the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania, the honors of the memorable 14th of October, 1781. During the entire siege, the second Rhode Island continental regiment,—the old regiment of the brave Colonel Israel Angell, commanded by the no less brave Lieutenant-Colonel Jeremiah Olney, shared with these regiments, and with the gal-

and softness, the estimable and the amiable qualities were happily blended . . . . He was firm in his [Christian] faith, serious and affectionate in his piety, without superstition, fanaticism or austerity. He was from early years a communicant, and for a great part of his life, a deacon of the church."

* General Henry Knox, son of William and Mary Campbell Knox, was born in Boston, Mass., July 25, 1750. He established himself as a bookseller in his native town, and June 16, 1774, married Lucy Flucker, the accomplished second daughter of the Honorable Thomas Flucker, Secretary of the Province of Massachusetts. He was an able military engineer and artillery officer, and was highly esteemed by Washington, with whom he was closely connected during the Revolution. As a General of artillery, he served at Yorktown with great efficiency. Congress appointed him Secretary of War, and after retiring from public life, he settled on a large landed estate in Maine, where he died October 25, 1806, highly esteemed for his intellectual endowments, his social qualities, and his patriotic services. An interesting memoir of General Knox, written by Francis S. Drake, was published in Boston, in 187[illegible], a desirable book for students of the American Revolution.

lant regiments of Virginia, Maryland and New Jersey, the fatigues and dangers of the combined army. When the assault upon the enemy's redoubts, Nos. 9 and 10, was determined upon, and men reliable for the work were called for, Colonel Olney contributed from his regiment a com-

Stephen Olney

pany, commanded by Captain Stephen Olney, an officer who had acquired an honorable reputation for bravery and military ability. This company was placed in the van of the assaulting party, as part of a battalion led by Colonel Gimat. The story of its service is best told in Captain Olney's own words:

"After forming our parallel within cannon shot it was thought necessary to get possession of two of the enemy's redoubts, which projected from their main works, and were situated where it was thought proper to erect our second parallel, in order to level the way, cut off palisades, and beat down other obstructions. Our artillery was briskly served the 13th of October; on the 14th the Marquis had orders to storm the redoubt on our rigth, commanded by a British Major, while the French troops attacked that on our left, which was of greater force, and in their front. Our regiment of light infantry, commanded by Colonel Gimat, a bold Frenchman, was selected for the assault, and was paraded just after daylight, in front of our works. General Washington made a short address or harangue, admonishing us to act the part of firm and brave soldiers, showing the necessity of accomplishing the object, as the attack on both redoubts depended on our success. I thought then, that His Excellency's knees rather shook, but I have since doubted whether it was not mine.

"The column marched in silence, with guns unloaded, and in good order. Many, no doubt, thinking that less than one quarter of a mile would finish the journey of life with them. On the march I had a chance to whisper to several of my men, (whom I doubted,) *and told them that I had full confidence that they could act the part of brave soldiers, let what could come*, and if their guns should be shot away, not to retreat, but take the first man's gun that might be killed. When we had got about half way to the redoubt we were ordered to halt, and detach one man from each company for the forlorn hope. My men all seemed ready to go. The column then moved on; six or eight pioneers in front, as many of the forlorn hope next, then Colonel Gimat with five or six volunteers by his side, then my platoon, being the front of the column. When we came near the front of the abatis, the enemy fired a full volley of musketry. At this, our men broke silence and huzzaed; and as the order for silence seemed broken by every one, I huzzaed with all my power, saying, see how frightened they are they fire right into the air. The pioneers began to cut off the abatis, which were the trunks of trees with the trunk part fixed in the ground, the limbs made sharp and pointed towards us. This seemed tedious work, in the dark, within three rods of the enemy; and I ran to the right to look for a place to crawl through, but returned in a hurry, without success, fearing the men would get through first; as it happened, I made out to get through about the first, and entered the ditch, and when I found my men to the number of ten or twelve had arrived, I stepped through between two palisades, (one having been shot off to make room,) on to the parapet, and called out in a tone as if there was no danger, Captain Olney's company, form here! On this I had not less than six or eight bayonets pushed at me; I parried as well as I could with my espontoon, but they broke off the blade part, and their bayonets slid along the handle of my espontoon and scaled my fingers; one bayonet pierced my thigh, another stabbed me in the abdomen just above the hip-bone. One fellow fired at me, and I thought the ball took effect in my arm; by the light of

his gun I made a thrust with the remains of my espotoon, in order to injure the sight of his eyes; but as it happened, I only made a hard stroke in his forehead. At this instant two of my men, John Strange and Benjamin Bennett, who had loaded their guns while they were in the ditch, came up and fired upon the enemy, who part ran away and some surrendered; so that we entered the redoubt without further opposition.

"My Sergeant, Edward Butterick, to whom I was much indebted for his bravery, helped me nearly all this affray, and received a prick of the enemy's bayonet, in his stomach. Sergeant Brown was also in time, but attempting to load his gun, received a bayonet wound in his hand. Colonel Glover was wounded with a musket ball in the foot, about the first fire of the enemy; and I suppose it took all the volunteers to carry him off, as I never saw any of them afterwards. When most of the regiment had got into the redoubt, I directed them to form in order. Major Willis's post being in the rear, I suppose he got in about the time I was carried away with the wounded.

"My company, which consisted of about forty, suffered the most, (least, probably,) as they had only five or six wounded, all slightly, except Peter Barrows, who had a ball pass through the under jaw; I believe we had none killed.

"The French suffered much more than we did. I was informed they had eighteen killed, and were half an hour before they took the redoubt, waiting with the column exposed, until the pioneers completely cleared away the obstructions. We made out to crawl through, or get over [the abatis] and from the enemy's first fire, until we got possession of the redoubt, I think did not exceed ten minutes.

"When my wounds came to be examined, next day that on my left arm, which gave me most pain when inflicted, was turned black all around, three or four inches in length; neither skin nor coat broken. The stab in my thigh was slight, that in front, near my hip, was judged to be mortal, by the surgeons, as a little part of the caul protruded. I was carried to the hospital at Williamsburg, twelve miles, and in about three weeks my wounds healed and I joined the regiment. The man who fired on me was brought to the hospital. I examined the wound I had inflicted with the handle of my espontoon; it had not injured his eyes, but only made a deep furrow in his forehead. I asked him how it happened they continued to fight at the place I entered, when most of them on the right had run away. This I had discovered by the light of his fire. He said he thought they were all at their posts. I believe they were all half drunk; in this condition the British soldiers generally fight. We had not been in the redoubt more than five minutes, when Charles M'Afferty, an Irishman, and pretended Free Mason, got out a bottle of wine, and invited me to drink. Who but an Irish or an Englishman would have thought of such a thing? It reminds us of an expression of Shakespeare, 'Had you such leisure in the pangs of death?'

"That part of the British troops who ran out of the redoubt first, must

have discovered a party of ours on their right; I presume that led by Colonel Gimat. What became of them I did not know, as I discovered none but our party when I formed the regiment. A few days after, I inquired of a soldier how it happened they did not get into the redoubt. He said, 'the enemy pricked them off with their bayonets.' This was the most hazardous enterprise that ever fell to my lot.*

"The next day after storming the redoubt, the Marquis Lafayette complimented the regiment for their bravery, and said he was sorry for the misfortune of Captains Hunt and Olney. Captain Hunt was next in rank to me, and brought up the rear, and happened to hit his ankle against a bayonet fixed to a gun lying on the ground. Some of my brother officers informed me of this order and the placing of our names contrary to the uniform established practice, and as I had suffered from the enemy's guns in front of battle, they considered it as an imposition. I was lying in my tent, very sore and lame, but this intelligence nearly deprived me of the sense of pain. I wrote to the Marquis to know how it happened he mentioned the wounded officers in that order. He, by letter, informed me he mentioned them in the order the Adjutant had given them to him."

LAFAYETTE TO CAPTAIN OLNEY.

"MY DEAR SIR.—I was much employed yesterday in receiving the British army, and am so much so at this time in writing despatches for France, that I am prevented from writing you a long letter. I mentioned the names of the wounded officers in the division orders as they were given to me by the Brigadier. In my report to the General, in particular I mentioned your name, and I make no doubt but it will be mentioned to Congress in the highest terms. I have the highest regard for your gallantry on the occasion, and shall be always happy to render you my services, and a testimony to the merit you are so justly entitled to.

"I have the honor to be

"Your most obt humble servt.,

"Head-Quarters, Yorktown,
"October 18, 1781.

Captain Olney proceeds:

"I inquired of the Adjutant, who was a Lieutenant in Captain Hunt's

*"Captain Olney, who commanded the first platoon of Gimat's battalion, is entitled to peculiar applause. He led his platoon into the work with exemplary intrepidity, and received two bayonet wounds.'—*Hamilton, Works, I, 271.*

company. He denied misplacing our names, but I shall always think he did, either by mistake or design.

"A day or two after, Colonel Gimat told me the Marquis was very sorry for the mistake, and directed him to inform me he would issue any order I might think proper, to give satisfaction. I could only say, let it go, the day is past."

Captain Olney's company, in 1779, was a part of the original organization of the second Rhode Island regiment. The company then comprised thirty-three men, exclusive of

THE OLNEY HOMESTEAD, NORTH PROVIDENCE.*

commissioned officers. The entire number in the company engaged in the siege cannot, with absolute certainty, be stated, as the muster roll appears to have been lost; but the following thirty-nine names are preserved, signed to a receipt for payment of depreciation in their wages, one-quarter part of which they acknowledge to have received. The receipt is dated at Malvern Hill, Va., July 31, 1781.†

* The house represented by this engraving fell long ago into decay, and was taken down. It fronted the south, and had a large, stone chimney on the west end.

† Life of Captain Stephen Olney, by Mrs. Catharine R. Williams, pp. 288, 289.

LIST OF NAMES IN CAPTAIN STEPHEN OLNEY'S COMPANY.

B. L. Peckham, *Lieutenant*, (w)
Joseph Wheaton, *Lieutenant*.
Thomas T. Brown, *Sergeant*, (w)
Arthur Clossen, *Corporal*.
Edward Butterick, *Sergeant*,
Hosea Crandall, *Sergeant*,
Benjamin Bickford, *Sergeant*,
Nathan West, *Fifer*.

Privates.

Edward Champlain,
Joseph Congdon,
John Rhodes,
Sylvester Woodman,
Southcote Langworthy,
Zebulon Screvens, (w)
Samuel Thompson,
Abraham Rose, of N. H.
James Ogg,
James Pollard,
John Saunders,
John Thomas,
Jotham Bennis,
John Chadwick,
Fannin Dye,
Durfey Springer,
John Randall,
Peter Barrows,
Franklin Tenant,
Uriah Jones,
John Strange,
Joshua Smith,
Benjamin Blanchard,
John Chilson,
William Bennet,
David Edwards,
Charles M'Afferty,
Benjamin Jackson,
Benjamin Bennet,
Mathew Hart,
Samuel Gear.

Total, 39.

N. B.—Those with a (w) set against their names were wounded at Yorktown, October 14, 1781.

Attest to the above,

B. L. PECKHAM, *Lieutenant*.

Of the original company, enlisted in 1779, only five of the men were with Captain Olney at Yorktown, viz., Edward Butterick, John Chilson, Edward Champlain, Southcote Langworthy and Charles M'Afferty.

To stop here would leave the story of the regiment, so nobly represented by Captain Olney and his "forlorn hope," incomplete. Identified as the services of the regiment at the siege were with the skill and bravery of its commander, authorizes the following brief

SKETCH OF COLONEL JEREMIAH OLNEY.

Lieutenant-Colonel Jeremiah Olney, commander of the Second Rhode Island Continental Regiment, son of Joseph*

* Mr. Joseph Olney was descended from Thomas Olney, one of the early settlers of Providence. His descent is through the line of Epenetus Olney, a grandson of Thomas. Joseph

and Elizabeth Mawney Olney, was born in Providence, R. I., November 26th, old style, or December 7th, new style, 1749. Of his early life, but few traditions have been preserved. His education appears to have received careful attention, and such advantages for intellectual culture as the schools of the town then afforded, seem to have been secured for him. He evidently possessed an energetic nature and an independent spirit. When he reached his majority, the signs of an approaching struggle with the mother country were visible, and he did not hesitate a moment to cast in his lot with the "sons of liberty," to resist tyranny, and to throw off the yoke of bondage. He must soon have taken rank with influential contemporaries, as, in 1774, at the age of twenty-five years, he was appointed by the General Assembly one of the managers of a lottery granted to Jeremiah Hopkins, of Coventry, for the purpose of raising two hundred dollars to enable him to procure "tools and instruments" necessary to carry on the manufacture of fire-arms.

On the first overt act of the British, at Lexington and Concord, the patriotic blood of Mr. Olney rose to fever heat, and in May, 1775, he accepted an appointment as Captain of a company in Colonel Daniel Hitchcock's regiment of the "Army of Observation," Levi Tower being his Lieutenant, and Nathaniel Field, his Ensign. In March, 1776, his company comprised seventy-six officers, non-commissioned officers and privates. The names are here given as worthy to be associated in memory with the Kentish Guards, and with others who promptly obeyed their country's call.

was a highly respectable citizen of Providence, and kept, on Olney street, near North Main street, a popular house of entertainment. The house was low studded and in the form of an L. In the northeast corner of the yard stood an elm tree, of magnificent proportions, in the branches of which were placed seats sufficient to accommodate ten or twelve persons. These were reached by a flight of steps. Here, prominent gentlemen of the town frequently assembled to discuss public affairs, and to quaff to refresh themselves with their favorite beverage—punch. This tree was dedicated in 1768 with impressive ceremonies, to *Liberty* by the "sons of Liberty," on which occasion a patriotic oration was delivered from its high platform by Silas Downer. The oration was printed. Thenceforward the tree was known as "The Liberty Tree."

LIST OF CAPTAIN JEREMIAH OLNEY'S COMPANY, MARCH, 1776.

Jeremiah Olney, *Captain*,
Jno. Wyman, *1st Lieutenant*,
William Blodget, *2d Lieutenant*,
John Armstrong, *Ensign*,
Oliver Jencks, *Sergeant*,
Samuel Armstrong, *Sergeant*,
John Harris, *Sergeant*,
Jedediah Bass, *Sergeant*,
Benjamin Pease, *Corporal*,
Stakely Thornton, *Corporal*,
Joseph Mesury, *Corporal*,
John Porter, *Corporal*,
Francis Haynes, *Drummer*,
William Blyth, *Fifer*,

Privates.

Jno. Booth,
Joseph Angell,
George King,
Ichabod Richmond,
Obadiah Bridges,
Edward Bennett,
Nathan White,
Samuel Eldridge,
William Jeffers,
Oliver Tew,
Phillip Morris,
Edward Tew,
Ebenezer Moores,
Joseph Bosworth,
Joseph Baker,
William King,
Eleazer Clarke,
James White,
John Vibert,
Benjamin Eptom,
Ichabod Comstock,
Jonathan Cooke,
Nath'l Hearthan,
John Townsend,
George Richardson,
Retire Whittemore,
Samuel Oakman,
James Hall,
Joseph West,
John Pierce,
John Barrett,
Daniel Fry,
William Vibert,
John Bishop,
Daniel Williams,
Daniel Delano,
Benj'n Webb,
John Young,
John Foot,
Joseph Gardner,
James Lepthorn,
Thomas Tillern,
Samuel Culley,
John Melzard,
Manuel Knight,
John English,
Thomas Melzard,
Moses Marsy,
Asa Farrar,
Samuel Ayers,
David Morse,
George Pike,
Richard Pettiduck,

In October, 1776, he was chosen by the General Assembly Captain to serve in the second continental battalion, raised by the State, agreeably to the requisition of Congress. In February, 1777, he was chosen Lieutenant-Colonel of the same. Of this battalion Israel Angell was chosen Colonel; Simeon Thayer, Major; David Dexter, Christopher Dyer, Stephen Olney, William Allen and William Potter, Captains.

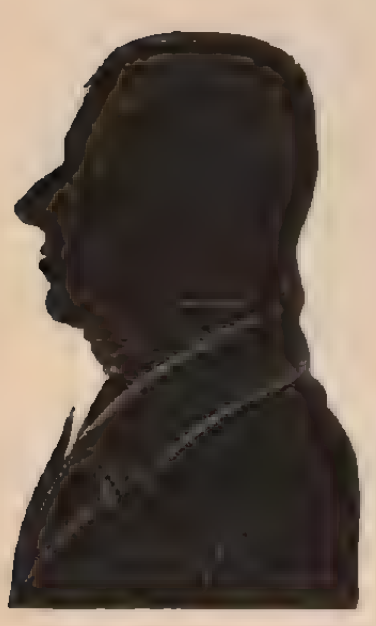
Congress, in the beginning of the year (January 5th) 1778 conferred upon him the commission of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Rhode Island regiment, commanded by Col-

onel Israel Angell, which was "raised for the defence of American Liberty," the rank dating back to January 13, 1777. The other commissioned officers of the regiment were Simeon Thayer, Major; Samuel Tenney, Surgeon; Elias Cornelius, Surgeon's Mate; William Tew, Coggeshall Olney, Stephen Olney, William Allen, Thomas Hughes and William Humphrey, Captains; William Littlefield, Captain-Lieutenant; Thomas Waterman, Adjutant and Lieutenant; Dutee Jerauld, Ebenezer Macomber, David Sayles, Benjamin L. Peckham, Oliver Jenckes, John Hubbart and Joseph Wheaton, Lieutenants; John Morley Greene, Joseph Masury, John Rogers, William Pratt and Jeremiah Greenman, Ensigns.

In the same year, (1778,) Lieutenant-Colonel Olney was engaged with Colonel Christopher Greene and Major Ebenezer Flagg, in recruiting men to complete the Rhode Island quota. A result of their efforts was the formation of the somewhat celebrated battalion (sometimes called regiment) of blacks, of which he was made second in command under Colonel Greene.

In his military career Lieutenant-Colonel Olney is first found as Captain of a company, at Prospect Hill, near Cambridge, Mass., and at Bunker's Hill, where Putnam, Prescott and Warren, with their brave rank and file, gave the British so warm a reception. Subsequently he is seen at Harlem Heights, at White Plains, at Trenton, at Princeton, where he assisted in rallying a demoralized body of Pennsylvania militia, at Brandywine, at Red Bank, where he displayed unflinching bravery, and made the memorable reply to the British officer who, threatening to give no quarters, demanded a surrender,—"We shall not ask for, nor expect any quarter, but we mean to defend this fort to the last extremity,"—at Monmouth, at Rhode Island, (in August, 1778,) at Springfield, where forty out of one hundred and sixty men whom he led into the battle, were either killed or

wounded. Elsewhere he was likewise seen, as duty called, and finally, as just mentioned, at Yorktown.



Jeremiah Olney

COLONEL JEREMIAH OLNEY'S SWORD, WORN AT YORKTOWN

On April 26th, 1780, Lieutenant-Colonel Olney was married to Miss Sarah Cooke, daughter of Governor Nicholas

Cooke; but this new domestic relation did not detain him long from his military duties. In May, 1781, he was with his regiment near the Croton river. After the murder of Colonel Christopher Greene and of Major Flagg he became, by commission, Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the regiment. These deaths rendered several promotions necessary, and on his recommendation to Governor Greene, the General Assembly, at its August session, voted, after fruitless objections by Commodore Esek Hopkins and others, "that Coggeshall Olney be first Major; John S. Dexter, second Major; Daniel S. Dexter and Dutee Jerauld, Captains; and Jeremiah Greenman and William Pratt, Lieutenants, to take rank from the 14th of May; and that Reuben Johnson be Ensign of the same battalion, to take rank from his appointment."*

While still in camp in the State of New York he received the following letter from Lieutenant-Governor Jabez Bowen:

"PROVIDENCE, July 16, 1781.

"DEAR SIR.—By the bearer you will receive the tents for your regiment, and hope they will prove to your liking. As the army must be short of everything, should think it best to reserve a number of the best of the old tents, which, together with the new ones, may be sufficient to accommodate your men, and deliver the remainder of the old ones to the Quartermaster-General.

"You will also receive a hogshead of good West India rum, for the use of the officers of the regiment, which you will distribute as shall be thought best. Shall be glad of a line, from time to time, letting us know the state of the regiment, and the things that may be necessary to make you comfortable. You will also give me a historical account of the movements of the army, should you have leisure.

* * * * * * * *

"Wishing you and all the officers health and a glorious campaign, I remain, Dear Sir,

"Your friend and most humble servant

Jabez Bowen

*R. I. Col. Rec., ix., 170.

In January, 1782, he received from the State treasury £1,939 13*s* 0*d* "for one month's pay of his battalion," and in June of the same year £7 3*s* 4*d* for expenses incurred in arresting deserters. In November he made a report to the General Assembly relative to the depreciation money due to thirteen non-commissioned officers and privates of the Rhode Island continental regiment, showing that £472 8*s* 8*d* were due them: whereupon the General Assembly appointed a committee to set off and assign to the said persons some confiscated estate, equal in value to the sum due them. Other opportunities were improved by him to aid those who had sacrificed much and received little.

When Lieutenant-Colonel Olney succeeded to the command of the regiment which he led to Yorktown, it is said that he declined to receive a commission as Colonel, on the ground that, in the event of his being taken prisoner, he could not so easily obtain an early exchange.* This practical view was held to be valid, and was not permitted to interfere with his exercise of the highest regimental authority. The winter following the fall of Yorktown he spent in Rhode Island, raising men, and in June, 1782, he was again in the field. He marched his regiment to Saratoga, where it passed the winter of 1782–3. While here, the negroes in his command were detailed to join the expedition under General Sullivan against Oswego—an expedition that caused them much suffering. By the order of Major-General Lord Stirling, a company placed under the command of Captain Ebenezer Macomber was detached from the regiment and sent to the "New Hampshire Grants," for the purpose of arresting two citizens charged with holding unlawful correspondence with the enemy. The expedition failed of success, as the men had escaped before its arrival.

* After the death of Colonel Christopher Greene, the first and second Rhode Island continental regiments were consolidated. This led to the retirement of Colonel Israel Angell, who, in date of commission, was junior to Colonel Greene, and Lieutenant-Colonel Olney succeeded the latter in command.—*Ante, p. 450.*

The regiment remained at Saratoga until June 13, 1783, when, no further service being required, it was disbanded, and Lieutenant-Colonel Olney returned to Providence, and laying aside the sword he had carried with honor, he once more became a private citizen. In parting with the men he had led on hard-fought fields, he issued an order commending "their valor and good conduct displayed on every occasion when called to face the enemy in the field," and "their prompt obedience to order and discipline through every stage of service." He assured the officers and men that it gave him pain to see them "retire from the field without receiving any pay, or even their accounts settled and the balances due ascertained," but expressed a hope that "Congress or the State would make provision shortly for paying some money on account, and give good securities on interest for the balances due each individual." After having proffered his services, whenever in the future he could be useful to them, he closed with a few kindly words to those officers and men who had a longer time to serve in the field. Four months after his retirement to private life, October 10, 1783, he was brevetted a Colonel in the army of the United States, and four months later, February 10, 1784, there was conferred on him the rank of Colonel in the army of the United States, in command of the Rhode Island regiment, to take effect from May 14, 1781. Both of these honors were gratifying recognitions of meritorious services.

The two standards of the consolidated first and second Rhode Island continental regiments were preserved by Colonel Olney, and on the 28th of February, 1784, were surrendered by him to the General Assembly, in behalf of the officers of the line, "upon exchanging their military employment for the rank of citizens." Governor William Greene and Speaker William Bradford were appointed to return, in the name of the General Assembly, a suitable answer to the communication received from the Colonel. This they did, assuring him and his associates that they were happy in receiving the stand-

ards, and that they would "carefully preserve the same, to commemorate the achievements of so brave a corps." Both of these standards may now be seen in the State Senate Chamber in Providence, where they are grouped with the Rhode Island regimental flags of the war of 1861–65, in a case protected by glass doors, there to remain "under the immediate care of His Excellency the Governor for the time being." The standard that belonged to the regiment of Colonel Israel Angell,* before the consolidation, bears a legend, as appears in the accompanying engraving.

Considering the hard usage which they experienced, on the march and on the field, and the effects of the atmosphere

*Colonel Israel Angell, son of Oliver and Naomi (Smith) Angell, was born in North Providence, R. I., August 24, 1740, and died in Johnston, R. I., May 4, 1832, at the age of nearly ninety-one years. He was three times married, and was the father of seventeen children. He early entered the army of the Revolution, and served with great efficiency until his regiment was consolidated with the regiment commanded by Colonel Christopher Greene, when, on account of his junior position, he was necessarily retired. His gallant conduct at Springfield, June 23, 1780, drew from Washington the warmest approbation. In recognition of his bravery and military services he received two gold medals, – one from Washington and the other from Lafayette.

upon them for a hundred years, they are in a better state of preservation than could have been expected. With the care they will hereafter receive as invaluable relics of the war of the Revolution, there appears no reason why they may not gladden the eyes and inspire the hearts of patriots in 1980.

On the 17th of December, 1783, the Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati was organized at the State House in Providence, with Major-General Nathanael Greene as its President. Its principal objects were the preservation of "those exalted rights and liberties" for which the members had fought and bled; the promotion of union and national honor in the respective States; the maintenance of the cordial affection subsisting among the officers; and the relief of "those officers and their families who unfortunately may be under the necessity of receiving it." Of this Society, Lieutenant-Colonel Olney was a founder. He was also the first Treasurer, having Major John S. Dexter for an assistant. He continued in this office until 1789, when he was elected Vice President of the Society. In 1800, he was chosen President of the Society, a position which he filled twelve successive years, until his decease. The diploma of his membership in the Society is preserved in the family of Mrs. Anna A. Carr, a descendant, now living in Providence.

The original membership of the Society consisted of seventy-four commissioned officers, "very many of whom occupied the most important civil stations in the commonwealth." For more than forty years, the Society appears to have been in a prosperous condition, and its annual celebrations on the Fourth of July were seasons of much social enjoyment to its members; but in the lapse of time, the membership became so reduced in numbers, that a vote was passed surrendering its charter to the legislature of the State, and making provision for the division and distribution of its funds. In 1877, through the efforts of hereditary members, the Society was revived, and, in 1878, a new charter from the Rhode

Island General Assembly was obtained. Under this charter, the first officers were the Honorable Nathanael Greene, M. D., of Newport, President; the Honorable Simon Henry Greene, of River Point, Vice President; Henry E. Turner, M. D., of Newport, Secretary; Asa Bird Gardner, LL. D., then of West Point, Assistant Secretary; Samuel Chace Blodget, of Providence, Treasurer; David King, M. D., of Newport, Assistant Treasurer. In this new organization, Colonel Olney, as he may be called under the brevet of 1783, is represented by a great-grandson, Mr. Thomas Vincent Carr, of Providence.

In 1785, Colonel Olney was elected a Deputy to represent Providence in the General Assembly. His associates were John Jenckes, Paul Allen and Charles Keene.

Colonel Olney having been notified by General Knox, that the triennial meeting of the *Society of the Cincinnati* was to be held in Philadelphia, on the first Monday in May, 1790, he wrote April 25th, in reply:

"It was my intention to have the honor of attending this meeting, but I am prevented by an extreme bad cold, which has for some time confined me to the house. Colonel Peck or Major Lyman will attend as a delegation from this State Society. Our finances being small has induced the necessity of sending but one delegate."*

In 1790, President Washington appointed Colonel Olney Collector of Customs for the port and district of Providence. He took the oath of office, and assumed its responsibilities, August 14th, his surety, in the sum of $2,000, being Rufus Hopkins, of Scituate, R. I. The witnesses to the bond were Daniel Cooke and Ebenezer Thompson. The duties of his office were discharged with honor to himself and to the entire satisfaction of the government, until 1809, when he voluntarily resigned, partly on account of his objection to the Act establishing an Embargo, which he considered wrong in principle, and under which he was

* Manuscript Letter

unwilling to continue in office. "Having," he says, in his letter of resignation addressed to President Jefferson, "fought the battles of my country through a long and perilous war, I cannot now become instrumental in assisting to rivet upon my countrymen those very chains and fetters which I, on a former and memorable occasion, lent my feeble and zealous assistance to burst asunder."

Up to 1790, the adoption of the Constitution of the United States had been an unsettled question in Rhode Island. Anxious that the State should come at once into the Federal Union, and secure the benefits to be derived therefrom, Colonel Olney united with other prominent citizens thereof in efforts to secure this result. Still he had strong fears that the opponents of the measure would succeed. Writing to Hamilton, he says:

"I am sorry to inform you that the convention which is to meet in this State, on the first Monday in March next, for the purpose of deciding on the new Constitution, has not so Federal a complexion as I could wish. Last Monday was the day for electing delegates throughout the State. We have heard from all the towns, and find on the closest calculation that we can reckon only 32 Feds and 38 Antis. This makes our prospect doubtful indeed. However, the Federal interest will exert every nerve to effect, if possible, the adoption of the Constitution, for without it poverty and distress of every kind will be our invariable lot."

Fortunately for the State his fears were not realized. After a spirited struggle, at the May session of the General Assembly in Newport, the Constitution was adopted by the close majority of two.

By the appointment of President Washington, Colonel Olney was made an almoner of the United States, to distribute among the invalid soldiers of the Rhode Island line the monthly moities of the annual bounty respectively due to them. No better designation could have been made. He had shared with many of these men their privations. He had been an eye witness of their patient, patriotic endurance, when shoeless, clothed in rags, and on short

allowance of food they marched to meet the enemy. Mutilated limbs, empty sleeves and the decrepit gait of men who deserved well of their country, appealed strongly to his sympathetic nature, and he was both glad and proud of an opportunity to make good the assurance given in his farewell order at Saratoga, of his readiness to serve them whenever opportunity should open. The gratification with which Colonel Olney received this expression of the President's confidence is clearly manifested in his letter of acknowledgment addressed to Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton:

"You may be assured, Sir, that it affords me the most singular pleasure to find that I am so much in the remembrance of the President as to be designated by him to execute that trust, and my feelings, Sir, are no less gratified in the reflection that I can, in any degree, be serviceable to that unfortunate class of our fellow-citizens." *

The number on this list, April 15, 1790, was forty-six. The amount paid these pensioners, as their "first moiety," in sums varying from $15, the lowest, to $120, the highest, was $1,161.

Under an Act of the General Assembly at its January session in 1790, Colonel Olney was appointed on a committee with Paul Allen and John S. Dexter to examine persons disabled in the service of the United States during the war, and obtain evidence of their claims to allowance for sufferings while in the service.

In 1791, Colonel Olney and Thomas Hughes, of Freetown, Mass., had become the largest proprietors of the "Anaquacket farm" in Tiverton, and of the "Banister lot" in Newport, estates confiscated and "set off for the payment of the balances due to the officers and soldiers of the late regiment commanded by Colonel Israel Angell." Wishing to sell the same, but having no authority to give good and sufficient deeds to purchasers, they applied to the General Assembly for themselves and the other proprietors, to obtain

* Manuscript Letter.

such power, which was granted, they accounting to the aforesaid proprietors "for their respective proportions of the money arising from the sale."

In 1792, Colonel Olney was subjected to considerable extra care and labor in collecting and forwarding to West Point, on the Hudson river, (by the direction of Secretary of War Knox,) the ordnance, military stores, etc., remaining at the close of the war in Providence, Newport, Tiverton, Freetown, and elsewhere. Of these he made careful schedules, which were transmitted, together with a statement of the expenses incurred, to Secretary Knox. In answer to an inquiry concerning two brass field pieces, which by permission of General Sullivan, had been assigned to the Providence Company of Artillery, formed at the commencement of the war, and commanded by Colonel Daniel Tillinghast, he says:

"I find on inquiry that the two field pieces were delivered to Colonel Tillinghast's company of artillery at the time of his expedition on Rhode Island in the year 1778, and they have ever been in their possession. The cannon are kept housed and in good order. Your permitting them, Sir, to remain with this company will be productive of much good, as this company is the only remaining stamany of discipline in the State, and they take a peculiar pride on all public occasions to exhibit a martial appearance, and particularly when they form a procession in conjunction with the Cincinnati of this State at the anniversary of the Independence of our country on the 4th of July."*

It is not known that these guns were ever removed from Rhode Island.

The attachment of Colonel Olney to Washington remained unabated till the close of life, and when the news of the death of "the Father of his Country" shed its gloom upon the hearts of the citizens of Providence, he was a member of the committee appointed by the town to make arrangements for a funereal commemoration of that sad event. The 7th of January, 1800, was the designated day. In the

* Manuscript Letter

morning a national salute was fired, and at intervals of every half hour, while the procession was moving, a cannon was discharged. The procession, formed on Broad street, was composed of civil and military officers, most of the incorporated societies in the town, and the Masonic brethren. The escort consisted of the Light Dragoons, the Independent Volunteers, and the United Train of Artillery. The procession proceeded to the house of Colonel Olney, where it received the bier, and thence to the First Baptist Meeting-house, where a funeral oration was delivered by George Burrill, Esq. After this service, the procession moved to St. John's church. Rev. Abraham L. Clark delivered a short address, while the bier was set down, after which it was deposited under the church.* The pall bearers on this occasion were Jeremiah Olney, William Allen, Christopher Olney, Ebenezer Macomber, John Spurr, and John S. Dexter, all of whom had been officers in the army.

In stature, Colonel Olney was above medium height, of commanding appearance, courteous in manners, and without show of self-consciousness. Exact in the performance of official business, his books and papers were always in readiness for inspection. No portrait of him was ever painted. The silhouette presented on page 449 gives a correct profile of his features. This, with the sword he wore at Yorktown, pictured on the same page, an original impression of Bauman's plan of the siege, and two camp chairs, are preserved by Mrs. Carr, as precious mementos of her patriotic ancestor. To her friendly courtesy I am indebted for permission to take copies of the silhouette and sword, as they appear in this volume. The existence of a fourth copy of Bauman's rare plan of the siege was unknown to me until after page 423 had been printed. Possibly others may hereafter be brought to light.

An interesting souvenir, picked up at Yorktown by Colo-

* Staples' Annals of Providence, 373, 374.

nel Olney, and preserved by Mrs. Carr, is a beautiful tortoise-shell pocket toilet-case, inlaid with silver, which belonged to a British officer. A miniature perfumery bottle, though empty, still exhales the fragrant odor of the attar of roses.

The home of Colonel Olney was in a house, still attractive in appearance, on Olney street, near the site of the old homestead inn. Here he died November 10, 1812, in the sixty-third year of his age. He was buried in the North Burial Ground. The slab covering his grave bears the following inscription:

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
COL. JEREMIAH OLNEY,
A Patriot of the Revolution — late Collector
of the Customs for the District
of Providence,
and President of the Society of Cincinnati
of the State of Rhode Island
and Providence Plantations.
He closed his honorable and useful Life,
with Christian Serenity,
on the 10th Day of November, 1812,
in the 63d year of his age.
As a Citizen
he was virtuous and public spirited —
as an Officer
he was ardent, judicious and intrepid —
The unqualified Approbation
of Washington, his immortal Chief,
is a demonstration of his Worth,
which will transmit his Name,
in the Annals of his Country,
with Reputation to Posterity.
To his natural Elevation of Soul
were signally united
the Purest Honour and Integrity,
from which no interest could swerve,

no Danger appal him —
his Conscience was his Monitor —
Truth and Justice were his Guides —
Hospitality and Benevolence
were conspicuous Traits in his Character,
and his Relations and Friends
will cherish the Remembrance of his Virtues
while "Memory holds a Seat."*

S. Tingley Sc.

Such is an imperfect sketch of the life and services of one who served his country well in her hour of need, who was faithful to all trusts committed to him, who in life held an honored place in the respect of his fellow-citizens, and in death was sincerely mourned.

THE ACCOUNT OF THE SIEGE RESUMED.

The narrative of the siege, interrupted by the preceding personal notice of Colonel Olney, is resumed with the relation of an incident of Colonel Tarleton and the Duke de Lauzun. At Gloucester Point times were lively. The force of Brigadier-General M. de Choisy consisted of about fifteen hundred militia under General Weedon; the Duke de Lauzun's Legion of six hundred cavalry and infantry; and eight hundred marines, furnished by Count de Grasse. The foraging parties of the British commander became annoying, and one morning, while out in force, to check "a grand forage," Lauzun was informed by a woman, of whom he inquired concerning the enemy, that Colonel Tarleton had just left her place, expressing an eager wish "to shake hands with the French Duke." Lauzun laughingly replied, that he

* Near by repose the remains of his wife. Her gravestone bears the following inscription: "In memory of Mrs SARAH OLNEY, relict of Col. Jeremiah Olney, and daughter of the late Gov. Nicholas Cooke. | Born Dec. 21, 1755. | Died Oct. 30, 1843, aged 88 years." The age here given is erroneous. If she died in 1843, she would have been in her eighty-eighth year, if in 1842, as found in other records, she would have been in her eighty seventh year. The only child born to Colonel Olney was a daughter, Mary Timmins Olney, who was married to Samuel Carr, of Westerly, R. I., March 25, 1823.

had come on purpose to gratify him, and immediately dashed forward in pursuit. Soon the Duke and Tarleton met, and a brisk skirmish at close quarters followed. In the encounter, Tarleton's horse suddenly plunged and fell, bearing his rider to the ground, and but for the timely appearance of the main body of the British cavalry, the Colonel would have been taken prisoner — a method of "shaking hands" for which he had no inclination. The encounter cost the enemy a considerable loss of men, and one officer killed. Upon the field of this skirmish General de Choisy established his main camp, and fixing strong advanced posts nearer to Gloucester, he held the position during the residue of the siege.*

In this encounter, the Duke de Lauzun had three men killed and eleven wounded. Among the latter was Count Arthur Dillon. The British loss was fifty men killed or wounded. Of the former was Lieutenant Moir.

From the 10th of October to the 15th, the bombardment was incessant. A red hot shot from a French battery set fire to the "Charon," a British forty-four-gun ship, which, with several other smaller vessels, at anchor off the town, was consumed in the night, making a splendid illumination. A few similar shots drove the "Gaudaloupe," of thirty-two guns, from her station, to seek safety on the opposite side of the river.†

THE SORTIE.

At about four o'clock, on the morning of October 16th,

* Sir Banastre Tarleton was born in Liverpool, England, August 21, 1754. He served in America under Clinton, Howe, and Cornwallis. He was a brave but sanguinary officer, and was noted for cruelty. In January, 1781, he was defeated by General Morgan, near the Cowpens, S. C. After returning to England, he was made a General, and in 1790, was elected to Parliament. In 1818, he became a Baronet. In 1787, he published in London a "History of the Campaigns of 1780-81." He died January 25, 1833.

† At the commencement of the siege, Cornwallis had the support of the following armed vessels: The Charon, 44 guns; Guadaloupe, 32, Old Conway, 24, Bonetta, sloop of war, 16, brig Defiance, 16, brig Spitfire, 12, sloop Formidable, 10, sloop Rambler, 10, sloop Susanna, 14, Tarleton, 10. Besides these, there was a large number of smaller vessels, employed as transports, several of which were sunk.

Colonel Robert Abercrombie, at the head of four hundred men, made a sortie upon two unfinished redoubts occupied by the French. The impetuosity of the assault was, for the moment, irresistible, and the French were driven from their works. Seven cannon in the redoubts were hastily spiked by the enemy, with the points of bayonets; but soon supports under the Count de Noailles came up, and shouting "*Vive le Roi!*" rushed furiously upon the assailants, compelling them to retreat with a loss of eight men killed, and twelve taken prisoners. In a few hours, the cannon were unspiked and doing deadly service against the enemy. On the following day, the 17th, no fewer than one hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, (cannons and mortars,) were in position, pouring their fatal missiles upon the besieged. Never before had such thunderings been heard upon the peninsula.

> "October's clear and noonday sun
> Paled in the breath smoke of the gun,
> And down night's double blackness fell,
> Like a dropped star, the blazing shell."

AN ATTEMPT TO ESCAPE.—THE CAPITULATION.

> "From Yorktown's ruins, ranked and still,
> Two lines stretch far o'er vale and hill:
> Who curbs his steed at head of one?
> Hark! the low murmur: Washington!
> Who bends his keen approaching glance
> Where down the gorgeous line of France
> Shine knightly star and plume of snow?
> Thou too art victor, Rochambeau!"
>
> WHITTIER.

THE end drew nigh. The "boy" had not been caught. Washington was proving himself more than a match for his accomplished adversary. The French wing under

Rochambeau, in the trenches and on the field, gave the enemy no rest. Day by day, Lord Cornwallis felt himself increasingly pressed, and the prospect of repelling the besiegers grew more hopeless. The earthworks of the besieged were no longer reliable defences. The accurate gunnery of Knox and of d'Aboville made fatal any attempt to strengthen the position by abatis, and rendered the light fraizings of no account. The bursting shells and the ricochet firing from the American and French batteries were alarmingly fatal. Many houses in the town were greatly damaged; some of them were in ruins; dead men and horses, lightly covered with earth, exhaled offensive odors, and deepened the gloom of devastation. The sortie, from which much was hoped, had failed. Sir Henry Clinton's promise of seasonable re-enforcements had not been kept. Sickness was constantly diminishing the number of able-bodied men. "The strength and spirits of those within the works were much exhausted by the fatigue of constant watching and unremitting duty." Ammunition for the heavy ordnance was growing scarce, and for protracting the defence, the British commander of artillery was reduced to the use of one eight inch mortar, "and little more than one hundred cohorn shells."

Under these disheartening circumstances, but two courses lay open. First, to escape across the river to Gloucester, and retreat thence to New York—a wild and an impracticable idea — and second, to surrender. On the night of the 16th of October, the first plan was tried. A detachment was to be left to capitulate for the towns-people, and for the sick and wounded; on which subject a letter was ready to be delivered to General Washington. With the utmost secrecy, sixteen large boats were employed in ferrying over the troops, but the work was arrested by a violent storm, which compelled their return. Now came the second plan — trying, mortifying, but impossible to shun — surrender. In the necessity for this step the principal officers of the army

concurred, though to some it seemed unnecessary. On the 17th, Cornwallis addressed a note to Washington, proposing a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours, to settle terms for the surrender of Yorktown and Gloucester. The latter granted a cessation for two hours, in which, before the meeting of commissioners, Lord Cornwallis was to prepare and transmit to him the basis of his proposals. This was done. He proposed that the garrisons of Yorktown and Gloucester should "be prisoners of war, with the customary honors," and that the British should "be sent to Britain, and the Germans to Germany, under engagement not to serve against France, America, or their allies, until released or regularly exchanged."

In reply, Washington objected to this last proposition as inadmissible. With regard to honors, he said the surrendering army should receive the same as were granted to the American garrison at Charleston.

Before the two hours expired, Cornwallis acceded to the basis of a treaty of capitulation indicated by Washington, and the whole subject was committed to commissioners, who met at "Moore's House," on the 18th, to give final form to the articles. The commissioners on the part of the British were Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas and Major Ross. The French and Americans were represented by the Viscount de Noailles and Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens. The articles, fourteen in number, were carefully drawn, guarding the rights of both parties, according to the rules of war. The officers were to retain their side arms, and both officers and soldiers were to keep their private property, without being subjected to search or inspection; the soldiers were to be kept in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, as much by regiments as possible, and a field officer and other officers on parole, in proportion of one to fifty men, were to be allowed to reside near them, and to be witnesses of their treatment;

Geo Noailles

officers were to be allowed to keep soldiers as servants; hospitals were to be furnished for the sick and wounded; the general, staff, and other officers were to be permitted to go on parole to Europe or elsewhere; the artillery, guns, accoutrements, military chests, and public stores of every denomination were to be delivered up unimpaired; and the

"MOORE'S HOUSE," YORKTOWN, VIRGINIA.*

"Bonetta," sloop-of-war, was to be placed at the disposal of Lord Cornwallis, to carry despatches to Sir Henry Clinton, said vessel to be afterwards delivered to the order of Count

* "Moore's House," in which the American, French and British Commissioners met to settle the terms of capitulation, is situated on the "Temple Farm," about one mile and a half east of Yorktown village, and not far from the York river, which it fronts. In 1781, a piazza was built upon the rear of the house, affording a pleasant southern look-out upon the extensive plain. Originally this house was the residence of Governor Spottswood, and was called "the Spottswood place." At the time of the surrender it was owned and occupied by a lady familiarly known as "Aunt Moore;" she long ago departed this life, but the house still retains her name. The house is so identified with the history of the siege and fall of Yorktown, that it will ever be an object of interest to persons visiting the battle-fields of Virginia.

de Grasse. Other provisions were made, which it is not necessary to mention here.

The third article in the treaty of capitulation was the most trying to the pride of Cornwallis. It provided that his troops should march to the place designated for laying down their arms, "with shouldered arms, colors cased, and drums beating a British or a German march." To this article the British commissioners objected, and endeavored in vain to obtain a modification. "It is a harsh article," said Major Ross to Colonel Laurens. "Yes, sir," replied the Colonel, "it is a harsh article." "Then," inquired the Major, "if that is your opinion, why is it here?" In reply, Colonel Laurens, who served under General Lincoln at Charleston, and was there taken prisoner, reminded the British commissioner that these were precisely the terms dictated to the American army and enforced by Sir Henry Clinton on that occasion. He closed the colloquy by saying, "This remains an article, or I cease to be a commissioner." The article stood.*

The terms of capitulation were prefaced as follows:

"ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION

settled between His Excellency General Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the combined forces of America and France; His Excellency the Count de Rochambeau, Lieutenant-General of the armies of the King of France — Great Cross of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis — commanding the auxiliary troops of His Most Christian Majesty in America — and His Excellency the Count de Grasse, Lieutenant-General of the naval armies of His Most Christian Majesty, Commander of the Order of

* "Connected with this transaction there is a concurrence of circumstances so peculiarly remarkable, that I cannot omit to notice them in this place. Mr. Henry Laurens, who was deputed by Congress as our ambassador to Holland, was captured and carried into England, and closely and most rigorously confined in the tower of London. Lord Cornwallis sustains the office of Constable to the tower; of course Mr. Laurens is his prisoner. The son, Colonel John Laurens, stipulates the condition of the surrender of the Constable, who becomes our prisoner, while Mr. Laurens, the father, remains confined in the tower, as prisoner to the captured Constable. Congress had proposed that Mr. Laurens should be received in exchange for General Burgoyne, but the proposal was rejected by the British government. After Cornwallis was captured, however, he was readily received in exchange for Mr. Laurens."—*Thatcher*

St. Louis, commanding in chief the naval army of France in the Chesapeake — on the one part — and the Right Honorable Earl Cornwallis, Lieutenant-General of His Britannick Majesty's forces, commanding the garrisons of York and Gloucester; and Thomas Symonds, Esq., commanding His Britannick Majesty's naval forces in York River, in Virginia, on the other part."

Then follows the several articles of particulars, closing with

"ARTICLE 14TH.

"No article of the capitulation to be infringed on pretext of reprisal, and if there be any doubtful expressions in it, they are to be interpreted according to the common meaning and acceptation of the words.

"Done at York, in Virginia, this 19th day of October, 1781.

Cornwallis

Thos: Symonds.

"Done in the trenches before York Town, in Virginia, October 19, 1781.

G. Washington

le cte de Vochambeau

Le Cte de Barras

en mon nom & celui de Comte de Grasse.

At Gloucester, the enemy surrendered to General de Choisy on terms similar to those prescribed for the British

army in Yorktown. One of his redoubts was delivered to a detachment of French, and the other to a detachment of American troops.

When the negotiations commenced, Baron Steuben was commanding in the trenches, where he insisted on remaining until they were completed. He claimed that this was

COLONEL HENRY DEARBORN.*

according to the etiquette in Europe: that the offer of capitulation had been made during his guard, and that it was a

* Colonel Henry Dearborn at this time was Assistant Quartermaster-General to Colonel Timothy Pickering. To him was assigned the duty of collecting and securing the military and other stores surrendered at Gloucester — a difficult part to execute, surrounded as he was, by a host of pilferers. For the want of sufficient authority at first, and in the absence of necessary assistants, much of the property, including nearly all the tents, was stolen.

Colonel Dearborn was a brave officer and shared the approbation of Washington. After the close of the Revolution, he settled at Monmouth, Me., and was a member of Congress from that district. He was successively Marshal of Maine, Collector of the Port of Boston, and in the war of 1812, held the commission of senior Major-General of the United States army. In 1822, he was appointed Minister to Portugal. He was born in North Hampton, N. H., February 25, 1751, and died at his seat in Roxbury, Mass., June 6, 1829. He published an account of the battle of Bunker's Hill, which greatly disturbed the friends of General Putnam, and which led to an extended discussion of the question, "Who commanded at Bunker's Hill?"

point of honor of which he would not deprive his troops, to remain in the trenches till the capitulation was signed, or till hostilities recommenced. Lafayette, who, with his division, had approached to relieve the Baron, referred the subject to Washington; but Steuben remained in the trenches until the British flag was struck.*

DESCRIPTION OF THE SURRENDER.

The capture of the redoubts in which, as has already been seen, Captain Stephen Olney performed a conspicuous part, was an important preliminary to the downfall of Yorktown.†

* Kapp.

† Stephen Olney was descended in the fifth generation from Thomas Olney, a joint proprietor with Roger Williams in the "Providence Purchase." He was born in North Providence, R. I., October 12, 1755. In 1774, he joined the "North Providence Rangers," commanded by Captain John Angell, and of which he was appointed Ensign. This company was attached to the regiment commanded by Colonel Daniel Hitchcock, and marched with the regiment to Roxbury, where it encamped, prior to the battle of Bunker's Hill. Mr. Olney was subsequently commissioned Captain of a company in the second continental regiment, commanded by Colonel Israel Angell. He was in the actions on Long Island, White Plains, and at other places in the vicinity of New York. He was also in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, Springfield, where he was wounded, Fort Mercer, and Monmouth, and was hutted with the army at Morristown, in the winter of 1778. His company was detailed from its regiment and attached to General Lafayette's command in Virginia, until the siege of Yorktown, when it rejoined the main army. His was the first American blood shed within the redoubt he so boldly scaled, and the wound he received in his arm at that time became so troublesome in 1831 as to require amputation.

While still near Morristown, June 7, 1780, he wrote the following letter to Mr. John Jenckes, of North Providence, revealing past privations and present needs:

"I have not had the pleasure to hear from you since I left home, till by Colonel Olney, who arrived here last evening, and gave the most universal satisfaction to the regiment respecting the depreciation money, though some imagined their due was more; yet when they found the settlement to be made on the strictest rules of justice, were content.

"We have had a remarkable time of drought this way; no longer than one day past there was the greatest prospect of a famine I ever saw, but the blessed shower we had yesterday made nature smile again.

"I inclose you a newspaper which gives the most authentic account I know of concerning Charlestown. There is a handbill of Rivington's from New York, which mentions Charlestown being taken the 12th of May. Six general officers and five or six thousand troops surrendered themselves prisoners, having lost nine hundred men in the siege. Some don't believe this, as the vessel that brought the news arrived five days after the town was taken and did not bring the particulars, was bound to Halifax, and was obliged to put into New York to leave a number of prisoners she had taken on her passage, which was not more than ten days. However, I fear there is too much reason to believe the truth of it. It seems matters are come near to a crisis, and never was the exertion of every individual more needed than at this time, to get an army in the field of sufficient numbers to [illegible] the right; not an easy matter, but unless the resolves of Congress with respect to supplying them are more strictly complied with, it will be more difficult to keep them

Of the surrender, several accounts have been written by both French and American officers, who witnessed the scene. These generally harmonize, but in some details they differ. Perhaps the most complete narrative of the event, the correctness of which Trumbull's relation confirms, is to be found

together. The army has been much scanter of provision this year, often being four and sometimes seven days' allowance short. The allowance now is eight ounces of pork, or twelve of beef, per day, and full allowance of bread. We have received no pay since December. The money Colonel Olney brought come very timely. Our regiment has behaved excellently well since in this department. have stood a very severe winter with not more than one blanket to three men, as many shirts, half as many shoes, the severest weather, and as many pairs of breeches, all this with but few complaints. not many have deserted or been punished, so much better we are here than at home. I hope our State will avail themselves of this time in the year to provide the troops with blankets when the inhabitants can spare them, if ever . . . I am at a loss to determine what is the reason our army is so poorly supplied, cannot believe it is owing altogether to the poverty of our country, but to the neglect of some public officers. it seems there ought to be some new plan and voice formed to support the glorious cause of America. The French fleet may be too late. Had we not expected them to conquer all our enemies last fall there would have been some earlier provision made for another campaign.

"Since writing the above there is intelligence from Charlestown which can be depended upon. It comes in a letter from Colonel Laurens, who was at Wilmington, to one of His Excellency's aids, dated at that place May 16, and asserts the place was safe on the 12th. The enemy had taken Fort Moultrie that day, which capitulated upon favorable terms, after twice repulsing the enemy, who at last reenforced so strong it was thought impracticable to keep it any longer. There was only about fifty continental troops and a few militia in the fort. General Clinton's brigade of Yorkers, marched a few days past for Albany, which place it is said, the Indians and enemy, to the number of nine hundred, have got within thirty-nine miles of.

"It is a general time of health throughout the army. I would be much obliged to you for a few lines the first opportunity acquainting me with your own and family's welfare. Make my most respectful compliments to Mrs. J. and grandmother Jencks, if they are yet alive, which God grant. My love to Daniel, Rufus and all the friends."

After the siege, in which he had been honorably conspicuous, he, at the age of twenty-seven years, resigned his commission, and returned to the paternal homestead, in which he was born, and occupied himself in rural pursuits. He was highly esteemed for his patriotic services and for neighborly qualities. For about twenty years he represented his native town in the General Assembly. He was also for many years President of the Town Council, and held other appointments from the town and the State with ability and honor. He died November 23, 1832, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. His funeral took place on Monday, November 26th, the Rev. Frederick A. Farley, of Providence, conducting the service. The stone marking his grave bears a long and appropriate inscription. "His name is gathered to the honored treasury of American dead."

The friendship formed by Captain Olney for General Lafayette, while serving under him, was cherished by him without abatement until the close of life. The meeting of the two in Providence, when Lafayette visited the town, on his tour through the United States, in 1824, is remembered as highly affecting, by persons still living, who witnessed it. In compliment to him as President of a bank, his portrait was engraved and made the ornament of its ten dollar notes. The portrait of Captain Olney, printed on page 449 of this volume, is a copy of an enlarged photograph of that engraving. Captain Olney was an original member of the Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati.

in Dr. James Thatcher's "Military Journal of the American Revolution." He says:

"At about twelve o'clock, the combined army was arranged and drawn up in two lines more than a mile in length.

"The Americans were drawn up in a line on the right side of the road, and the French occupied the left. At the head of the former the great American Commander, mounted on his noble courser, took his station, attended by his aides. At the head of the latter was posted the excellent Count Rochambeau and his suite. The French troops, in complete uniform, displayed a martial and noble appearance, their band of music, of which the timbrel formed a part, was a delightful novelty, and produced, while marching to the ground, a most enchanting effect.* The Americans, though not all in uniform, nor their dress so neat, yet exhibited a soldierly air, and every countenance beamed with satisfaction and joy. The concourse of spectators from the country was prodigious,—in point of numbers, was probably equal to the military, but universal silence and order prevailed. It was about two o'clock when the captive army advanced through the line formed for their reception. Every eye was prepared to gaze on Lord Cornwallis, the object of peculiar interest and solicitude, but he disappointed our anxious expectations. Pretending indisposition, he made General O'Hara his substitute as the leader of his army. This officer was followed by the conquered troops in a slow and solemn step, with shouldered arms, colors cased, and drums beating a British march.† Having arrived at the head of the line General O'Hara, elegantly mounted, advanced to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, taking off his hat, and apologized for the non-appearance of Earl Cornwallis. With his usual dignity and politeness, His Excellency pointed to Major-General Lincoln for directions, by whom the army was conducted into a spacious field, where it was intended they should ground their arms.‡ The royal troops, while marching through the line formed by the allied army, exhibited a

*"The French," who formed the right wing, had sometimes richly dressed 'heiducks' (fancy servants) in their suite, who, being very tall and handsome men, presented quite a dazzling appearance in their gold and silver laced liveries. All the French Generals,—Count de Rochambeau, Marquis de Lafayette, Count de Deux-Ponts, and Prince de Lauzun,—wore glittering stars and badges of military orders.

"On the right wing of each French regiment was gorgeously paraded a rich standard of white silk, with three golden *fleurs de lis* embroidered on it. Beyond these standards stood the drummers and fifers, and in front of them the band, which played delightfully. It must be confessed that the French troops, altogether, looked very well; they were all tall, handsome men. They all wore white gaiters; a part of them were cased in red, some also in green; most of their, however, were in white regimentals. The German or Alsacian regiments had blue regimentals."—*Diary of Sergeant John Conrad Doehla, of an Ansbach regiment.*

†"The World Turned Upside Down."

‡The field on which the British laid down their arms is about one mile and a half from Yorktown, and lies south of the road leading to Hampton.

SURRENDER OF LORD CORNWALLIS, AT YORKTOWN, VA. OCT. 19th 1781

decent and neat appearance, as respects arms and clothing, for their commander opened his store, and directed every soldier to be furnished with a new suit complete, prior to the capitulation. But in their march we remarked a disorderly and unsoldierly conduct; their step was irregular, and their ranks frequently broken. But it was in the field, where they came to the last act of the drama, that the spirit and pride of the British soldier were put to the severest test. Here their mortification could not be concealed. Some of the platoon officers appeared to be exceedingly chagrined when giving the command '*ground arms*,'* and I am a witness that they performed this duty in a very unofficer-like manner, and that many of the soldiers manifested a *sullen temper*, throwing their arms on the pile with violence, as if determined to render them useless.* This irregularity, however, was checked by the authority of General Lincoln. After having grounded their arms, and divested themselves of their accou-

BRITISH FLAG CAPTURED AT YORKTOWN

trements, the captive troops were conducted back to Yorktown, and guarded by our troops till they could be removed to the place of their destination.

"The delivery of the colors of the several regiments, twenty-eight in number, was next performed. For this purpose, twenty eight British Captains, each bearing a flag in a case, were drawn up in a line opposite to them. At a distance of six paces, twenty-eight American Sergeants

* "The English displayed much arrogance and ill-humor during this melancholy ceremony; they particularly affected great contempt of the Americans." *Blanchard.*

* "When our Colonel, Baron Seybothen, had marched his regiment into the circle, he had us drawn up in a line, stepped in front of it, and commanded first, 'Present arms!' and then, 'Lay down arms!' 'Put off swords and cartridge boxes!' while tears ran down his cheeks, most of us were weeping like him."—*Doehla's Diary.*

were placed in line to receive the colors. Ensign Wilson, of Clinton's brigade, the youngest commissioned officer in the army, (being then only eighteen years of age,) was appointed by Colonel Hamilton officer of the day, to conduct this interesting ceremony. When Wilson gave the order for the British Captains to advance two paces to receive them, the former hesitated, and gave as a reason that they were unwilling to surrender their flags to non-commissioned officers. Hamilton, who was at a distance, observed this hesitation, and rode up to inquire the cause. On being informed, he willingly spared the feelings of the British Captains, and ordered Ensign Wilson to receive them himself, and hand them to the American Sergeants."

The royal prisoners were soon sent by regiments into the interior of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, to be provided for until different arrangements should be made.

TROOPS SURRENDERED, NUMBERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

The British return of troops surrendered, places the number at 7,247. Another account makes the grand total 11,800; but this includes 2,000 sailors, 1,800 negroes, 1,500 tories, and 80 vessels. The military chest given up contained £2,113 6*s* 0*d* sterling. The ordnance department comprised 75 brass cannon, 169 iron cannon, mortars, a large quantity of cartridges, round and grape shot, a small number of shells, together with other artillery furniture and stores.

The returns also reported 7,794 muskets, 266,274 ball cartridges, 2,025 sabres, 83 barrels and 89 half-barrels of powder, 29 boxes of musket balls, weighing 100 pounds each, and 34,200 musket flints. Besides these were 24 regimental standards, 4 British Union flags, 73 Camp colors, a large quantity of quartermaster and hospital stores, clothing for at least 1,000 men, and a considerable quantity of provisions.

During the siege the British had killed, 309; wounded, 120; deserted and taken prisoners, 123; total, 552. Of the killed were Major Charles Cockrane, Aide-de-Camp to Lord

Cornwallis, Lieutenant Campbell, Lieutenant Ware, Lieutenant Guyon, Captain Kerr, Lieutenant Fraser, Captain Ball, and Commissary Perkins. Six officers were wounded, viz.: Lieutenant Lyster, Lieutenant Dunn, Lieutenant Lightburne, Lieutenant Carson, Lieutenant Robertson and Ensign Sprangenburg. Lieutenants Lyster and Dunn died of their wounds. French loss,— killed, 50; wounded, 127; total, 177. American loss,— killed 27; wounded, 73; total, 100.

One of the deeply lamented deaths was that of Colonel Alexander Scammell, who was taken prisoner by a party of horse while, as officer of the day, he was reconnoitering the ground abandoned by the enemy. Immediately after he had surrendered he was inhumanly shot by one of his captors, plundered, and in his wounded condition carried into Yorktown. At the request of General Washington, Lord Cornwallis permitted him to be conveyed to the hospital at Williamsburg, where he died October 6th. Colonel Scammell was born in Mendon, Mass., March 24, 1747. He studied law with General John Sullivan, was his Brigade-Major at Cambridge, in 1775, and took part in the battles of Trenton, Princeton and Saratoga. From 1778 to 1781 he was Adjutant-General of the army, and at Yorktown commanded the first New Hampshire regiment. Colonel Scammell possessed superior military ability, and enjoyed the confidence of Washington.

In communicating the intelligence of his surrender to Sir Henry Clinton, Lord Cornwallis wrote:

"I have the mortification to inform Your Excellency that I have been forced to give up the posts of York and Gloucester, and to surrender the troops under my command, by capitulation on the 19th instant, as prisoners of war to the combined forces of America and France.

"I never saw this post in a favorable light; but when I found I was to be attacked by so powerful an army and artillery, nothing but the hopes of relief would have induced me to attempt its defence; for I would either have endeavored to escape to New York by rapid marches from the Gloucester side, immediately on the arrival of General Washington's

troops at Williamsburg, or I would, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, have attacked them in the open field, where it might have been just possible that fortune would have favored the gallantry of the handful of troops under my command. But being assured by Your Excellency's letters that every possible means would be tried by the navy and army to relieve us, I could not think myself at liberty to venture upon either of those desperate attempts; . . . . and receiving on the second evening your letter of the 24th of September, that the relief would sail about the 5th of October, I withdrew within the works on the night of the 29th of September, hoping by the labor and firmness of the soldiers to protract the defence until you could arrive . . . . Under all these circumstances, I thought it would have been wanton and inhuman to the last degree to sacrifice the lives of this small body of gallant soldiers, who had ever behaved with so much fidelity and courage, by exposing them to an assault which, from the numbers and precautions of the enemy, could not fail to succeed. I therefore proposed to capitulate."

In the letter from which the foregoing extract is made, Lord Cornwallis evidently intended to imply that, by delay in sending forward the promised relief, Sir Henry was in part responsible for the surrender of Yorktown,— an implication that he as evidently was indisposed to accept.* Of the merits of the case, a British critic thus speaks:

"Our purpose is sufficiently answered, when we state that according to the showing of all parties, a good deal of blame attaches both to Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis; between whom there does not seem to have existed that good feeling and personal amity, without which it is scarcely possible that men can act happily together, either for politics or in war. As to other matters, they took the turn here which they will be forced to take in almost all disputes of the kind. The friends and partizans of the General-in-Chief asserted that his case was made out to their perfect satisfaction; the admirers of Lord Cornwallis contended that his vindication was complete." †

The representation on page 477 of the surrender of Cornwallis is copied from a *bas-relief* which ornaments a monumental vase presented by the National Guards of France to the

* The fleet bringing relief was detained at New York for repairs, and did not reach the entrance to the Chesapeake until after the capitulation, and of course the hope of Cornwallis and the expectation of Sir Henry were blasted.

† Lives of British Military Commanders, &c., 166.

family of General Lafayette in 1835, (he having died prior to its completion,) in recognition of his services as their oldest and first General.* It was designed by the eminent artist M. Fauconnier, and appears to have been suggested

by an account of the siege related by an old American soldier to M. Levasseur, while in Yorktown in 1824. M. Jules Cloquet, in whose "Recollections of the Private Life of General Lafayette" the engraving appears, says:

"The author of the *bas-relief* has chosen for his representation the moment when General O'Hara, hat in hand, delivers the sword of Corn-

* The *bas reliefs* are four in number. The second represents Lafayette taking the civic oath to the French Federation, July 14, 1790. The third represents the moment when Lafayette and the Duke of Orleans (Louis Philippe) unite hands on the steps of the Hotel de Ville, July 31, 1830. The fourth represents the distribution of the standards to the National Guards of Paris, August 29, 1830.

wallis to Washington, in presence of Generals Rochambeau, Lafayette, and the staff of the allied armies. The American troops, and the French grenadiers, are grouped behind the staff, their flags unfurled and floating in the wind. The expression of shame and despair may be remarked in the attitude, and in the countenances of the officers who followed General O'Hara. In the foreground of the picture is seen an American officer raising and supporting a wounded man, who seems to forget his sufferings in the triumph of his country. Pieces of artillery, mounted, or broken, and overthrown, are also observed, and in the background is perceived the city of Yorktown."

This picture is here presented as one of several ideal representations of the surrender. As mentioned elsewhere, the sword of Cornwallis was received from General O'Hara by General Lincoln, and not by Washington. Another, and a more elaborate print of the surrender scene, from a drawing by M. Barbier, painter to the King, was engraved by M. Ponce, engraver to le Comte d'Artois, and was published in Paris by M. Godefrey. That is also somewhat ideal. Original impressions are now rare. The only copy I have seen is in the collection of Henry Thayer Drowne, Esq., of New York. Undoubtedly the engraving made from Colonel Trumbull's famous painting of the surrender, now in the Yale College collection, is the most literal and reliable in its grouping and details of any that have been published; and it is this that I have chosen as an illustration of my text.

The central figures in the foreground of the steel-plate engraving, opposite to this page, are General Lincoln, on horse-back, and General O'Hara, standing near him, ready to deliver up the sword of Cornwallis. Behind General O'Hara are two of his aides-de-camp. A little in the rear, and on the left of General Lincoln, Washington, mounted, has taken his station. The officers on the right hand of the engraving are Americans; those on the left are French. On the American side, the first four officers on foot are Colonel Nicholas Fish, of New York; Colonel Walter Stuart, of Philadelphia; Colonel John Laurens, of South Carolina;

This silhouette of Colonel Pickering is a reproduction from the original presented to the author by the late Benjamin Merrill, Esq., of Salem, Mass. It hung in the library of Rev. John Prince, D. D., pastor of the First Church in that city, until after his decease, January 7, 1836. Colonel Pickering was a worshiper in the First Church.

and Colonel Alexander Hamilton.* The officers mounted are, in consecutive order, Colonel Timothy Pickering,† of Massachusetts; Lieutenant-Colonel Ebenezer Huntington, of Connecticut; Major-General Henry Knox, of Massachusetts; General John Peter Gabriel Muhlenburg, of Pennsylvania; General Edward Hand, of Pennsylvania; General

* The name of Alexander Hamilton is inseparably associated with that of Washington, as one of the founders of the American Republic. No one, perhaps, did so much to shape the form and character of the government in its early days, and, at the end of a century, his views on finance and manufactures are held to be essentially sound. As a Federal leader he wielded a potent influence, and his writings, especially those in the "Federalist," are now carefully studied by persons intending to enter the arena of politics. His services during the Revolutionary war, military and civil, were varied and important, and as the confidential adviser of Washington, he was prudent and wise. He took part in the scenes of Long Island, White Plains, Trenton and Monmouth. At the siege of Yorktown he commanded a battalion of two hundred New York troops. His courage and success in storming one of the enemy's redoubts is recorded on a preceding page. After leaving the army he studied and engaged in the practice of law. He filled many important public offices. As the first Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, he exhibited the wide discernment of a thoroughly trained statesman. In 1780, Colonel Hamilton married Elizabeth Schuyler, daughter of General Philip Schuyler. In politics he was opposed to Aaron Burr, and spoke of him as "a dangerous man and unfit to be trusted with power." This political hostility led to a duel with Burr, by whom Hamilton was mortally wounded, July 11, 1804, and he died the following day, lamented by the entire country. It was a sad termination of a noble life. Colonel Hamilton was the son of James Hamilton, a Scotch merchant, and was born in Nevis, one of the West India islands, January 11, 1757.

† Colonel Timothy Pickering was born in Salem, Mass., July 17, 1745. He was graduated at Harvard University in 1763, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1768. His intellectual endowments, energy of character, and interest in public affairs, soon made him a leader in the affairs of his native county and of the State. He was a Colonel of militia, and February 26, 1775, prevented the British Colonel Leslie from crossing the draw-bridge in Salem, for the purpose of seizing some military stores. He held the offices of Register of Deeds, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and sole Judge of the Middle District Maritime Court. The Boston Port Bill, in 1774, drew from him, in behalf of the citizens of Salem, an address to Governor Gage. He was a member of the Committee of Correspondence, and in 1776, at the head of a regiment joined Washington in New Jersey, and participated in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. In 1777, he was made Adjutant-General of the army, was a member of the Board of War, and in 1780, succeeded General Nathanael Greene as Quartermaster General. In this capacity he served at Yorktown. After the war he took up his residence in Philadelphia, and subsequently settled on some wild lands in Luzerne county, Pennsylvania. He was a delegate to the State convention for considering the United States Constitution, and advocated its adoption. He held successively the offices of Postmaster General, Secretary of War, and Secretary of State. In 1801 he returned to Salem, and was made Chief Justice of the Essex County Court of Common Pleas. He was United States Senator from 1803 to 1811, a member of the Board of War from 1814 to 1815, and a Member of Congress from 1816 to 1817. As a leader of the Federal party he was active and efficient, and his political writings greatly influenced public sentiment. Colonel Pickering was one of the founders of the Essex Agricultural Society, and for ten years was its President. He owned an estate in the town of Wenham, and there introduced the Larch as an ornamental tree. He died January 29, 1829, honored and beloved by his fellow citizens. In 1867 his Life and Writings was published by his son, the late Octavius Pickering.

Anthony Wayne, of Pennsylvania; General Mordecai Gist, of Maryland; Major-General James Clinton, of New York; Colonel John Trumbull, of Connecticut, Secretary to General Washington; Lieutenant-Colonel David Cobb, of Massachusetts; Major-General Baron Steuben; the Marquis de Lafayette; General (Governor) Thomas Nelson, Jr.; and in the distance (a small figure) Lieutenant-Colonel Ebenezer Stevens, of Massachusetts.

The French officers drawn up opposite to the Americans are as follows: The first three on foot are Count Deux-Ponts, the Duke de Laval Montmorency and Count Custine, Colonels of Infantry. The next in order, mounted, are the Duke de Lauzun, General Choisy, Viscount Viomesnil, the Marquis de St. Simon, Count Fersen, Count Charles Dumas, the Marquis de Chastellux, the Baron Viomesnil, the Count de Barras, and the Count de Grasse.

COURTESIES TO THE VANQUISHED.

Washington, Rochambeau, and the American and French officers generally, took special pains to extend such social courtesies to the British Commander-in-Chief and to his officers, as would tend to soften their chagrin, and to place them at ease in their altered condition. Cornwallis appreciated these attentions, and spoke of them in glowing terms. "The treatment in general that we have received from the enemy, since our surrender," he wrote, "has been perfectly good and proper; but the kindness and attention that have been shown to us by the French officers in particular, their delicate sensibility of our situation, their generous and pressing offer of money, both public and private, to any amount, has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe, and will, I hope, make an impression on the heart of every officer, whenever the fortune of war should put any of them into our power."

The English soldiers, however, did not affect concealment

of contempt for their American captors. They shunned intercourse with them, while they lived upon terms of intimacy with the French. "After the surrender," says Chastellux, "the English behaved with the same over-bearing insolence as if they had been conquerors; the Scots wept bitterly, while the Germans only conducted themselves decently, and in a manner becoming prisoners. With a meanness always attendant upon vanquished insolence, the English servilely cringed to the French, vainly attempting to screen the disgrace of being conquered by those they had so often denominated American rebels, and republicans."

That Cornwallis should have inclined more heartily to the French than to the Americans is not surprising. In associating with the former, no memories of cruelties were awakened to render social intercourse embarrassing; but where the courtesies of the latter were tendered, recollections of scenes of military severity and discourtesy in the South, with which his name had been identified, imparted to each friendly attention the complexion of a rebuke.

Next to the humiliation of surrendering his army was the mortification of being required to yield up his sword to General Lincoln instead of to Washington or to Rochambeau. This was a swift retribution for the treatment of the gallant defender of Charleston, whose sword, as a prisoner of war, Cornwallis had received eighteen months before. When Washington decided that "the same honors" should be granted to the surrendering army "as were granted to the garrison of Charleston," he rendered a simple act of justice to General Lincoln, and in a manner not obnoxious to condemnatory criticism.

The day following the capitulation, the French officers and seamen visited the English vessels in the river, and hoisted the French flag. On land, at the water battery, the American standard was unfurled. So soon as arrangements could be made, Lord Cornwallis and his principal officers, having given their paroles, departed from Yorktown for

New York. The parole given by Lord Cornwallis was in the following words:

"I, Charles Earl Cornwallis, Lieutenant-General and commander of His Britanick Majesty's forces, do acknowledge myself a prisoner of war to the United States of America, and having permission from His Excellency General Washington, agreeable to capitulation, to proceed to New York and Charlestown, or either, and to Europe, do pledge my faith and word of honor, that I will not do or say anything injurious to the said United States, or armies thereof, or their allies, until duly exchanged; I do further promise that whenever required by the Commander-in Chief of the American army, or the Commissary of prisoners for the same, I will repair to such place or places as they or either of them may require.*

"Given under my hand at Yorktown, 28th day of October, 1781.

Cornwallis

Among the poetic effusions inspired by the capitulation was the following, from an unknown pen. It was published in the "Freeman's Journal," Philadelphia:

* Charles, Earl and Marquis Cornwallis, was born in England, December 31, 1738. He was educated at Eton and Cambridge, entered the army as a Captain, and served as Aide-de-Camp to Lord Granby in the German Campaign of 1761. As a member of the House of Lords, he opposed the measures that led to the American war, but afterwards accepted a command, and in 1776, as Major-General, took part with Sir Peter Parker in an unsuccessful assault upon Charleston. In 1780 he was present at the capture of that city. His operations in New Jersey, his defeat of General Gates, at Camden, S. C., his slight advantage over General Greene at Guilford, and his invasion of Virginia, are events too well known to require narration here. The "boy" Lafayette held him in check in Virginia until the investment of Yorktown was inaugurated. He was considered the ablest of the British Generals in America, but for reasons assigned in the text was unable to cope with the skill of Washington and Rochambeau. He was a favorite with George III., and after his return to England he received the appointment of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of India. He was subsequently made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and in 1805, was again appointed Governor General of India. He died at Ghazapore, October 5th of that year. He negotiated the treaty of Amiens, and his faithfulness to his promise to sign it, notwithstanding objections made to certain articles by his government, gave Napoleon a high opinion of him as "in every sense of the word, a worthy, good and honest man." To this he added, "Lord Cornwallis is the first Englishman that gave me, in good earnest, a favorable opinion of his nation." *Abbott's Life of Napoleon, p. 256.*

Lafayette, writing to his wife, says: "I pity Lord Cornwallis, for whom I have a high respect; he is kind enough to express some esteem for me, and, after having allowed myself the pleasure, in the capitulation, of repaying the incivilities at Charlestown, I do not intend to carry my vengeance any further." It is to be regretted that his career in South Carolina should have blemished an otherwise fair military reputation; but, "to err is human."

"Farewell, my Lord, may zephyrs waft thee o'er
In health and safety to thy native shore:
There seek Burgoyne and tell him, though too late,
You blamed unwisely his unhappy fate!
Tell your deluded monarch that you see
The hand of heaven upraised for liberty;
Tell your exhausted nation, tell them true,
They cannot conquer those who conquered you" *

Soon after the surrender of Yorktown, and before the Rhode Island regiment took its departure, several soldiers, who had served in it, were discharged, and made their journey home, from Virginia to Rhode Island, on foot. Among these was Mr. Nelson Miller, of Warren, R. I., where he was born July 25, 1755. In making this journey, Mr. Miller was more fortunate than some of his companions, being the owner of a pair of shoes. Bare feet in the army, at that period, were no uncommon sight; but the discomfort of travel in that plight, in the severe month of December, was somewhat relieved by thoughts of the "welcome home" that awaited the men.

NELSON MILLER.

Mr. Miller first enlisted in Captain Sion Martindale's company, which was raised in Bristol and Warren, in May or June, 1775, and which formed a part of Colonel Thomas Church's regiment, in August, 1778. During his several enlistments, he participated in the battles of Bunker's Hill, White Plains, Trenton, Princeton and Rhode Island. In the siege of Yorktown he shared the perils of his compan-

* "You cannot, my Lords, you cannot conquer America."—*Lord Chatham.*

ions in arms. He was at home, in Warren, when the British marched through the town (May, 1778,) to destroy boats in the Kickemuit river, and escaped with his wife and child into Swanzey, greatly relieved that they had not been made prisoners. In the winter of 1777–78, he was with Washington at Valley Forge, and was present when the entire army was mustered, and the Commander-in-Chief disclosed the "Conway Cabal" * to supersede him. He described it as "one of the most impressive scenes that he ever witnessed, and one that he should never forget—officers and men wept like children." Mr. Miller was married in the spring of 1776, and died in Bristol, R. I., March 2, 1840, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. In six of the seven years of the Revolutionary War, he faithfully served his country. The silhouette presented on the preceding page was cut more than fifty years ago, and is pronounced to be a striking likeness.

HOW THE NEWS WAS RECEIVED.

THE fall of Yorktown was the signal for an outburst of joy on the part of the officers and soldiers of the French and American armies. The fatigues, exposures and fatalities of the siege were all forgotten in the exhilaration of a grand triumph. "This is to us a most glorious day, but to the English one of bitter chagrin and disappointment," is the record of Surgeon Thatcher. "A glorious moment for America!" writes General Knox to his wife. "This day Lord Cornwallis and his army march out and pile their arms in the face of our victorious army. . . . . They will

*Ante, p. 130.

have the same *honors* as the garrison at Charleston; that is, they will not be permitted to unfurl their colors or play *Yankee Doodle!*" To M. De Maurepas, Lafayette writes:

"The play, sir, is over — and the fifth act has just closed: I was in a somewhat awkward situation during the first act; my heart experienced great delight at the final one — and I do not feel less pleasure in congratulating you upon the fortunate issue of our campaign. . . . . M. de Rochambeau will give you a full account of the army he commands; but if the honor of having commanded for some time the division of M. de St. Simon gives me any right to speak of my obligations to that General and his troops, that right would be much valued by me."

To his wife, he writes:

"The close of this campaign is truly brilliant for the allied troops. Our movements have been all remarkably well combined, and I must, indeed, be difficult to please, were I not completely satisfied with the close of my Virginia campaign. You must have learnt all the trouble that Lord Cornwallis's talents and superior forces gave me — the good luck we had in regaining the ground we had lost — and finally, our drawing Lord Cornwallis into the very position that was necessary to enable us to capture him. I count as among the happiest epochs of my life that in which the division of M. de St Simon remained united to my army, and that in which I alternately commanded the three Field-Marshals, with the troops under their orders."

The emotions of Washington, at the moment when he placed his signature to the compact of capitulation, must have been highly exultant. To him, too, the 19th of October was a glorious day. He saw in it the promise of a near termination of a struggle carried on for six years to win the boon of freedom. He saw, as in a vision, the ripening fruit and reward of that struggle,— a Republic founded upon the principle of equal rights, destined to become a leading power among the nations. If, in his expressions, he was less enthusiastic than his more mercurial compatriots, he felt as deeply, and rejoiced as heartily.

"The General congratulates the army upon the glorious event of yesterday!" is the opening sentence of his "After Orders," issued October 20th. He recognizes "the gener-

ous proofs which His Most Christian Majesty has given of his attachment to the cause of America," which "must force conviction on the minds of the most deceived of the enemy relative to the good consequences of the alliance, and inspire every citizen of the States with sentiments of the most unalterable gratitude." He acknowledges the eminent services of the fleet "commanded by an Admiral whose fortune and talents insure great events," and of "an army of the most admirable composition, both in officers and men," and requests His Excellency, Count de Rochambeau to present in his name to the regiments of Agenoes and Deux-Ponts the two pieces of brass ordnance captured by them, as a testimony of their gallantry in storming the enemy's redoubt. To the General Baron de Viomesnil, to M. de Chastellux, to M. de Saint Simon, to the Count de Viomesnil, and to Brigadier-General Choisy, his warmest thanks are tendered, "for the illustrious manner in which they have advanced the interests of the common cause," and he entreats His Excellency, the Count de Rochambeau, "to accept his most grateful acknowledgments for his counsel at all times." "The General's thanks to each individual of merit in the American army would comprehend them all," "but he thinks himself bound by affection, duty and gratitude" to mention particularly Major-Generals Lincoln, Lafayette and Steuben, "for dispositions in the trenches," and General Duportail, Colonel Querenet, General Knox and Colonel d'Aboville, "for their great care, and attention, and fatigue in bringing forward the artillery and stores, and for their judicious and spirited arrangement of them in the parallels." He likewise thanks, "in the warmest terms, His Excellency, Governor Nelson, for the aid he has received from him and from the militia under his command." And that "the general joy" might be diffused "through every heart," the General issued an order, pardoning and releasing all the men belonging to the army then in confinement, and directing them to join their respective corps. As a becom-

ing expression of gratitude to the Almighty for "such reiterated and astonishing interpositions of Providence," divine service was ordered to be performed in the several brigades and divisions. These observances took place two days after the surrender, and in them joined all the troops not on duty.

From the commencement of the siege, Washington had kept Congress apprised of its progress. The moment the capitulation had been settled and signed, he despatched Lieutenant-Colonel Tilghman, his Aide-de-Camp and confidential Secretary, to lay an official account of it before that body. Delighted with this mark of favor, he posted with the utmost rapidity in discharge of the pleasant duty, spreading the joyful intelligence by the way. Yet with all the haste he could make, the journey to Philadelphia consumed nearly or quite four days,—a distance now easily traversed in eighteen hours. It was past midnight, on the 23d of October, when Colonel Tilghman entered the city. Hastening to the lodgings of President McKean, he broke the silence of the hour, by knocking loudly at his door. The noise drew the attention of watchmen, and they, mistaking him for a "roistering young fellow, who had bided too long at his cups," were about to arrest him, and confine him in the watch-house, as a disturber of the peace; but by a revelation of his character and business, he escaped that ignominy. President McKean promptly appeared, and gave to the bearer of welcome news a hearty greeting. Soon a merry peal from the bell in the belfry of Independence Hall roused from its slumbers the entire population of the city, and rushing into the streets it was cheered with the cry, "Cornwallis is taken!" "Cornwallis is taken!" With stentorian lungs, the watchmen joined in the glad acclaim, and shouted, "Cornwallis is taken!" One of these night-watch functionaries, a patriotic old German, not to be outdone by his associates, with great unction intoned the hour, "Basht dree o'glock, und Corn-wal-lis isht da-ken!"

As quickly as possible, the publishers of the Freeman's Journal issued an extra sheet, inscribed in bold letters, "HOW ARE THE MIGHTY FALLEN!" It was illustrated with the seal of the State of Pennsylvania, bearing the legend, "Virtue, Liberty and Independence," underneath which were placed the Arms of the British Crown bottom up.

At an early hour, Congress met. "The despatches from Washington were read, congratulatory speeches were delivered, and every other expression, comporting with the dignity of such a stately body, was given to the joy which filled every heart." At 11 o'clock, the Vice President of the State, and members of the Council, waited upon the President and members of Congress, and upon the Minister of France, to congratulate them upon the triumph of the American and French arms. The State flag was hoisted, and salutes were fired by the artillery in the State House yard and by the shipping in the harbor. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon, Congress, the French Minister, the Council and chief officers of the State, together with a considerable number engaged in the civil and military departments, repaired to the Dutch Lutheran Church, where a service of thanksgiving "to the Great Disposer of all events" was held, conducted by the Rev. Mr. Duffield, one of the Chaplains of Congress. By invitation of the Minister of France, a similar service was attended in the Roman Catholic Church, on which occasion the Abbé Bandole, Almoner to the Embassy of His Most Christian Majesty, delivered an earnest, a devout and a patriotic discourse. In the evening, the city was brilliantly illuminated.

"Alexander Quesnay, Esq., exhibited at his lodging in Second street, between Chestnut and Walnut streets, a beautiful spectacle, viz.: On the right window were seen thirteen stars, representing the thirteen United States, each of which diverged a ray of virtue towards the name of His Excellency, General Washington, which encircled a quiver.

The names of the thirteen virtues are: 1. Wisdom. 2. Justice. 3. Strength. 4. Temperance. 5. Faith. 6. Charity. 7. Hope. 8. Courage. 9. Religion. 10. Love. 11. Policy. 12. Friendship. 13. Constancy. Over this were three fleurs de luce, which environed the Count de Grasse's name, with the motto *Huzza!* diverging three rays of joy towards the said thirteen States.

"On the left window was drawn the picture of the illustrious American commander, with his lance in his hand, trampling under foot the crown of Britain, with the motto, *British Pride*. Over this were three fleurs de luce standing about the Count de Rochambeau's name, with the motto *Huzza!* which also diverged three rays of joy towards the aforementioned illustrious hero. The whole was formed by different colors, in the nicest and most expressive manner, and attracted not only the notice, but the universal admiration of the numerous spectators." *

It had been intended to supplement the illumination with equally brilliant fire-works, but the unfavorable weather compelled a postponement until the next evening, when Mr. Peale decorated his house with transparencies. In the lower story was a representation of the ship, "Ville de Paris," under full sail. In the second story were the busts of Washington and Rochambeau, encircled with stars and fleurs-de-luce, with the legend, "*Live! Valiant Chiefs!*" In the third story, a label extended across the front of the house, bearing the motto: "FOR OUR ALLIES. HUZZA, HUZZA, HUZZA."

Congress passed a vote of thanks to Washington, to Rochambeau, and to the officers and men under their respective commands, for their services in the capture of Yorktown. To the former were presented two stands of British colors, received under the capitulation. To the latter, and to the Count de Grasse, were respectively given two

* Freeman's Journal

pieces of field ordnance, taken at the same time, on each of which was to be engraved an appropriate inscription, recognizing "the illustrious part which they bore in effecting the surrender." A resolution was also passed, directing that a horse, handsomely caparisoned, and a sword be presented to Colonel Tilghman,* as expressing an appreciation of his patriotic services. For the purchase of the horse and accoutrements, an order for four hundred dollars, on the treasury of the United States, was placed in his hands. The sword was manufactured in Paris; but before it was finished, the Colonel died, and on the 30th of May, 1786, it was presented by General Knox, Secretary of War, to his widow.†

* Colonel Tench Tilghman, son of James Tilghman, was born December 25, 1744, at Fausley, a plantation situated upon Fausley creek, in the county of Talbot, Maryland. His father was educated a lawyer, and in 1790 became one of the Associate Justices of the Court for Talbot county. His mother was a daughter of Tench Francis, Esq., who removed to Philadelphia, and became Attorney General of the Province of Pennsylvania. His great ancestor in America was Richard Tilghman, Surgeon, who emigrated from the county of Kent, England.

Colonel Tilghman was one of a family of twelve children, and the eldest of six brothers. For his education careful provision appears to have been made. At a suitable age, he connected himself with his uncle, Tench Francis, the younger of the name, and engaged in successful commercial pursuits in Philadelphia. At the commencement of the Revolution, he determined to share the fate of his country, and accepted the commission of Lieutenant in a military company, of which he subsequently became Captain. In that capacity, he joined the army of Washington, and was identified with its fortunes to the close of the war. In 1776, he became a member of Washington's military family, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, discharging the functions of an Aide-de-Camp, and of confidential Secretary to his commander. For Colonel Tilghman, Washington entertained the warmest affection, and the closest intimacy between them remained unbroken to the end of life.

June 9, 1783, Colonel Tilghman was married to his cousin, Miss Ann Maria Tilghman, daughter of the Honorable Matthew Tilghman, of Bay Side, Talbot county, Maryland. At the termination of the war, he engaged once more in commercial business, and at the time of his death was associated with the celebrated financier, Robert Morris, but died before pecuniary ruin became the sad experience of that eminent patriot.

Early in 1786, a disease contracted through hardship and exposure endured while in the army, was evidently approaching a crisis. His death, which occurred on the 18th of April in that year, caused widespread sorrow. At his funeral, his fellow citizens and brethren in arms gave every suitable token of their appreciation of his worth, and of their affectionate regard. The recognition by Congress of his merits as an officer has already been noticed in the text of this page. Colonel Tilghman left two daughters, one of whom was a posthumous child. Several portraits of him are extant. He appears in Peale's painting of the Capitulation of Yorktown, and also in Colonel John Trumbull's painting of the Battle of Trenton. An interesting Memoir of Colonel Tilghman was published in 1876.

† The sword is now in possession of his great-grandson, Colonel Oswald Tilghman, of Easton, Maryland, and was worn by him at the late Yorktown centennial commemoration. It is a handsome rapier blade, with gold and silver mountings. Upon the handle are engraved the insignia of the Society of the Cincinnati, and the words, "Presented to Lieut.-Col. Tench Tilghman, by Congress, Oct. 19, 1781."

Three other resolutions were also adopted, the first, to appoint the 13th of December as a day of thanksgiving and prayer throughout the United States; the second, to extend thanks to General Lafayette for his meritorious

French Highman

military services in Virginia, with permission to go to France, to return at such time as might be most convenient to him, adding a request that he would communicate to the officers and men under his command the satisfaction and approbation with which Congress viewed their conduct; and the third, to erect at Yorktown a marble monument, bearing a

suitable historical inscription, and ornamented with emblems of the alliance between the United States and France. The first of these resolutions was carried into effect with fervid piety. The second was presented to Lafayette, and drew from him a warm, patriotic response. The third was not carried into execution on account of the low state of the public finances. The laudable design lay dormant, until 1880, when it was revived, as will be seen in subsequent pages.

As the tidings of the capitulation spread through the country, demonstrations of joy, similar to those made in Philadelphia, were everywhere witnessed. The good news reached Newport, October 24th, by the schooner "Adventure," Captain William Lovett, who sailed from Yorktown October 20th. It aroused lively enthusiasm. The Commandant on Rhode Island communicated it by express to Deputy-Governor Jabez Bowen, at Providence. An extra, issued from the office of the Providence Gazette, carried the tidings to every part of the State. In Providence, a salute of thirteen cannon was fired, the American and French flags, with the British ensign beneath them, were displayed, the bells were rung, and other means were employed to express the intense pleasure that was felt. In the evening, a gentleman from Virginia gave a splendid ball at Hacker's Hall. An exhibition of fire-works was a fitting close to the excitements of the day.

In Boston, the news was received with great enthusiasm. The bells of the several churches were rung most of the day. The ships in the harbor, both American and French, displayed their flags. On the public buildings were hoisted the national ensigns of the United States, France and Spain. The roar of artillery from armed vessels in the harbor, from the forts, and from the field pieces of the local companies, proclaimed in thunder tones the general joy. The Governor gave an entertainment, at the "Bunch of Grapes," to the French allies in town, and another, at his residence, to the

Honorable Council, and to other gentlemen of distinction. Public Thanksgiving services were held in three of the meeting-houses, and a collection was taken for the benefit of Boston soldiers serving in the continental army. At Newburgh, where General Arnold was burned in effigy, at Fredericksburg, at Hartford, at Fishkill, at New Brunswick, at Trenton, at Princeton, at New Windsor, at Albany, and in all principal towns, artillery salutes, social fetes, congratulatory addresses, and other impromptu demonstrations were the order of the day.

General Count de Rochambeau deputed the Duke de Lauzun and the Count William de Deux-Ponts to carry to France an official account of the siege and surrender of Yorktown. They took their departure in different ships, Lauzun carrying the original account, and Deux-Ponts a duplicate copy. Both of the messengers reached their destination in safety. Lauzun went directly to the King, and presented the despatch of which he was the bearer. "My news," he says, "caused the King the greatest joy. I found the Queen with him. He made numerous inquiries, and said many civil things. He asked me if I intended to return to America. I replied yes. He added, that I might assure his army that it would be treated handsomely, better than any other had ever been. I replied, that I was ready to carry his favors to America in a fortnight." The Duke did not return immediately, but remained in France until late in 1782, when he sailed for the United States, where he remained until March 11, 1783, when, with the remnant of the French forces, he embarked at Wilmington for France.*

Count Deux-Ponts, in addition to the official document and other papers intrusted to him by Count de Rochambeau, took orders from the Count de Grasse. His diary contains this brief record: "After a boisterous passage of nineteen days, we arrived off the coast of France; and on the 24th

*The Virginia Historical Society has in its possession a portrait of the Duke de Lauzun.

of November I enjoyed the inexpressible pleasure of embracing at Versailles those persons who are to me the dearest." For "the valor and courage" displayed by him at Yorktown, the King made him a Chevalier of the military order of St. Louis.

When the intelligence of the surrender of the British forces at Yorktown reached London, the ministry was greatly agitated. On making it known to Lord North, he received it, says Lord George Germain, "as he would have taken a ball in the breast, ... for he opened his arms, exclaiming wildly, as he paced up and down the apartment, during a few minutes, 'Oh, my God! it is all over!' words which he repeated many times, under emotions of the deepest agitation and distress." The King was at Kew, and Lord Germain, as Secretary for the American department, sent off a dispatch to His Majesty, acquainting him with the melancholy termination of the expedition of Lord Cornwallis. Whatever feelings of disappointment the news may have awakened, he preserved an external calmness, quite in contrast with the despairing outburst of Lord North. In reply to the despatch, the King said, that while he lamented "the unfortunate result of the operations in Virginia," he trusted that neither Lord George Germain nor any member of the Cabinet would suppose, that it would make the smallest alteration in those principles of conduct which had directed him in the past, and which would always animate him "under every event in the prosecution of the present contest." "Whatever opinion we may entertain, relative to the practicability of reducing America to obedience, by force of arms at the end of 1781, we must admit that no sovereign could manifest more calmness, dignity, or self-command, than George the Third displayed in this reply." *

* Wraxall's Memoirs.

ANOTHER CAMPAIGN PROJECTED.

FAVORED BY WASHINGTON, BUT OPPOSED BY DE GRASSE AND ROCHAMBEAU. SKETCH OF GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE. -BRITISH STANDARDS PRESENTED TO CONGRESS.—WASHINGTON LEAVES YORKTOWN AND VISITS PHILADELPHIA.—ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION BY CONGRESS.

HAVING now successfully disposed of Yorktown, it was the desire of Washington to improve the opportunity, while the French fleet was with him, to enter upon

CANNON PRESENTED BY CONGRESS TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE FOR HIS SERVICES IN THE SOUTH.

another campaign, making New York, Charleston, or Wilmington objective points. By concentrating land and naval forces upon New York, the British, in their discouraged and crippled state, could be driven from that city, and the termination of the war, so distinctly foreshadowed by the fall of Cornwallis, be hastened. A similar concentration upon Charleston, or Wilmington, in North Carolina, would be

helpful to General Greene, and tend to the same result.* Washington made the proposition to the Count de Grasse,

* Nathanael Greene was descended from John Greene, one of the early settlers of Warwick, R. I. He was the son of Nathanael and Phebe Greene, and was born in Warwick, June 6, 1742, N. S. His father was a preacher in the Society of Friends, the owner of a large landed estate, of a grist mill, a saw mill, and a forge. Of the early life of the subject of this notice, the following is a brief summary: He showed, in boyhood, a fondness for dancing, and for other "worldly" pleasures on which his sire frowned. He invigorated his constitution by working at the forge. He was fond of learning. He used, with commendable industry, the scanty advantages afforded for an education. In the higher mathematics he became a proficient. He gathered a library, and broadened his knowledge by a perusal of the classics and other standard literature. In composition, he acquired a fluent and forcible style. He read law. He studied military tactics, and assisted to organize the "Kentish Guards." He went to Boston and purchased a musket, that, as a private, he might be properly armed. For his military propensities, and for other contraventions of the rules of the Society of Friends, he was "read out of meeting." He represented his native town in the Rhode Island General Assembly, and, July 20, 1774, he was married to Miss Catharine Littlefield, a daughter of John Littlefield, Esq., of New Shoreham, R. I., a lady in every way worthy of his affection. But he was not destined to remain in obscurity. His country called him to assist in throwing off the yoke of tyranny, and he obeyed. It is in his military character that he is now to be seen.

Next to Washington, General Greene held a foremost rank among the revolutionary officers of his grade. His natural endowments, no less than the acquisitions of a large experience, eminently qualified him for the responsible duties of his high military position. He was brave, energetic, prompt to decide and act, prudent, cautious, hopeful, persistent and self-controlled. These qualities in him were appreciated by his companions in arms, and by the country at large, and he was looked upon, in the event of Washington's death during the continuance of the war, as one, if not the only one, who could fill his place and hold the public confidence. Washington relied unreservedly upon his judgment, and bestowed upon him his unconstrained friendship, the bonds of which time strengthened. The feeling was warmly reciprocated by Greene, and the fraternal relations of the two leading Generals of the Revolution remained unbroken to the close of life.

Few men have been so rapidly advanced in military rank as was Greene. From marching as a private in the "Kentish Guards," he soon became a Brigadier-General, in command of three regiments, constituting the Rhode Island Army of Observation. These he led to Cambridge, in support of Washington. Soon after, he was appointed to the same rank in the continental army, and a year later was made a Major General.

It is not needful to describe here his important military services on Long Island, at Trenton, at Princeton, at Brandywine, at Germantown, and at Monmouth, nor to speak of his prowess in the Rhode Island Campaign, under Sullivan, *Ante*, p. 54, nor to narrate his faithful and perplexing labors in discharging the thankless duties of Quartermaster General of the continental army, nor yet to delineate his brilliant southern career. For all these and more concerning a revolutionary hero, whom the people of Rhode Island will ever hold in admiration, the reader is referred to the three noble volumes of his Life, written by Professor George Washington Greene. As a public testimonial of General Greene's "wisdom, fortitude and military skill" while commanding in the Southern Department, Congress passed a resolution to present him with "two pieces of the field ordnance taken from the British army at the Cowpens, Augusta or Eutaw." A leave of absence was also granted him, which he improved to visit Rhode Island, where "honors and thanks were awaiting him."

General Greene was an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati, of which Washington was the first President. He was also, as stated on page 63, President of the Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati. His badge of the Order, a gold eagle, was pro-

MAJOR GENERAL NATHANIEL GREENE

N. Greene

but he declined to entertain it, on the ground that having accomplished the purpose for which his fleet came to America, it now became his duty to obey the instructions of his government, as well as to fulfill his obligations to the Spaniards, by returning, without further delay, to the West Indies. Washington, still intent upon his scheme, proposed that he should take a body of troops on board his fleet and land it at Wilmington, while pursuing his voyage; but this, from prudential considerations, he also declined. Upon consultation with the Count de Rochambeau, Washington found him disinclined to engage, that season, in another campaign, and the plan was reluctantly abandoned.

BRITISH STANDARDS PRESENTED TO CONGRESS.

The Philadelphia Freeman's Journal of November 7, 1781, says:

"On Saturday afternoon last, between the hours of three and four, arrived here twenty-four regimental standards, taken with the British and German forces under Lord Cornwallis. They were received by the volunteer cavalry of this city of Schuylkill and conducted into town, displayed in a long procession, preceded by the American and French colors, at a proper distance. They were paraded through the principal streets of the city, amidst the joyful acclamations of surrounding multitudes, to the

cured for him in France by General Lafayette, and is now in the possession of Nathanael Greene, M. D., of Newport.

A portrait of General Greene, painted by Charles Peale, of Philadelphia, is owned by the Honorable William Greene, of East Greenwich. He also possesses an engraved portrait of the General, which Lafayette pronounced to be the best likeness of him that he had ever seen. It was presented by the General to Lafayette, and after hanging in his chamber, at La Grange, thirty or forty years, was given by him to Mrs. Shaw, a daughter of General Greene, on the occasion of her visit to the devoted friend of her father.

After closing his military career, General Greene made Newport his temporary home. He thence removed to the neighborhood of Savannah, and settled upon a plantation presented to him by the state of Georgia. Here he died from sunstroke, June 19, 1786, universally lamented. His funeral was imposing, and his remains were deposited in a vault in Savannah, but, strange to say, the place of his sepulture has been forgotten, and no living person can now point out the spot where his body rests!

Congress, in honor of the memory of General Greene, voted to erect a monument "at the seat of the Federal government," which was never done; but the State of Rhode Island has supplied the deficiency by the gift of a noble statue, executed by H. K. Brown, and placed in the National Capitol.

State House. The hostile standards were there laid at the feet of Congress and His Excellency the ambassador of France — a noble and exalted memorial of the victory gained by the allied forces over the slaves of tyranny and oppression."

On the 5th of November, Washington left Yorktown, and on the 27th, he visited Philadelphia. His presence was hailed with delight. The President of Congress welcomed him with an address of congratulation, and in the evening, a brilliant display of transparencies, designed and executed by Mr. Charles W. Peale, was made. Among the special attractions were portraits of Washington and Count de Rochambeau, "with rays of glory and interlaced civic crowns over their heads, framed with palm and laurel leaves, and the words, in transparent letters, '*Live, Valiant Chiefs*'; the whole encircled with stars and fleurs-de-luce." *

WINTER - QUARTERS.

LOCATION OF THE TROOPS. — ROCHAMBEAU'S HEAD-QUARTERS. — PAVILIONS BURNED AT NEWPORT. CORRESPONDENCE OF BEVILLE, TARLÉ, ROCHAMBEAU AND DUMAS RELATIVE TO THE MOVEMENT OF THE TROOPS. — LETTER FROM CHASTELLUX TO GOVERNOR HARRISON. — THE ARMY ON THE MARCH NORTHWARD.

AN immediate movement of the French troops not appearing necessary, Count de Rochambeau decided to remain in Virginia until the next spring. On the first of November, the army went into winter-quarters, — the Legion of Lauzun, commanded by M. de Choisy, at Hampton; the regiment of Soissonnais, and the grenadiers and chasseurs

* Freeman's Journal.

of Saintonge, at York; the regiment of Saintonge at the Half-way House, between York and Hampton; and one company of artillery and a detachment of fifty men, under the command of the Vicomte Viomesnil, at Gloucester. Three companies of the Deux-Ponts were sent to Jamestown, and the siege artillery was stationed at West Point, in Virginia. The head-quarters of the Count de Rochambeau were at Williamsburg. Here the regiment of Bourbonnois, and also that of Deux-Ponts, had their cantonments. According to Blanchard, the Count de Rochambeau established head-quarters at Newport. M. de Villemanzy, "Commissaire de guerre," with other officers, quartered in Richmond. But wherever quartered, all were welcomed with a generous hospitality. The principal incident of an encampment at Newport was the burning of two pavilions. In the first, attached to the hospital for the officers, several of these were severely wounded. In the second, a sick soldier perished.*

It appears, by the following correspondence, to have been the intention of the Count de Rochambeau to move his army from Virginia, in the opening of the year 1782, but circumstances caused a delay until June.

"WILLIAMSBURG, January 23, 1782.

"You know, Sir, the intention of the Count de Rochambeau to convey to Peytonsburg, on the Roanoke, the body of foreign volunteers of Lauzun which is at Hampton, where it will be relieved the same day by the eight companies of the Regiment of Saintonge, in quarters at Half-Way House.

"M. Dumas leaves to-day, the 23d, for Richmond, charged with a letter from the Count de Rochambeau to the Governor of Virginia. He will not arrive there till the 24th in the evening, will do his business during the next day, and it will probably not be till the 27th, in the evening, after the return of the express which he is to send to me, that I shall be able to fix definitely the march of this body, which will not start, at soonest, till the 29th from Hampton. I shall not fail to announce to you the day of its departure, as soon as it shall be fixed.

"The body of foreign volunteers of Lauzun is to proceed from Hampton to Williamsburg in two days. It is 37 miles from Williamsburg to

* Blanchard.

Richmond, in three, where probably it will sojourn. It is 60 miles from Richmond to Cumberland Court House, in two, it is 40 miles from Cumberland Court House to Prince Edward Court House, in two, and from Prince Edward Court House to Peytonsburg on the Roanoke, in three, passing by Cols [Coles] ferry, it is 60 miles, which makes in all 237 miles, in twelve days' march of 20 miles, one with another, not including one or two sojourns, which it will probably be necessary to cause it to make, and which will be fixed according to the knowledge of localities.

"The foreign volunteers of Lauzun will probably have need of carriages for this march, and the eight companies of Saintonge will likewise have need of them to proceed to Hampton. It is a very short march, and seeing the proximity, those which you will give them will be able to make two journeys, and by consequence diminish the number of them: it is not the same with the carriages of the foreign volunteers, which ought to be well furnished with horses, on account of the length of the marches; it will even be well to have a couple of empty ones in the train of this body, to pick up the stragglers.

"M. Dumas is charged to indicate to M. de Villemanzy the different places where this body will stop, in order that he may arrange the departures to be made in the places through which they pass.

"I have the honor to be, with sincere and perfect attachment, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

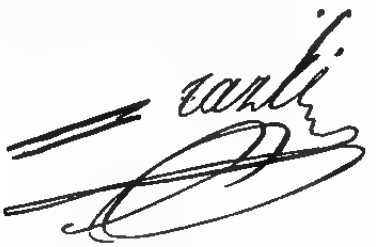
"WILLIAMSBURGH, February 1, 1782.

"I have the honor to inform you, Sir, and dear comrade, that the Count de Rochambeau has thought proper to delay the departure of the Legion of Lauzun until the snow is melted and the roads are dried a little. So I pray you to form, however, your arrangements in order that the subsistence of the men and horses may be ready, when it puts itself in motion. That is to say, that we may be in a posture to make bread and kill animals, as soon as I shall announce to you the day that it will march. I will do so, as soon as I am informed of it.

"Why did you not tell me that you had had green cloth given to the Chevalier de la Meth? In truth, this mysteriousness on your part is very

singular, and however little you may wish to reflect, you will feel how much it is deplored.*

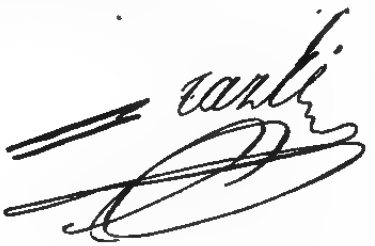
"I have the honor to be, with very perfect and sincere attachment, Sir and dear comrade, your most humble and most obedient servant,



"WILLIAMSBURG, February 6, 1782.

"I have the honor to inform you, Sir, and dear comrade, that the Legion of Lauzun will leave Hampton the 9th of this month, that it will arrive here the 10th, will sojourn there the 11th, and that it will march the 12th, to proceed to Richmond, following the itinerary which has been delivered to you. So it will arrive there the 15th. Make, in consequence, your arrangements, and act so that nothing may be wanting, and that every day you may be certain that all that is due to it is ready. Profit, I pray you, Sir and dear comrade, by every opportunity that shall present itself, to inform me of all that is relative to your details. None ought to be neglected, and you will see the importance of them.

"I have the honor to be, with very perfect and sincere attachment, Sir and dear comrade, your most humble and most obedient servant,



"M. de Villemanzy."

FROM THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU TO GOVERNOR HARRISON.

"WILLIAMSBURG, February 9, 1782.

"SIR:—The Legion of Lauzun has left Hampton to go to Richmond,

* The originals of these letters were procured for the author in Paris, where they had escaped the disasters of a century, and found a safe deposit in a book-store on one of the quays.

whence it shall put forward either to Cumberland Court House or to Peytonsburg, according to the account that shall be given by Mr. Dumas of the possibility of its establishment at either of these places. One of our frigates has been unluckily wrecked at Cape Henry and is entirely lost.* I send to Your Excellency a copy of the Captain's relation of it. He is an officer of distinguished merit and has always behaved himself with great courage on all dangerous occasions. He speaks with the greatest gratitude of the succors afforded him by Colonel Hughes, and all the inhabitants of that coast. I beg of Your Excellency to write them how much we are gratified for them. The unhappy pilot Chambers had behaved with a great deal of obstinacy and ignorance. I have been told that he has been taken on board the British frigate the 'Iris.'

"I am with respect, Sir,

"Your Excellency's Most Obedient and Humble Servant,

le Cte de Rochambeau

"I send to Your Excellency my answer to an unsealed letter which has come to me from a Major I am acquainted with in North Carolina. I beg of you to get it translated for your own reading, and to send it to him by the first opportunity.

"His Excellency Governor Harrison."

In anticipation of moving the army early in June, the following letter was addressed to Governor Harrison:

"PETERSBURG, the 4th of June, 1782.

"SIR:—Having received orders from General Comte de Rochambeau to open the march for the legion from Charlotte Court House to Petersburg, and to quarter the same at that place; and knowing that he desired Your Excellency to appoint a proper person for pointing out to me the most convenient places, I take the liberty to beg that Mr. Daniel Teasdale, D. Q. M., should be the man. I delivered to him the list of the quarters

* The frigate lost here mentioned, was *The Diligente*, commanded by the Chevalier de Clonard. The wreck occurred February 2, 1782, two miles south of Cape Henry, owing to the ignorance of the pilot. Twenty-three of the crew, the pilot, a soldier of the Bourbonnois, and another of the Royal Deux Ponts were drowned. One hundred of the crew were landed on a raft. The Captain and eighty men remained on board until the 4th of February, when the vessel being hopelessly sunk in the sand, he abandoned her, appointing M. Desgenettes and twelve men to remain in sight of the frigate to take up whatever might be floated to the shore.

wanted, and expect to meet with him here on my return from Charlotte, if Your Excellency invests him with sufficient authority.

"I have the honor to be, with great respect,

"Your Excellency's most humble and most obedient servant,

"His Excellency Governor Harrison."

AN EXPLANATORY LETTER FROM THE MARQUIS CHASTELLUX TO GOVERNOR HARRISON.

"SIR:—In the absence of Count Rochambeau, who has left the army to go to Philadelphia, I have received Your Excellency's two letters of the 3d and 4th of July, which have been delivered me by Mr. Price. I know well the intentions of the General, and can assure you that I have not less attention than he has to preserve with the greatest care the property of the inhabitants of Virginia. I have no knowledge of any order dictated in the terms Your Excellency has quoted in your letter of the 3d instant, but I know that all the officers have been forbid, under the most severe penalties, to take any Negro into their service, or even to receive them into camp.

"These precautions are not only dictated by justice, but also by reciprocal interest. Your Excellency having taken the same steps to have our deserters apprehended that we have taken to prevent the desertion of your Negroes, but I am sorry to be obliged to tell Your Excellency in confidence, that we had claimed as property of the inhabitants of Virginia, several horses and Negroes, the first of which bought more than a year ago in Connecticut, and the latter purchased from prizes taken by French ships. At all events, I request Your Excellency to be persuaded that no person respects more than I do the laws and property of a people, who having made so many efforts to assure its liberty, has a superior right to all others to enjoy every advantage that can be desired from it. Your Excellency will permit me to express the regret I have to quit this country without having the honor of seeing you, and at the same time of assuring you in person of the sentiments with which I have the honor to be

"Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

"NEW CASTLE, July 6 1782.

"His Excellency Governor Harrison."

At length, the day of departure arrived. On the 23d of June, the first division commenced its march, and passed through Fredericksburg, Alexandria and Georgetown to Baltimore, the point chosen for the reunion of all the troops, and there halted. The third division, under the Count de Viomesnil, marched to Newcastle, where its commander halted and gave a ball. He then passed through Hanovertown, Fredericksburg and Alexandria, where, by invitation,

COUNT DE VIOMESNIL, IN ADVANCED LIFE.
(From a French Engraving.)

he dined with Mrs. Washington, and reached Baltimore June 27th. The fourth division, consisting of the regiment of Saintonge, and of a detachment of artillery, commanded by the Count de Custine, took up its line of march July 4th, and in due time joined the other divisions at Baltimore, then a city of eight or nine thousand inhabitants. During the time the army halted at Baltimore, the neatness of its appearance, and the orderly conduct of the soldiers, made a very favorable impression. On the 23d of August, the army commenced its march by divisions, and passing

through Washington, Philadelphia, and Trenton, reached Crompond, on the North river, on the 14th of September. It was received with military honors. As the American troops filed before Washington and the Count, the latter expressed his satisfaction with their soldierly bearing, and said to Washington: "You have formed an alliance with the King of Prussia. These troops are Prussians," *—a deserved compliment to the system of tactics introduced by the Baron Steuben.

BIRTH OF THE DAUPHIN.

ON the 31st of May, 1782, the army at Newburgh, by order of Washington, celebrated the birth of the Dauphin of France, by a parade, by the discharge of artillery, and by a *feu-de-joie* by the infantry. An elegant dinner was given in an immense pavilion, erected for the purpose by Major Villefranche, a French engineer. At this dinner upwards of five hundred ladies were present, among them being Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Clinton, Mrs. Knox, Mrs. Livingston, Mrs. Rand, and Mrs. Montgomery. In the evening, a brilliant ball was held in the pavilion, on which occasion Washington, selecting Mrs. Knox for a partner, gracefully led down the dance.

On the 15th of July, the French Minister, M. de la Luzerne, commemorated the same event in Philadelphia with an elaborate display that surpassed even the brilliant "*Mischianza*," given by British officers in honor of Sir William Howe, on the eve of his departure for England.†

* Thatcher.

† The *Mischianza* was chiefly a tilt and a tournament, with other entertainments. It took place at Wharton's country seat, near Philadelphia, while that city was in possession

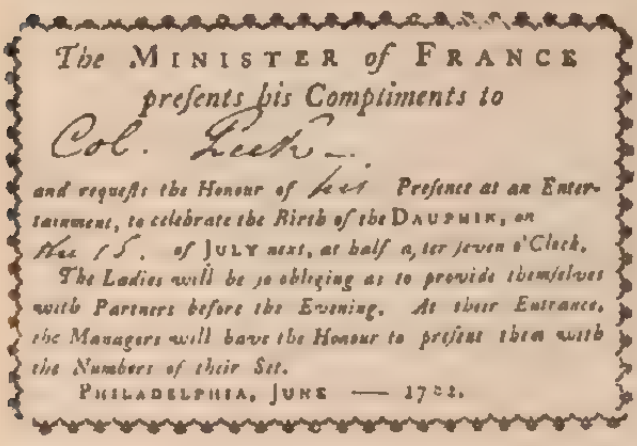
Dr. Benjamin Rush, in a letter to a lady friend, dated July 16, 1782, and published in The Portfolio, Volume IV., 1817, describes this fête in honor of the Dauphin's birthday in glowing terms. For some days prior to the entertainment, hair-dressers were retained, shops were crowded with customers, and the ability of tailors, milliners and mantua-makers was tested to the utmost. The engagements of the gentlemen of the comb were so numerous, that on the morning of the eventful day, many ladies were obliged to have their heads dressed between four and six o'clock.

No pains were spared to give to the evening a splendor commensurate with the dignity of the occasion. A building for a dancing-room was erected, sixty feet in front and forty feet deep, and the ceiling was decorated with emblematical paintings. The adjacent garden was cut into beautiful walks, and divided into artificial groves. The *cuisine* was provided with thirty cooks, obtained from the French army. Eleven hundred tickets of invitation were issued, forty being sent to the Governor of each State, for distribution to the principal officers and gentlemen of their respective governments. A similar number was sent to General Washington, to be distributed to the principal officers of the army. At half-past eight o'clock, the dancing was commenced and continued until midnight. At nine o'clock, there was a fine display of rockets. The illuminated garden, the splendor of the ball-room, the large assemblage, the brilliancy and variety of the ladies' dresses, and the music of the band filling the air with exhilarating sounds, formed a scene of enchantment never before witnessed in Philadelphia. With considerate thoughtfulness, arrangements were made so that an outside crowd of ten thousand persons could be gratified with a

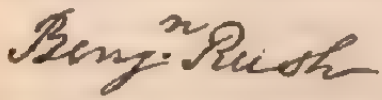
of the British. The tournament between seven "knights of the blended rose" and seven "knights of the burning mountain" was followed by a ball and a supper. The tables were illuminated by three hundred wax tapers. On the tables were four hundred and thirty covers and twelve hundred dishes. The entertainment was planned by Captain Montresor, assisted by a committee of which Major Andre was one.

sight of the company and entertainment, while inside, under the orchestra, "was a private room where several Quaker ladies, whose dress would not permit them to join the assembly, were indulged with a sight of the company through a gauze curtain."

At twelve o'clock, supper succeeded dancing, during which the distinguished host, with the splendor of the minister and


The MINISTER of FRANCE
presents his Compliments to
Col. Leech
and requests the Honour of his Presence at an Entertainment, to celebrate the Birth of the DAUPHIN, on the 15. of JULY next, at half after seven o'Clock.
The Ladies will be so obliging as to provide themselves with Partners before the Evening. At their Entrance, the Managers will have the Honour to present them with the Numbers of their Set.
PHILADELPHIA, JUNE — 1782.

the politeness of a gentleman, walked along the tables, and addressed himself in particular to each lady.



The assembly, on this occasion, says Dr. Rush, "was truly Republican." Washington honored it with his presence. Here also met, in apparent harmony, all ranks, parties, and professions, government officers of all grades, clergymen, lawyers, doctors, merchants, tradesmen, statesmen, judges, the college faculty, army officers, and ladies and gentlemen of the most ancient as well as modern families.

"Here were to be seen the extremes of the civilized and savage life. An Indian Chief, in his savage habits, and the Count Rochambeau, in his splendid uniform, talked with each other as if they had been the subjects of the same government, Generals in the same army, and partakers of the same blessings of civilized life."

About one o'clock, the company began to retire, and before three o'clock, the brilliant, unique pageant was succeeded by darkness and silence in the Minister's house and garden.* The form of the tickets of invitation is shown on the preceding page by a fac-simile copy of the one addressed to Colonel Peck.†

* It had been the intention of the Chevalier de la Luzerne to distribute two pipes of wine and six hundred dollars in small change among the outside throng, but from prudential considerations the plan was abandoned, and the money was distributed among the prisoners in the jails and the patients in the hospitals of the city.

The Chevalier de la Luzerne, while in Philadelphia, lived in the Carpenter mansion, and had his country seat on the Ridge Road, near Laurel Hill, a few miles from the heart of the city.

GENERAL HOWE, pp. 505, 506.—General Sir William Howe, while maintaining his quarters in Philadelphia, seized and converted to his own use, the coach and horses of Mary Pemberton, a prominent member of the Society of Friends. He was a man of fine figure, was full six feet in height, and was well proportioned. In manners he was graceful and dignified. He occupied a house on High street, afterwards the residence of General Washington.

† Colonel George Peck, son of Daniel and Hopestill (Dexter) Peck, was born in Cumberland, R. I., September 3d, 1749. He married first, Phebe Whipple, daughter of Stephen Whipple, by whom he had seven children, and second, Phebe Ballou, daughter of Elisha Ballou, of Cumberland, by whom he had six children. He early entered the military service. In 1777, he was Major of the second regiment of militia in the county of Providence. In the same year, he was commissioned Colonel, and was also appointed one of the recruiting officers to fill up the battalion raised within the State. In 1778, he was chosen Captain of the "Cumberland Rangers." In 1779, he was appointed by the town a member of a committee to conduct a lottery for erecting a bridge between Cumberland and Smithfield. He took a prominent part in town affairs, and represented it in the General Assembly. Colonel Peck served in the Rhode Island regiment, at Yorktown. About 1782, he removed from Cumberland to Eastport, Me., and resided for several years upon the Island of Campobello. He received a pension for several years before his death. Count Segur, who enjoyed his hospitality at his rural home, in Cumberland, speaks of him, and of Mrs. Peck, in terms of warm admiration. Colonel Peck was a member of the Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati.

COUNT SÉGUR AND WASHINGTON.

BREAKING CAMP.—CONTINUED MARCH OF THE TROOPS.—THEY REACH RHODE ISLAND.—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GOVERNOR GREENE AND ROCHAMBEAU.—ARRIVAL OF THE ARMY IN PROVIDENCE.—QUARTERED ON "THE OLD CAMP-GROUND."—PUBLIC RECEPTION TO THE OFFICERS.—MEDAL STRUCK IN HONOR OF FRENCH AIDS TO AMERICAN LIBERTY.—ROCHAMBEAU, ACCOMPANIED BY SEVERAL FRENCH OFFICERS, RETURNS TO FRANCE—DISTINGUISHED RECEPTION BY THE KING.—MILITARY RANK BESTOWED UPON A NUMBER OF THE FRENCH OFFICERS.—SKETCH OF GENERAL LAFAYETTE.—LETTER OF APPRECIATION FROM WASHINGTON TO ROCHAMBEAU.—NOTICE OF ROCHAMBEAU.

WHILE at Crompond, Count Ségur was introduced to Washington, who received him with great kindness. "He spoke to me," writes the Count, "of the gratitude which his country would ever retain for the King of France, and for his generous assistance; highly extolled the wisdom and skill of General, Count de Rochambeau, expressing himself honored by having deserved and obtained his friendship; warmly commended the bravery and discipline of our army; and concluded by speaking to me in very obliging and handsome terms of my father, whose long services and numerous wounds were becoming ornaments, he said, to a Minister of war."

On the 22d of October, the army broke camp at Crompond, and marched to King's ferry, where it was received by the continental troops with military honors. General Washington, wishing to testify his respect for France, and his gratitude for the benefits of the alliance, drew up the American forces in two lines, through which the allies passed. As a further token of civility, he also caused his drums to beat

the French march during the entire review, and the two armies rejoiced with the most sensible marks of reciprocal satisfaction. On this occasion, the American troops were dressed and equipped, for the first time since the Revolution, in part from the stuffs and arms brought from France, and in part from the English magazines taken from Cornwallis, which the French army had generously given up to them.*

MARCH TO PROVIDENCE AND BOSTON.

The French army remained in restful condition at Crompond until October 22d, when it having been decided that no further service would be required of the allies in America, the Count de Rochambeau determined to set his command in motion for Boston, there to be embarked on an expedition against the West Indies. Accordingly, on the day above mentioned, the army broke camp, and in divisions, by easy marches, pursued its designated route.

The following incident, which occurred on the eve of leaving Crompond, is related by Count Segur:

"At the moment of our quitting the camp of Crompond, and as M. de R. was proceeding at the head of his columns, surrounded by his brilliant staff, an American approached him, tapped him slightly on the shoulder, and showing him a paper he held in his hand, said to him 'In the name of the law, you are my prisoner'' Several young officers were indignant at this insult offered to their General, but he restrained their impatience by a sign, smiled, and said to the American: 'Take me away with you, if you can.' 'No,' replied the American, 'I have done my duty, and Your Excellency may proceed on your march, if you wish to set justice at defiance; in that case, I only ask to be allowed to withdraw unmolested. Some soldiers of the division of Soissonnais have cut down several trees and burnt them to light their fires; the owner of them claims an indemnity, and has obtained a warrant against you, which I come to execute.'

"M. de Rochambeau, having heard this explanation, which was translated to him by one of his aides-de-camp, called M. de Villemanzy, now a peer of France, and then Intendant of the army, appointed him to be his bail, and ordered him to settle this affair, and to pay what should be con-

*Memoirs, p. 300.

sidered fair, if the indemnity he had already offered was not thought sufficient. The American then withdrew, and the General and his army, which had thus been arrested, by a constable, continued their march. A judgment of arbitration was afterwards pronounced, fixing two thousand francs, that is to say, a less sum than the General had offered, as the amount of damages due to this unjust proprietor, who had claimed fifteen thousand, and who was even condemned to pay costs."

Proceeding without further delay, the army, by easy marches, reached Hartford, where it halted four days. To secure it against exorbitant charges, in passing through Connecticut, Governor Trumbull and Council issued a proclamation requesting the inhabitants not to enhance the prices of any commodities that might be wanted by the French, which was so generally observed, that the soldiers obtained daily, at very low cost, all sorts of provisions to add to their ordinary rations.

On the 4th of November, the army resumed its march. It encamped at Coventry, in Rhode Island. The General Assembly being then in session at East Greenwich, the Count de Rochambeau applied to the State government for quarters for officers while in Providence, and the Assembly appointed Colonel Daniel Tillinghast and Major John Whipple a committee to make the necessary arrangements. For this purpose, an interview was held with the Count, at Waterman's tavern, in Coventry. The only other noticeable event, while the army lay there, was the loss of two fat oxen, strayed or stolen from the camp abattoir, for which a reward of nine crowns was offered.

While at Coventry, the following correspondence passed between Governor Greene, in behalf of the Council and Representatives, and the Count:

"*To His Excellency Count de Rochambeau, Commander of the army of His Most Christian Majesty in the United States*

"The Governor, Council and Representatives of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in General Assembly convened, being excited by the sincerest attachment and respect, present their most affectionate and cordial acknowledgments to Your Excellency, and the officers

and troops composing the army under your command, for the great and eminent services rendered since your first arrival in this State.

"Nothing can equal our admiration at the manner in which you have participated with the army of the United States, in the fatigues, the toils and the glory, that have attended the allied armies, but the magnanimity of the father of His people, and the Protector of the rights of mankind.

"Our inquietude at the prospect of your removal would be inexpressible, but from the fullest conviction of the wisdom that directs the councils of His Most Christian Majesty.

"May heaven reward your exertions in the cause of humanity, and the particular regard you have paid to the rights of the citizens; and may your laurels be crowned by the smiles of the best of kings, and the grateful feelings of the most generous people.

"Done in General Assembly, at East Greenwich, this 27th day of November, A. D. 1782, and in the seventh year of independence.

"I have the honor to be, in behalf of the Council and Representatives,

"With great esteem and respect,

"Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

WILLIAM GREENE,
Governor.

By order:
SAMUEL WARD,
D. Secretary"

RESPONSE OF THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU.

"*To the Governor, Council and Representatives of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations:*

"PROVIDENCE, November 28, 1782.

"GENTLEMEN.—It is with an inexpressible pleasure, that I and the troops under my command have received the marks of esteem and of acknowledgment, which you are so good as to give to the services which we have been happy enough to render to the United States jointly with the American army, under the orders of General Washington.

"This State is the first we have been acquainted with. The friendly behavior of its inhabitants now, and at our arrival here, will give them always a right to our gratitude.

"The confidence you have in the wisdom of the views of our sovereign, as to the disposition and the march of his troops, must likewise assure you that on no occasion whatever he will separate his interests from those of his faithful allies.

Le Cte de Rochambeau

Thus terminated the official relations of Rhode Island and her foreign guests. The communications, thus interchanged, were fitting words with which to part, as testimonies of mutual regard.

On the 11th of November, the army arrived in Providence, and encamped on "Mathewson's Plain." The next day, it marched through the town, and went apparently into winter-quarters on the old camp-ground, in North Providence. It was a grand spectacle, and the veterans bearing the honors of Yorktown were enthusiastically greeted by the crowds that lined the streets. The arrangements, seemingly for winter, were intended to mislead the enemy as to the actual design of the French Commander. The officers generally were again welcomed to the homes of citizens, with whose hospitality they had become so pleasantly familiar in the winter of 1780–81.*

In anticipation of the return of the allied forces to Providence, a correspondent of the Gazette recommended that measures be taken to receive them in a manner worthy of the important services they had rendered to the country. "Let us consider," he said, "the great toils and hardships they have cheerfully undergone in America,— the many cold and stormy days and nights they have been exposed abroad, equally with our own worthy and patriotic army. Let us learn, ('*savoir perdre apropos,*') 'to know how to lose a little at a proper time.' Let our ladies be persuaded cheerfully to suffer a part of their houses and furniture to be used a few days by those who have rendered their country such essential services. This will be but a small sacrifice compared with the Roman ladies, who repeatedly, in the exigencies of the State, cheerfully gave up their rings, diamonds, and personal ornaments. They will thus raise their characters for patriotism and hospitality, to be carried on the wings of applause across the Atlantic, to that famed country where

*Ante, pp 320, 327.

women are held in the highest estimation for their kindness, benevolence and hospitality. Our characters will now unavoidably be marked. The farewell interview makes an impression almost as lasting on the mind as that which gives the first interview. It is therefore of importance that we embrace this opportunity of showing our gratitude and respect for this worthy army." * What influence this recommendation had upon the action of the citizens, is unknown. But a public dinner to the officers, and other hospitalities experienced during their brief stay, gave undoubted proof of the pleasure their presence afforded, as they also did of the high estimate in which their services to the State and to the country were held.

With characteristic gallantry, these civilities were freely reciprocated by the French officers. The Providence Gazette contains a paragraph, stating that "on Monday evening last Count Rochambeau gave a splendid ball to the gentlemen and ladies of the town."

"M. de Rochambeau, desirous of proving to the last moment, by his private conduct, as he had done by the great services he had rendered, how anxious he was to secure the affection of the Americans, and be regretted by them, gave several balls and assemblies at Providence, which were attended by all the neighborhood, within ten leagues of the city." †

With reference to these entertainments, the Prince de Broglie wrote:

"M. de Rochambeau, much vexed with the perpetual delays of the fleet, nevertheless behaved at Providence like a thoroughly good French General; that is to say, in order to divert his army, and gratify the ladies of the city, he gave some balls in a handsome and large public apartment intended for such purposes. It was at the first of these balls that I saw for the first time the Misses Bowen, sisters of the Governor of the city. I do not give their portraits here because I do not want to turn all the men crazy, and render all the women jealous. I will content myself

* Providence Gazette, November 2, 1782. † Ségur's Memoirs.

rose from his father's buckler, showing that the American Confederacy had been nursed in war, and killed two serpents, alluding to the two armies captured at Saratoga and Yorktown. The dates of these capitulations were placed beneath. Great Britain, under the figure of a Leopard, attacked the child, who was defeated by a Minerva, bearing the lilies on her shield, and characterizing the generous assistance we had received from the French allies. The legend, *non sine dis animosus infans*, was a line from Horace, importing, that the courageous infant had not been without divine assistance. A copy of this medal was received by a young gentleman of Boston, in May, 1784.

General Rochambeau, having seen that proper provision had been made for the army, delivered the command to the Baron de Viomesnil, and, accompanied by the Marquis de Chastellux, M. de Beville and M. de Choisy, returned to Philadelphia, preparatory to returning to his native land. He embarked on board the frigate "Emeraude," and left the capes of the Chesapeake on the 14th of January, 1783. On the evening of the 16th, a violent hurricane was encountered, which continued until the frigate reached the entrance of the river of Nantes, where she was moored. Here, the voyagers were cheered with the news of the signing of the treaty of peace.

The General set off at once for Versailles, where he was received with great distinction by the King, who assured him that to him and the taking of the army of Cornwallis he owed the peace. This compliment, the General, with a generosity native to him, begged His Majesty's permission to share with the Count de Grasse, who, on his simple requisition, had arrived with all the means he had asked of him, and without whose co-operation the arms of the allied forces would not have been crowned with success. But what flattered him most was, that he granted all the distinguished favors which he asked for the Generals and subordinate officers, and for the soldiers of the army, who had

Lafayette

three months' pay for services in America, as a gratuity. Baron de Viomesnil was made Lieutenant-General; M. M. de Lafayette,* de Choisy, de Beville, de Custine, de Lau-

*Marie-Jean Paul-Roche Yves-Gilbert Mottier, Marquis de Lafayette, son of Michael-Louis-Christophe-Roche-Gilbert de Mottier, Marquis de Lafayette,—"a list of names sufficient for an ordinary household,"—was born at Chavaniac, in Auvergne, september 6th, 1757. His mother, a daughter of the Marquis de Riviere, bestowed great care upon his early education, until, at twelve years of age, he was placed in college, at Paris. His father, a Colonel of Grenadiers, in the army of Louis XV., was distinguished for bravery, and fell at the battle of Minden, in Germany, July 13, 1757. Young Lafayette, who, by this death, was never permitted to know his father, chose arms for his profession. At the early age of sixteen years, he was married to Marie-Adrienne-Francoise de Noailles, daughter of the Duke d'Ayen, she being two years the junior of her husband. The issue of this connection was one son and two daughters, viz., Anastasie, who became the wife of M. Charles de Maubourg; George Washington, assigned in early youth, for a time, to the care of Washington, at Mount Vernon, and married to Emilie de Tracy; and Virginia, who was married to Colonel de Lasteyrie.

Lafayette was a favorite at the French Court, but contrary to the wishes of the King, Louis XVI., his broad and liberal views and his love of freedom led him to espouse the American cause. How he eluded the French authorities, and with several noble companions reached America in a vessel purchased by himself, how he offered himself to Congress, as a volunteer, without pay; how warmly he was received by Washington, how tender and abiding was the friendship for one towards whom he felt as a son towards a father; and what important services he rendered in securing the Independence of the Colonies, has been recorded in the earlier pages of this volume.

December 5th, 1781, M. de Segur, Minister of War, by order of the King, wrote to Lafayette, informing him, that in acknowledgment of his military talents and of his services in America, His Majesty had invested him with the rank of Field Marshal, to date from the capitulation of Yorktown. Had his ambition accorded with the popular feeling at the time Louis Philippe ascended the French throne, it would not have been difficult for his friends to have obtained for him the royal honors he assisted in conferring upon the Duke of Orleans.

On returning to Paris, he was hailed as "the Washington of France," was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the National Guards, and took an active part in the military and civic affairs of the nation.

On the first of July, 1784, Lafayette sailed from Havre for the United States, and on the fourth day of August, arrived at New York, where he was warmly received. A similar reception awaited him in Philadelphia, and in the principal cities visited by him in each of the States. At Mount Vernon, twelve days were delightfully passed with its hospitable host, his beloved friend and commander. The hours of a second brief visit there were fraught with no less enjoyment.

On the 23d of October, Lafayette reached Providence, and was received with the strongest demonstrations of respect. The bells rang out a hearty welcome, a national salute proclaimed the general joy, addresses appreciative of his services were made to him by the Society of the Cincinnati, whose meeting he attended, and by Governor Greene and Speaker Bradford, in behalf of the General Assembly, then in session. To both, he returned appropriate replies, and gracefully thanked the State for the favors it had bestowed upon the French army and navy. A public dinner was also given him, while the private hospitalities of prominent citizens of the town contributed to render his brief sojourn an unbroken pleasure.

Returning to France, Lafayette again entered the public arena, and became a prominent figure in the stormy scenes that preceded the Consulate of Napoleon. One of the results of the "reign of terror" in France was the beheading of the King, Louis XVI., and of his

zun, de Rostaing, and d'Antichamp were made Maréchaux de Camp; M. M. d'Aboville, des Androuins, de la Valette,

beautiful Queen, Marie Antoinette. Lafayette was deeply concerned for their safety, and exerted himself to the utmost to ward off their impending fate. Had the King and Queen followed his counsel, they would probably have safely escaped from Paris, and have been spared a sad death. After the destruction of the Bastile, prior to the execution of the King and Queen, the key of that gloomy prison was presented to Lafayette "as the embodiment and representation of freedom in Europe." He sent it to Washington, as a memento of the power of "a determined, united people," and it was accompanied with a sketch of the ruins of "that fortress of despotism." "It is a tribute," he writes, "which I owe, as a son, to my adoptive father, — as an aide-de-camp, to my General, — as a missionary of liberty, to his patriarch." The key is still preserved, and may be seen, inclosed in a glass case, in the hall of the Washington mansion, at Mount Vernon. The first stone removed from the walls of the Bastile, and the last stone taken "from its dismal subterranean dungeons," were presented to Lafayette.

Few men of the period filled a more important and influential sphere, or were visited with more varied experiences. For a full account of these, including his imprisonment at Olmutz, shared by his noble wife and daughters, the unsuccessful attempt made by Francis K. Huger, of South Carolina, and by Dr. Erick Bollmann, a native of Hanover, to rescue him, and his final release on the demand of Napoleon, the reader is referred to the Life of Lafayette, written by his son, to another Life of him, written by William Cutter, and to "Recollections of the Private Life of General Lafayette," written by M. Jules Cloquet M. D.

In 1824, Lafayette, by invitation of President Monroe, visited the United States for the last time. He was accompanied by his son, George Washington Lafayette, and by a suite of several gentlemen. In this visit, after the lapse of forty years, he beheld the wonderful growth of a Republic, for the establishment of which he had shed his blood and made heavy pecuniary sacrifices. The latter are said to have amounted to the generous sum of one hundred and forty thousand dollars. During the year 1824, he visited every State in the Union. His journeys were marked by the most enthusiastic welcomes. The visit made by him to the tomb of Washington was touching in the extreme. While at Mount Vernon, he was presented by George Washington Parke Custis with a gold ring, enclosing hair of Washington and of his wife. The ring bore appropriate legends in Latin.

The arrival of Lafayette in Providence was the signal for a universal outburst of joy. At the State House occurred the affecting interview between himself and Captain Stephen Olney, to which I have already referred. (*Ante, p. 471.*) A distinguished citizen of Providence, who witnessed the scene, informed me, that when these long separated companions in arms met, they embraced with all the ardor which the tenderest affection could inspire. The entire route to Boston was rendered brilliant with flags, while the throngs gathered by the road side, and in the villages, through which Lafayette passed, "made the welkin ring," with unstinted cheers. From Roxbury line to Boston Common, a dense mass of spectators filled the streets and sidewalks, eager to gaze upon the nation's noble guest. On entering the common, the procession halted, and a young miss of eight or ten years was lifted into the barouche occupied by Lafayette. After a brief, pertinent address, she placed a laurel wreath upon his head. The recipient was sensibly affected, affectionately kissed the child, and made a reply adapted to her years. (This young miss was the daughter of Charles A. and Katharine Augusta Ware. Mrs. Ware was a relative of Robert Treat Paine, and acquired reputation as a poet. She edited the Bower of Taste, in Boston, went to Europe, in 1839, published a volume of her poems in London, in 1842, and died in Paris, in 1844.) The air was filled with the shouts of

de l'Estrade, du Portail, du Muy, and the Marquis de Deux-Ponts were made Brigadiers. All of the Lieutenant-Colo-

the multitude that witnessed the scene of the crowning of Lafayette by this little girl. Then followed a review of nearly nine thousand troops, and the out-door festivities were concluded by a public dinner, under an immense tent, on the Common. Sixteen hundred plates were laid for the occasion. In the evening, Lafayette visited the theatre, and the next morning, set out on an eastern tour as far as Portsmouth, N. H., breakfasting on the way at Marblehead, dining at Salem, lodging over night at Newburyport, and receiving in all the towns through which he passed the most lively demonstrations of welcome. Returning to Boston, August 14th, he remained there until September 2d, when he departed for New York, where he enjoyed a birth-day dinner, (he being then sixty-seven years old,) given him by the "Cincinnati Veterans."

The visit of Lafayette to Virginia was to him an experience of peculiar pleasure. That State was the field on which he first exercised an independent command, and where for bravery and successful generalship were meted to him distinguished honors. His visit to Richmond, Monticello, Charlottesville, Williamsburg, Norfolk, Petersburg and Yorktown was among his cherished recollections to the close of life. His reception at Yorktown was brilliant, and the celebration of the anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis was inspiring. Here he met a number of his military comrades, who were present when the British army laid down its arms. He was received beneath a triumphal arch, erected on the site of the redoubt he had gallantly carried forty-three years before, and was eloquently addressed by General Taylor, and crowned with a civic wreath. To deepen, if possible, the emotional features of the day, a military breakfast was taken under "the veritable tent of Washington."

The Governor Nelson mansion was made the head-quarters of Lafayette. For the illumination of a fête given to him, wax candles taken from a chest left there by Cornwallis, and then but recently discovered, were used. Several of these candles were presented to Lafayette, by whom they were carried to France and placed in his museum, at La Grange, among many articles of virtu, received by him from America. While on his American tour, he visited President Monroe, at Washington, Ex-President Jefferson, at Monticello, Ex-President Madison, at Montpelier, and Ex-President Adams, at Quincy.

In December, 1824, Lafayette, then in Washington, was presented to the United States Senate, and officially welcomed. On the 20th of the same month, he was introduced to the House of Representatives, and was addressed, in behalf of that body, by its Speaker, the Hon. Henry Clay. To this address, Lafayette made a patriotic response. Congress, not unmindful of his invaluable services and his heavy sacrifices, passed a bill, granting him two hundred thousand dollars, and a township of public land, selected for him in Florida by President Monroe, which he immediately sold for one hundred thousand dollars. A number of American Colleges conferred upon him their highest honors.

In June, 1825, he returned to Boston, and on the 17th day of that month, assisted in laying the corner stone of the Bunker Hill Monument. At the dinner, which followed the ceremony, were four thousand guests. Of these, forty were survivors of the battle of Bunker's Hill, and about two hundred others were officers and soldiers of the Revolution. The presence of the Governors of New England, and of distinguished gentlemen from all parts of the country, together with army and navy officers,—the escort of seventeen military companies,—the assemblage of numerous Masonic and other associations,—the magnificent dedication oration of Webster and his happy address to Lafayette, rendered it a memorable day.

On the 21st day of June, Lafayette departed from Boston, and made a second tour to the eastward as far as Portland, taking Concord, N. H., in the way. Thence he passed through Vermont, thence to Albany, thence to New York, and thence to Washington. Here, on the 6th day of September, 1825 (his birth-day,) "at the eastern steps of the White House, President John Quincy Adams in the presence of the officers of the government and a vast concourse of ladies and gentlemen, bid the nation's guest a final farewell,

nels had regiments. The Vicomte Rochambeau was made Knight of St. Louis, and Mestre de Camp, commanding at first, the regiment of Saintonge, and soon after, the Royal Auvergne.*

Shortly before the Count de Rochambeau sailed for

In one of the most touching and eloquent addresses that had been delivered to him in all his travels through the United States." The day following, he set sail for France, in the new frigate "Brandywine" named in compliment to him. He arrived safely at Havre, where he was met by his family, and proceeded to La Grange.

As a further compliment, President Adams caused each State in the Union to be represented on board the frigate by a Midshipman. These young gentlemen became strongly attached to Lafayette, and presented him with a beautiful silver vase.

In 1830, the electors of Meaux, in France, caused to be struck, in honor of Lafayette, a handsome medal, which they presented to him. It was engraved by the eminent artist, M. Gatteaux, and was at the time considered a striking likeness. Those who saw the Marquis, when he visited the United States, in 1824, will recognize the accuracy of the profile. The

BAS-RELIEF OF LAFAYETTE.

two dates, 1789 and 1830, recall two memorable epochs in his political history. On the reverse side of the medal, a civic crown, forms a frame for the legend in *bas-relief*, "A Lafayette L'Arrondissement de Meaux, Juillet, 1830."

The hospitality of Lafayette was unbounded. He kept open house for personal friends, and for strangers, who called to pay him their respects. There were seldom less than twenty-five or thirty guests dining at his table.

In this imperfect sketch of an illustrious friend of America, many interesting incidents have necessarily been omitted, and only a few words more can be added. Lafayette passed the winters in Paris, attending to important public duties. For about fifteen years, his home was a portion of a large Hotel, No. 6 Rue d'Anjou, St. Honore. There he was attacked by a fatal disease, and on the morning of the 20th of May, 1834, surrounded by his family, he passed through death to the life of the spirit world. In Europe, his decease awakened sorrow in every patriot heart. In the United States, the entire people mourned.

* Memoirs, I., p. 320.

France, Washington addressed to him a letter, breathing a warm appreciation of his services. "I cannot, my dear General,"* he said, "permit you to depart from this country

COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU.
(In Court Dress.)

*General Count Jean Baptiste Donatien Rochambeau was born in Vendôme, July 1, 1725. At a suitable age, he was sent to the College of the *Peres de l'Oratoire* de Vendôme, which subsequently became one of the military schools. The fathers of the Oratoire being strongly suspected of Jansenism, he was removed to Blois by the Bishop, with whom he was a favorite, and continued his studies there. The Bishop wished him to prepare for the church, and called him his "petit grand Vicaire." His wish was, however, doomed to be disappointed. After remaining some months at Blois, he was taken

without repeating to you the high sense I entertain of the services you have rendered to America, by the constant

back to the Oratoire, at Vendôme, and having finished his studies there, he was sent, at the age of fifteen, to the Academy of Paris. The war of 1740 led him into the profession of arms, and he obtained a colonelcy in the regiment of St. Simon. He distinguished himself in the campaigns of 1744 and 1746.

In 1747, at the age of twenty-two years, he was commissioned Colonel of the infantry regiment, previously commanded by M. de Melfort, and in the battle of Lauffeld, the same year, received a wound in the head. As he was carried insensible from the field, a second wound, received in the thigh, restored him to consciousness.

Near the close of 1749, Rochambeau married Mademoiselle Telles d'Acosta, an accomplished and a lovely woman, by whom he had a daughter, who lived but a short time, and a son, his companion in arms in America. Debilitated by his wounds and by hemorrhage of the lungs, he passed a year at his father's, to recuperate. Here, his wife, who had been assiduous in her care of him, was seized with the small-pox, from which she happily recovered, but not until he had improved the opportunity to reciprocate her affection by acting in turn as her nurse.

After the peace of Aix la Chapelle, Rochambeau became Governor of Vendôme, but on the breaking out of the seven years' war, he resumed active military service. In 1756, he was made Brigadier-General. He served in Germany, and in 1760, at the battle of Clostercamp, while resisting a charge of English grenadiers, received a ball in the thigh, but by the aid of two chasseurs, who assisted him to walk, had strength enough to give orders during the day. Lieutenant-General M. de Ségur was taken prisoner in this battle.

In 1780, after twenty years of faithful service, and while sick with inflammatory rheumatism, he was appointed Lieutenant-General, to take command of the forces destined to aid the Americans in accomplishing their freedom, and as soon as he was able, went to Versailles to receive the orders of the King. After his return from America, he received, at the head of his troops, at Metz, the baton of Marechal de France, — a well merited honor. But in the bloody days of the Republic, his fortunes changed. He fell under the displeasure of the revolutionary tribunal, and in 1793, was seized, tried, and condemned to death. On the day appointed for his execution, the cart which transported prisoners to the scaffold could not take them all, and he was left behind. "Stand back, old fellow," said the grim superintendent, "your turn will come later." But before he was called, Robespierre came to the block, and Rochambeau was liberated, after an imprisonment of nine months. Under the Empire, he held important military commands, and Napoleon, at the moment of the coronation, in recognition of his services, made him a grand officer of the legion of honor. He died May 10, 1807, in the eighty-second year of his age. His Memoirs, in two volumes, were printed in Paris, in 1809.

As a compliment to the Count de Rochambeau, a privateer schooner, which proved very successful in her skirmishes with the enemy, was named for him. She was commanded by Captain Oliver Reed, of Newport. The following notices of her appear in the Newport Mercury of that day: —

"November 26, 1782. Arrived here a small schooner, prize to the schooner Rochambeau, Captain Reed, of this port, and this morning arrived an armed Galley, 8 carriage guns and 38 men, by the above privateer off the Hook, after a close engagement of one glass, during which Reed lost a prize master, Mr. Benjamin Cornell, of this town). The Galley had her Captain and one other officer killed and several wounded.

"December 11, 1782. Arrived here schooner Rochambeau, from a cruise, with a prize schooner with a valuable cargo."

"December 16, 1782. A sloop and naval stores retaken by the Rochambeau, Captain Reed. Another valuable prize to said schooner is ashore on the Hen and Chickens."

"February 15, 1783. Schooner Rochambeau arrived here with a brig, mounting 10 six pounders and 35 men, as a prize, cargo of rum and sugar from Jamaica for N. York. Captain Reed fought her three glasses, and then boarded her. He had his sailing master killed, and the brig lost 1 man killed and 7 wounded."

attention which you have paid to the interest of it, by the exact order and discipline of the corps under your command, and by your readiness at all times to give facility to every measure which the force of the combined armies were competent to.

"To this testimony of your public character, I should be wanting to the feelings of my heart, were I not to add expressions of the happiness I have enjoyed in your private friendship, the remembrance of which will be one of the most pleasant circumstances of my life. My best wishes will accompany you to France, where I sincerely hope, and have no doubt, you will meet with the smiles and rewards of a generous prince, and the warmest embraces of affectionate friends. Adieu." *

The arrival of the French troops, and their temporary abode on the old camp-ground, revived the pleasant social relations between the officers and their entertainers, that distinguished the winter of 1780–'81.† President Manning, in a letter dated November 19, 1782, addressed to the Honorable David Howell, then a delegate in Congress, says: "The French army is here, encamped on the lands of Jeremiah Dexter, and those of his brother's heirs. The town is full of officers, and she [Mrs. Howell] is crowded with them, as well as others."

Count de Custine quartered with Thomas Arnold, on Providence Neck, now known as the "Perry Place." On November 29, 1782, his Secretary, Monsieur Pecqueur, offered a reward of three guineas, for the recovery of a purse lost on the 27th, containing between thirty-five and forty guineas, one piece of Dutch coin, and a gold brooch.

Uncertain as to the length of time that the army might be

* Writings, III., 368.

† "The army was camped on the road to Boston, about a league from Providence, in some fields which it had occupied the *preceding year*. The weather became exceedingly rough, and the troops suffered a great deal from the almost continual rain and snow."—*Prince De Broglie.*

detained in its encampment, the Count de Rochambeau caused barracks to be built for the soldiers, and Colonels were allowed to lodge in private houses, a permission which they gladly accepted.*

The repairing and re-victualling of the squadron commanded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, which had been much damaged, having extended beyond the time fixed for sailing, Count Dumas was sent to Boston to concert with the Chevalier de l'Eguille the necessary preparations for a speedy embarkation.†

FAREWELL TO RHODE ISLAND.

THE TROOPS RESUME THEIR MARCH TO BOSTON.—ARRIVAL OF THE SEVERAL DIVISIONS IN BOSTON.—INCIDENTS OF THE MARCH.—WELCOMED BY THE RESIDENTS.—RELUCTANCE OF THE ALLIES TO LEAVE AMERICA.—GRAND BALL IN NEWPORT.—HOSPITALITIES IN BOSTON.

ALL things now being in readiness, the French camp was broken for the last time in Rhode Island, and December 1st, the allies resumed their march for Boston.

* "This permission afforded me the agreeable opportunity of observing, more in detail, the interior of an American family, and their mode of living. I was delighted with the simplicity and frank cordiality of my hosts, and with the purity of their morals. Their politeness was the more pleasing, as it was entirely free from ceremoniousness, they were at the same time well informed, and devoid of all affectation. Every thing in them was natural, and their pleasures appeared to consist in the discharge of their duties. Wit, with them, was good sense, and reason dictated their language, and presided over their actions. In short, it really must be admitted, that truth and happiness, so far from being totally banished from the earth, as certain morose philosophers pretend, are everywhere to be met with in America.—*Ségur's Memoirs, p. 294.*

† "The French troops, under the Duke de Lauzun, being part of Count de Rochambeau's army that remained after the departure of the main body at Boston, sailed from the Capes of Delaware on the 12th of May. They had been cantoned recently at Wilmington, in the State of Delaware. Some of these remaining troops had also been stationed at Baltimore, under General Lavalette, being the detachment left by Count de Rochambeau at Yorktown, to effect the removal of the French artillery and stores from that place."—*Sparks.*

They proceeded in divisions, consisting severally of the regiment of the Royal Deux-Ponts, commanded by Count Christian de Deux-Ponts; the regiment of the Soissonnais, under the command of Count Ségur, its Colonel, M. Felix de St. Maime, having preceded it to Boston; the regiment of the Saintonge, under Count Custine and the Prince de Broglie; and the regiment of the Bourbonnais, joined by the infantry of Lauzun, commanded by the Marquis de Laval Montmorenci.

MARQUIS MONTMORENCI.

That this unusual military display should have attracted general attention and called forth expressions of admiration, on the route, can readily be believed, although the actual fact is a matter of conjecture. On this subject, the newspapers of the day are either silent, or give the briefest possible notice of the march, in striking contrast with the minute reports that such an occurrence would insure at the present time. This comparative silence may have been maintained from prudential considerations, by an unwillingness to attract the attention of the enemy to the movements of the allies.

The second division arrived in the vicinity of Boston, December 4th; the first and third divisions arrived on the 5th, and the fourth joined its predecessors on the 6th. The artillery marched as an independent corps, and did not reach Boston until the 18th.

"The severity of the cold," writes Count Ségur, "rendered our march painful. I was, moreover, obliged to keep, night and day, a strict watch. The prospect of happiness which liberty presented to the soldiers, in this country, had created in many of them a desire of quitting their colors, and of remaining in America. In several corps, therefore, the desertion was considerable; thanks, however, to our

watchfulness and good fortune, the regiment of Soissonnais lost but few men.

"Before we entered Boston, our troops changed their dress in the open air, and appeared in a short time in such excellent attire, that it seemed incredible, that this army, coming from Yorktown, could have travelled over many hundred leagues of country, and been exposed to all the inclemency of a rainy autumn, and of a premature winter."

The entrance of the troops into Boston, from Roxbury, December 7th, must have been brilliant in the highest degree. The martial strains of their music were the first that had been heard from a band by the citizens, since the evacuation of the town by the British forces, and the exact movements of the several divisions showed the thoroughness of their discipline. "At their head was the brave Viomesnil, who ten years later sacrificed his life in defence of his King, in the attack on the Tuileries. With him came Berthier, afterwards Napoleon's Adjutant-General, and one of his Marshals; Matthieu Dumas, a distinguished soldier, and a General of division at Waterloo; Isadore de Lynch, an intrepid Irishman, afterwards a General; Montesquieu, grandson of the author of "L'Esprit des Lois"; Carra St. Cyr, Des Prez de Crassier, Alexander de Lameth, Langrone, Anselme, and others who attained distinction in the wars of the French Revolution. The officers wore chapeaux with a white cockade, a uniform of white broadcloth, faced with red, green, or blue, according to the corps to which they belonged, and high military boots. The General had on a blue overdress, faced with red. All were splendidly mounted, and wore elegant and costly equipments." *

"A great part of the population of the town," says Count Ségur, "came out to meet us. The ladies stood at their windows and welcomed us with the liveliest applause. Our stay was marked by continued rejoicings, by feasts and balls, which succeeded each other, day by day. They displayed,

* Town of Roxbury, by Francis S. Drake, pp. 82 83.

with equal sincerity, the contending sentiments of joy at the triumphs of the allied armies, and of sorrow at our approaching departure." *

The regret at parting, expressed by the Bostonians, was heartily reciprocated by the French allies. Said Count Dumas: "I quitted with regret this adopted country, to which I hoped to return after the campaign to fulfill a special mission, for which I had been named, the Count de la Luzerne, Minister of France, having designed me to be one of the commissioners to fix the boundaries after the conclusion of peace." †

Before taking a final leave of Newport, the French officers gave a grand ball, of which the following notice appeared in the Mercury of November 16, 1782:

"Since our last, arrived here the Prince de Broglie, son of the Marashall de Broglie; the Count de Ségur, son of the Prime Minister of France; the Count de Vauban; with many other officers belonging to the Count de Rochambeau's army. And on Wednesday at Mrs Crowley's Assembly Room, they gave a most elegant ball, to the ladies and gentlemen of the town. The room was ornamented in an exceedingly splendid manner, and by the judicious arrangement of the various decorations, exhibited a sight beautiful beyond expression, and showed the great taste and delicacy of Mons. Desoteux, one of the aids of the Baron Vlomesnil, who had the direction thereof. A superb collation was served, and the whole transactions of the evening were conducted with so much propriety and elegance that it gave the highest satisfaction to all who had the honor of being present."

Of this visit, and of the ball here described, the Prince de Broglie says:

"All these young people appeared to regret very much the absence of our army. They declared that since the French had left, there had been

* "Boston affords a proof that democracy and luxury are not incompatible, for in no part of the United States is so much comfort, or a more agreeable society to be formed. Europe does not offer to our admiration women adorned with greater beauty, elegance, education, or more brilliant accomplishments than the ladies of Boston, such as Mesdames Jervis, Smith, Tudor, and Morton.

"I lodged at the extremity of the town, in a pretty dwelling house belonging to Captain Phillips. This officer, who had been greatly ill-used by the English, probably thought that one way of being revenged of them was to give a hearty welcome to a Frenchman. I was therefore received as a member of the family, and shall never forget his obliging hospitality."—*Ségur, pp. 307-310.*

† Memoirs, I, 84.

no more amusements nor conversation parties. This little complaint decided de Ségur, de Vauban and myself, and some other young gentlemen of our army, to give a ball to these disconsolate fair ones. M. de Soteux took charge of the preparation.

"We met with neither reluctance nor refusals when we spoke of dancing. Our company was composed of some twenty young ladies, some of them married, all beautifully dressed, and all appearing to be pleased. We toasted very gaily at supper, and everything passed off very satisfactorily.

"The second day after this little entertainment we left, so as to rejoin the army at Providence. We quitted Newport with great regret, but not without first having kissed the hand of Polly Lawton."

In Boston, while awaiting the movements of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the French officers were treated with marked consideration by the public authorities, and by prominent citizens. The members of the General Court made a congratulatory visit to the Baron de Viomesnil, who was addressed in their behalf, in a spirited manner, by the distinguished revolutionary agitator, Samuel Adams. To this address, the Baron made an appropriate reply. On the same day, a great dinner was given to M. de Viomesnil and to the principal officers of the army, at which Governor Hancock presided. The young officers much enjoyed intercourse with Governor Hancock, John Adams, the Rev. Dr. Cooper, a leading patriot, and other gentlemen who had been active in the memorable scenes of the Revolution. "Dr. Cooper," says Count Dumas, "one day spoke to us of the first declaration of independence. We listened to him with the most eager attention. When praising our enthusiasm in the cause of liberty, he said to us, 'Take care, take care, young men, lest the triumph of the cause on this virgin soil should too much inflame your hopes. You will carry away with you the germs of these generous sentiments; but if you ever attempt to propagate them on your native soil, after so many ages of corruption, you will have to surmount far different obstacles. It has cost us much blood to conquer liberty, but you will have to shed it in torrents before you can establish it in Europe.'

"How many times since then, during our political storm —during our fatal days, have I called to mind the prophetic warnings of Dr. Cooper; but the inestimable prize which the Americans obtained by their sacrifice was always present to my mind."

Many of the French officers were quite as desirous as the rank and file of making America their future home. A considerable number remained in Providence and in Newport, after the army marched to Boston, concluding not to return to their native land. The records of St. John's Lodge, in Newport, show, that October 19, 1790, nearly eight years subsequent to the departure of the army, eighteen officers who had served under Rochambeau, joined that institution. Their names were William Adancourt, who taught dancing, Claude Barrille, John Buitden, James Cullio, Allen Cavalier, Joseph Collones, Antoine de Chartres, John Louis de Sybille, Mons'r de Moulin, Jean Baptiste Fiory, Mons'r Jeane Court, Henry La Neal, John Lagnad, J. Montelier, Joseph Monela, S. C. Demouline Rochefort, Peter St. Phillips, Benjamin Seelye. The orthography of these names, as here given, is not vouched for. Officers who returned to France immediately after the capitulation of Yorktown, expressed anxiety to go once more to America. Dr. Franklin, writing from Passy, March 4th, 1782, says: "The French officers who have returned to France this winter, speak of our people in the handsomest and kindest manner; and there is a strong desire in many of the young noblemen to go over to fight for us; there is no restraining some of them; and several changes in the officers of their army have taken place in consequence."

DEPARTURE OF THE FLEET AND TROOPS.

LIST OF VESSELS IN THE SQUADRON AND NAMES OF THEIR COMMANDERS.—WRECK OF THE MAGNIFIQUE.—STAFF OF THE TRIUMPHANT.

THE fleet of M. de Vaudreuil sailed from Boston December 24th. It consisted of Le Triumphant, 80 guns, M. le Marquis Vaudreuil; La Couronne, 89 guns, M. de Milton; Le Duc de Bourgogne, 80 guns, M. de Charitte; L'Hercule, 74 guns, M. le Chevalier de Brasse; Le Neptune, 74 guns, M. d'Lain; La Bourgogne, 74 guns, M. de Champmartin; Le Northumberland, 74 guns, M. de Médine; Le Brave, 74 guns, M. d'Amblemont; Le Citoyen, 74 guns, M. Hèty; La Néréide, 32 guns, M. le Chevalier de Laiguille; Le Souverain, 74 guns, M. le Commandeur de Glandever. The Augusta, of 80 guns, commanded by the brother of the Chevalier de Vaudreuil; the Pluton, commanded by M. d'Albert de Riom; the Amazone, frigate, 32 guns, commanded by M. de l'Aiguille, a brother of the Major of the squadron; and the Clairvoyante, Paché, commander, were at Portsmouth, N. H., to receive a portion of the French army which had marched to that place. They were to sail in twenty-four hours after M. de Vaudreuil left the Boston Roads, to join the squadron on St. George's Bank, and then unitedly to double Cape Cod, and cruise before Newport, to disengage the Fantasque.

"This fine squadron, which was now thoroughly repaired, was commanded by officers who had distinguished themselves during the preceding campaigns. The crews, composed of experienced seamen, were full of ardor, and our brave soldiers, proud of their success in America, were

ready for every enterprise, however daring. The squadron made a noble appearance, as it set sail amidst the acclamations and benedictions of the Americans, who loudly cheered the French flag." In sailing out of the harbor, the squadron passed in sight of the wreck of the Magnifique, the loss of which was a sore vexation to M. de Vaudreuil.*

The staff of the Triumphant was as follows:

Monteabier, flag officer.
The Chevalier de l'Aiguille, Major.
The Chevalier de Grimaldi, Adjutant.
The Chevalier de Viola, Adjutant.
The Chevalier de la Panouse, of the Marines, Assistant Adjutant.
Repentigny and Desson, Lieutenants.
Delange, Panat and Belzin, ensigns.
Maudat, de Dussus, le Pont and Moncheron, Officers of the Marines.
Three auxiliary officers, and three officers of the regiment of Médoc, keeping garrison in the ship.

Upwards of eleven hundred persons were on board this ship, among whom was the Baron de Viomesnil, and Commodore John Paul Jones.

HEALTH OF THE ARMY.

THE hygiene of the army during the period it remained in Rhode Island, appears to have been unusually good. This, in a large measure, was probably owing to a

* The Magnifique, 74 guns, commanded by M. de Marlegue, was lost on Lovell's Island, in Boston harbor, in August, 1782. Congress, desirous of testifying to His Majesty the sense they entertained of his generous exertions in behalf of the United States, instructed their Agent of Marine, "to present the America, a new 74 gun ship, in the name of the United States, to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, for the service of His Most Christian Majesty." This ship was built in Portsmouth, N. H., under the superintendence of Commodore John Paul Jones, and of which he was to have had command, but the exigencies of the time rendered a different destination for the ship necessary.

vigilant enforcement of sanitary regulations, under the rigid inspection of the Marechaux de Camp. The soldiers of "sunny France" were not entirely proof against the frequent and extreme changes of our sea-coast climate, and in the excessively cold winter of 1780–81, a throat disease prevailed,—to what extent is unknown,—which in several instances proved fatal.* Still the encampments do not appear to have attracted special attention or comment on this account. On the subject of health in the army, M. Claude Blanchard, Commissary in Chief of Rochambeau's army, speaks in positive terms. He says: "Notwithstanding this changeable weather which I have observed in Rhode Island during the whole winter, the country is healthy; the rest of my sojourn proved it to me. I have always had fewer sick persons in our hospitals than in France, and when our army set out in the latter part of 1782, after staying in America two and a half years, we had not ten sick in a thousand men." † Assuming that the army, on its departure from Rhode Island, numbered six thousand men, the sick list would aggregate not more than sixty persons.

WHERE BURIED.

The soldiers who died in camp in North Providence were buried in the south-west corner of the North Burial Ground in Providence. Of this I was informed, in 1865, by the late Mr. Dexter Thurber, whose father, Mr. Samuel Thurber, pointed out to him the exact spot. In interviews held more recently with the venerable Deacon Philip Martin, for forty years or more a superintendent of interments, with the late Ex-Mayor Edward P. Knowles, and with the late Hon. Zachariah Allen, all intimately acquainted with the history of the grounds, the statement of Mr. Thurber was confirmed. The number of soldiers buried there is unknown. On this subject the Providence Gazette is silent; so are the

* Rochambeau.

† Journal of Claude Blanchard, p. 104, n.

Zachariah Allen.

records of the Town Councils of Providence and of North Providence. In Providence, the Superintendent's record of burials does not commence until 1847; and hence, if any list of the deceased soldiers is in existence, it will most probably be found in the archives of the War Department in Paris. Whether any such return was made is at present a matter of conjecture. Of course, taking M. Blanchard's statement as a basis of calculation, the decedents could hardly be enumerated by hundreds, as exaggerated tradition, without corroborative proof, has affirmed.*

A BRIEF RESUMÉ.

THE fall of Yorktown hastened the close of a contest, which keen-sighted English statesmen foresaw could not be made successful in perpetuating the vassalage of the thirteen American Colonies. Lord North spoke prophetically, when, on receiving the news of the capitulation of Cornwallis, he exclaimed, in unsuppressed agony, "*It is all over.*" All was then lost. The brightest jewel in the English crown was torn from its setting. Ever after, it was

* Prior to 1700, there was no public burial-ground in Providence. It had been the practice of householders to set apart, upon their own land, a spot for a family grave-yard. Persons are still living who remember the Cooke, Ashton, Tillinghast, Crawford, Brown, Whipple, Dexter and other private enclosures, maintained for this purpose in different parts of the town. In the above named year, under the pressure of an increasing need, the North Burial Ground was laid out, in which provision was made for colored persons and for strangers. The privilege of burying in this ground was extended to decedents in every town in Providence county,—a privilege for many years imposed. The southern boundary of the ground is the cross carriage way running from east to west. All the field extending south of this line to the fountain opposite Cozzen's lane was set apart for a "training field." But a single military parade is remembered to have been held there. That portion of the field enclosed, from the entrance gate to the cross-drive, was long occupied by the towns-people as a sand-pit, but in 1847 it was graded, and is now converted into an attractive lawn, ornamented from spring to autumn with a variety of beautiful flowers and plants. The good taste of the Superintendent is no less visible in the neatness every where displayed in this "city of the dead."

to shine an independent gem. The domination of England over a country, at this day extending from the Atlantic ocean to the waters of the Pacific, and in mineral wealth out-vieing the fabulous riches of Golconda, ceased. A century passes, and what is the record? Simply this: the feeble and despised Colonies, awakened to self-reliance, and in the spirit of self-assertion, developed their material resources with a rapidity and to an extent unparalleled in history. In their Federal consolidation, they have taken a foremost rank among the nations. The little one has become a thousand. Three millions of dependants have become fifty millions of freemen. It is said that the support of the American cause by the French, leading to this magnificent result, cost the government of Louis XVI. 1,400,000,000 of livres. The alliance so seasonably formed —the fact, that France was the first nation to acknowledge the Independence of the United Colonies,—and the liberal material support furnished in the hour of pressing need,* should perpetuate in every American heart a grateful sense of the important services rendered by

"OUR FRENCH ALLIES."

*Among the friends of the American Colonies, who devotedly served their interests in France, was Pierre Augustin de Beaumarchais. He was largely instrumental in inducing the French government to secretly aid the Americans, and in securing a subsidy from Spain. In efforts to raise funds he was indefatigable. Through his endeavors, 25,000 muskets, 200 cannons, and 300,000 pounds of gunpowder were sent to America. M. Beaumarchais was born in Paris, January 24, 1732, and died May 19, 1799. His memory should be cherished as much as that of any hero of Yorktown.

A HUNDRED YEARS.

Centennial Commemoration,

OCTOBER 16–20. 1881,

OF THE

SURRENDER OF YORKTOWN,

VIRGINIA,

OCTOBER 19, 1781.

CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION

OF THE

SURRENDER OF YORKTOWN.

FROM April 19th, 1875, when the one hundredth anniversary of the battles of Lexington and Concord was enthusiastically commemorated, until October 19th, 1881, when, with equal enthusiasm, the surrender of Lord Cornwallis and his army, together with the naval force by which his Lordship had been supported, was celebrated at Yorktown, in Virginia, a series of revolutionary events was brought freshly to mind by spirited and appropriate ceremonies. They told anew of the bravery displayed on Bunker's Hill, on Rhode Island, on Long Island, on Harlem Plains, on Bemis's Heights, at Trenton, at Princeton, at Saratoga, at Stony Point, at the Cowpens, at Guilford Court-House, and on numerous other fields, and stirred patriotic fire in the hearts of a generation whose ancestors, a century before, had fought and bled for freedom. The centennial celebration at Yorktown was not local, but national, and the thousands assembled there to participate in the brilliant pageant represented the fifty millions of freemen whose heart-throbs were at that moment in unison.

ORIGIN OF THE COMMEMORATION.

The idea of celebrating, at Yorktown, the one hundredth anniversary of the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis, originated with Colonel M. Glennan, the editor of the "Norfolk Virginian." By his tireless

efforts, the "Yorktown Centennial Association" * was formed, and in 1879 was commemorated the ninety-eighth anniversary of the surrender, in which ten thousand persons participated. This gave an impetus in the right direction, and the embryo conception began to take form. A meeting of the Governors of the original thirteen States, held at Philadelphia, moved in the same line. It was recommended to all the Governors to appoint commissioners from their respective States, to aid in creating an interest in the matter.

Governor Holliday, of Virginia, appreciating the services rendered by Colonel Glenman, appointed him to represent "the Old Dominion." The movement soon assumed a national character. By Act of Congress, of June 7, 1880, a Centennial Commission was created. The sum of $100,000 was appropriated to defray the expense of erecting, at Yorktown, the long promised monument,† and $20,000 more was provided to aid in defraying the expenses of the celebration.

INVITATIONS.

In accordance with a resolution of Congress, President Rutherford B. Hayes addressed a letter to M. Jules Grévy, President of the French Republic, inviting him, and through him "the people of France," "to unite with the government and people of the United States in celebrating the centennial anniversary of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, at Yorktown." A similar invitation was extended to the family of General Lafayette. Subsequently, invitations were given to the descendants of Count de Rochambeau, Admiral de Grasse, Admiral de Barras, ‡ and to those of all officers who were in any way connected with the French army or fleet before Yorktown. By direction of President Garfield, the Secretary of State, the Hon. James G. Blaine, tendered through the American Minister, at Berlin, like invitations to the representatives of Baron Steuben. These invitations were warmly accepted. M. Grévy appointed Le Commandant Leichtenstein to represent the French government. On the arrival, at New York, of the foreign guests, they were hospitably entertained, as they also

* Of this association, the Hon. John Goode, of Norfolk, in Virginia, was chosen President, Edward Everett Winchell, of New York, Secretary, and Colonel J. L. Poyton, of Haddonfield, New Jersey, General Superintendent.

† Ant., pp. 401, 402.

‡ The family of Admiral de Barras has become extinct.

R. B. Hayes.

were in Philadelphia, in Baltimore, in Washington, in Richmond, and in other cities visited by them. Indeed, during their sojourn in the United States, no pains were spared on the part of the general government, and of State and municipal authorities, to fill every hour with brightness. These attentions elicited from their recipients enthusiastic expressions of appreciation.

At home, invitations were extended to officers of the army and of the navy, to the Chief Justice and to the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, to the diplomatic corps, to the Governors of all the States in the Union, to delegations of the military from each of the original thirteen States, to the Mayors of the cities, to the surviving ex-Presidents and ex-Vice Presidents of the United States, and to a large number of private citizens, prominent in various professions. Measures were also adopted to insure the presence of a large representation of the Masonic fraternity.

CONGRESSIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION.

The Congressional Centennial Commission, before mentioned, consisted of the following gentlemen, representing the original thirteen States:

Senators:

Connecticut, W. W. Eaton;
Delaware, T. F. Bayard;
Georgia, Benjamin H. Hill;
Maryland, William Pinckney Whyte;
Massachusetts, H. L. Dawes;
New Hampshire, E. H. Rollins;
New Jersey, T. F. Randolph;
New York, Francis Kernan;
North Carolina, Matthew W. Ransom;
Pennsylvania, William A. Wallace;
Rhode Island, Henry B. Anthony;
South Carolina, M. C. Butler;
Virginia, John W. Johnston;

House of Representatives:

Connecticut, Joseph R. Hawley;
Delaware, E. L. Martin;
Georgia, Henry Persons;
Maryland, F. C. Talbot;
Massachusetts, George B. Loring;
New Hampshire, Joshua G. Hall;
New Jersey, L. A. Brigham;
New York, Nicholas Muller;

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

the attractions of the occasion. No more appropriate location could have been selected. On the one side, this field of Mars was flanked by the York river, and on the other, by a sheltering forest. Here, a century gone by, the army of Cornwallis laid down its arms to Washington and to the "French Allies," rendering further efforts to crush out the life of a new-born nation hopeless.

To put the Farm in suitable order, and to provide for other unavoidable expenses of the Centennial, the Association decided that at least $250,000 must be raised. The Farm was capitalized in stock to that amount. Certificates of this stock, in sums of ten dollars each, were issued to incorporators in the District of Columbia, and in each of the original thirteen States.* How successful this method of raising funds proved does not appear.

It had been the expectation of the Association, that the monument would be erected on the Farm. Fifteen acres of land were set apart for a site, and donated to the United States. It was said to have been the design of the Association to transfer, at the close of the celebration, the entire Farm to the government, to be converted into a National Park, but the selection of a location on a high bluff of the York river, within half a mile, or less, of the centre of the village, prevented the consummation of the plan.

CONVEYANCES.—COURTESIES.

Liberal provision was made for the conveyance of national guests from New York and from Washington. At Washington, the "Excelsior," a large and convenient steamer, received on board nearly two hundred guests, the arrangements for whose comfort were equal to those of a first-class hotel. The "Despatch," a screw-steamer appropriated to the use of President Arthur, of members of his Cabinet, and of other eminent personages, "The City of Catskill," the "Excelsior," and other steamers, to which guests had been assigned, left the pier at Washington, on Monday afternoon, October 17th, and reached Yorktown the next morning. The arrival of the President was announced by salutes, of twenty-one guns, from the United States

*"The Yorktown Hand Book," issued shortly before the commemoration, gives a list of the names of the incorporators. They number as follows: Virginia, 54, Connecticut, 30, Maryland, 12, New York city, 11; Massachusetts, 10, New Hampshire, 9, Pennsylvania, 9, South Carolina, 9, Georgia, 8, New Jersey, 8, North Carolina, 7, District of Columbia, 7, Delaware, 6, Rhode Island, 5.

David D. Porter

Lord, our deliverer. The influence of this event was seen in the teeming forth of blessings of a century of national life, and the influence of those blessings is shared abroad to every corner of the earth."

After discussing the origin and functions of government, the Bishop continued:

"We thank the Most High for having knit the ties of union and brotherhood so close that they who so short a time ago met in the awful shock of battle meet here to-day with no strife or rivalry save that of enthusiastic devotedness to their common country, and are gathered here around this old fountain head of liberty that all may drink deep of the patriotism of our fathers, a patriotism high and universal, knowing no limits of sect or section, no bounds save God and humanity, and while this mourning drapery, entwined with the emblems of our exultation, reminds us of how so lately our country bent in tearful sorrow over the prostrate form of her Chief Magistrate, cut off in the midst of his noble career by the iniquitous act of an assassin, yet we see no blanch of terror in her cheek, no tremor of anxiety in her hand. She inscribes his name on the list of her illustrious sons, and thus points calmly onward and upward, strong in the faith that He who so marvellously blessed her with unparalleled prosperity during this century of her life will not abandon His work and has not exhausted His treasure."

His final words were for France, invoking a blessing upon a nation that had stood by our country in its time of need.

"May all that is honorable and noble die out of the hearts of men ere the remembrance of this die out of our country's spirit. May this soil, be sacred to our country's liberties — more sacred even than old Independence Hall; because while there she made the grand but almost desperate venture, here the wreath of victory was entwined around her brow. May it ever be doubly sacred because of the mingled blood that has hallowed it, and may that mingled blood be the covenant of a friendship more lasting than the monumental shaft which is here to tell all future generations of the alliance between France and America."

A SHADOW.

The rejoicings of the day were shadowed by the funeral of Captain Edward P. McCrea, of the flag-ship "Tennessee." He died on Saturday, October 14th. A service, conducted by Chaplain T. A. Gill, was held on board the "Tennessee," after which the remains were conveyed to the United States steamer "Yantic," for transfer to Norfolk, Virginia, and thence to New York. Captains Joseph Fyffe and Richard W. Meade, and Commanders G. B. White and

THE YORKTOWN MONUMENT.

Henry C. Taylor acted as pall-bearers. All the vessels in the harbor dropped their colors to half-mast, and while the procession of boats was escorting the remains of Captain McCrea to the "Yantic," a Captain's salute was fired from the "Tennessee."

FURTHER EXERCISES.

The following day, Monday, October 17th, was unofficially remembered as the one hundredth anniversary of Cornwallis's proposition to surrender, but the most noticeable features of the day were the anchoring of numerous vessels in front of the town, and the arrival of military bodies.

Tuesday, the 18th, was the centennial anniversary of signing the capitulation. It was set apart by the Commission for the ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the national monument, the erection of which had so long been delayed. The sky was clear, and in that respect the day was propitious. The temperature was fully equal to that of a Virginia summer heat, and for that reason trying to the ten thousand men and women

who witnessed the ceremony. At ten o'clock, A. M., the band of the third United States artillery gave an out-door concert at the grand stand, near the site of the monument. At the same hour the North Carolina State band gave a similar concert at the military camp on Temple Farm. By ten and a half o'clock, all the steamers appropriated to the use of the national guests had arrived. At eleven o'clock, Governor W. F. M. Holliday, of Virginia, held a reception in "Lafayette Hall." The hall was handsomely decorated with flags. Among the notables of the occasion were President Arthur and members of his cabinet, the foreign guests, and diplomatic corps, Governors and Commissioners of the States, General W. S. Hancock, and Major Asa Bird Gardner, of his staff, Colonel Oswald Tilghman, Governor William T. Hamilton, of Maryland, and General Henry S. Taylor, of his staff, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Ex-Governor Perry, of South Carolina, together with many other widely known military officers and civilians. Rhode Island was represented by Governor Alfred H. Littlefield, General Horatio Rogers, Hon. Nelson W. Aldrich, and other national guests.

Following the reception was the ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the monument, according to Masonic forms, under the direction of Most Worshipful Peyton S. Coles, Grand Master, assisted by the Grand Masters of the original Grand Lodges of the thirteen original States. The assembly was called to order by Hon. John W. Johnston. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Robert Nelson, grandson of Governor Nelson, whose patriotic sacrifices for freedom have, in previous pages, been related. A thoughtfully eloquent and cordial address of welcome was made by Governor Holliday. He took a broad survey of the rise and progress of the American nation:

"To this history has no parallel. . . . . Nothing like this in its extent and proportions has been given us before. . . . . This monument will proclaim to future generations the surrender of force and the triumph of law. . . . . All nationalities mingled in the common tide. . . . . The mighty tide rolls on,—Americans all,—as the inscription of this monument will declare, with 'one Country, one Constitution, one Destiny'; about them a Continent with the wealth of a Promised Land."

Referring to the late national troubles, the Governor said:

"A short time ago the country was torn by discord, and civil war strode through the land with a fierceness rarely equalled. When the fight was over, the sword was sheathed, the battle-flag was furled, the wreck of dismantled

and shattered homes were gathered up—sometimes with tears, sometimes with 'thoughts too deep for tears,' traditions and associations that were interwoven through the governmental and social fabric, and though they had caused dissensions, on either side were precious, were rolled up like a scroll and laid away forever. Together again, as a united people, under the old ensign, flaming aloft and before us like a star in the serene sky, we are marching to still grander triumphs, bearing on our Atlantean shoulders an enfranchised race to the blessings of our own civilization. In the midst of the fury of partisan strife, however latter or however honest, it has always appeared that as we have loved our arms, we have loved our country more.

"When the hand of the assassin struck our President down, there was not a home or heart, from sea to sea, from which earnest prayers did not go up for his recovery. And when death came there was not one that was not draped in mourning and bowed in deepest sorrow. He was to have been with us to-day and have joined in these august ceremonies. It has been otherwise ordained. But his honored successor is here, and his cabinet, and the Yorktown Congressional Commission, and representatives of every department of the United States government, and the people of the sister States and territories, and citizens of foreign nations, to participate in the proceedings of this historic day. Virginia gives them CORDIAL WELCOME! Providence decreed that her soil should be the scene of the last great act of the Revolution. Her citizens rejoice that they can grant it to all the States, and join them in building thereon a memorial which they trust may be as lasting as the emblem it typifies, and that both may be immortal. We feel that however dire the calamity that has befallen us, or may in the future come, faith is not dead, and patriotism has not been wounded. 'God reigns, and the government at Washington still lives!' The friends of freedom everywhere catch up the grand refrain and speed it round the world—'God reigns and the government at Washington still lives!' Long live the government!"

Governor Holliday closed his admirable address with a well turned compliment to France. Turning to the foreign guests, he said:

"On this spot an hundred years ago your sires and ours united and accomplished a work which started a civilization with untold possibilities on the new continent, and revolutionized the civilization of the old. None could then estimate its far-reaching sweep, or the unnumbered blessings it carried for mankind. We build this monument to perpetuate the recollections of that work. We will guard it with pious hands and hearts and transmit it to the countless generations who will follow us to show how in God's ways a brave and noble deed evolves its own triumphs. So may the principles this monument is intended to represent not fail from the memory of men!"

Remarks were also made by the chairman of the commission, Hon. John W. Johnston. The stone was then lowered into its bed, corn, wine, and oil were poured upon it, the level and the square were applied, and the Grand Master (Coles) pronounced the stone

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Governor Holliday closed his admirable address with a well turned compliment to Denver. Turning to the foreign guests, he said:

"On this spot six hundred years ago your sires and ours crossed and accompanied a work which started a [illegible] with outside peoples on the new continent and [illegible] the [illegible] of the east. Some could then estimate to far reaching sweep of the [illegible] forces [illegible] for [illegible]. We build this monument to perpetuate the [illegible] of that work. We will guard it with [illegible] hands and hearts and [illegible] it to the [illegible] generations who will follow us to show [illegible] God's [illegible] a [illegible] and [illegible] its own triumphs. So may the purpose this monument is intended to represent not fade from the memory of men."

Remarks were also made by the chairman of the commission, Hon. John W. Johnston. The stone was then lowered into its bed, corn, wine, and oil were poured upon it, the level and the square were applied, and the Grand Master (Coles) pronounced the stone

J. A. Garfield.

"well and duly laid." * Accompanied by Grand Master Withers and the Grand Master of Pennsylvania, President Arthur, (who with members of his cabinet occupied the grand stand of the pavilion,) descended to the stone, examined it, pronounced the work well performed, and on resuming his seat the ceremonies were closed. These exercises were intermingled with "The Star Spangled Banner," sung by three hundred voices, accompanied by the Marine band, under the leadership of Professor Charles L. Seigel, of Richmond, Virginia; "The Marseillaise Hymn," by a chorus of voices with Marine band accompaniment, led by Professor Seigel; "Hail Columbia," by a chorus of voices led by the same, with Marine band accompaniment; and closing with a "Grand Fantasia," by the Marine band, conducted by Mr. J. Philip Sousa. At the conclusion of singing "The Star Spangled Banner," the United States flag was unfurled, and saluted by the land batteries and by the war vessels in the harbor. The large assemblage of Masons, in glittering regalias, the bright uniforms of army and militia officers, the presence of numerous distinguished personages, and the immense crowd of spectators occupying the seats and adjacent grounds, imparted uncommon brilliancy to the scene.

The monument, a Corinthian column, will, when completed, measure from its base to its capital eighty-four feet two inches. The capital is to be surmounted by a statue of liberty, eleven feet four inches in height, making the whole measurement from the bottom of the base resting on the surface of the ground to the top of the figure ninety-five feet six inches. The podium or drum will support thirteen dancing figures. Historical inscriptions will occupy the four sides of the base. Located on a high bluff of the York river, it will be a conspicuous object from a long distance, reminding the beholder

* Grand Master Coles wore, on this occasion, the sash and apron presented to Washington by Lafayette.

The box placed beneath the corner stone contained a copy of the holy bible; copper coin of the United States, of date 1783, United States, French and Canadian bank notes, one hundred dollar Virginia treasury note of 1862, various specimens of confederate money; copy of the programme of the celebration, photographs of confederate flags, Yorktown centennial medal, programme of the corner-stone ceremonies, copies of Virginia newspapers, publications referring to the centennial, copy of charter of Yorktown Centennial Association; a leaf from the bible on which George Washington was sworn as a Mason, electrotype copy of charter of Grand Lodge of Virginia, a list of the members of the Yorktown Centennial Commission, a copy of the music sung by the chorus, Masonic apron worn by the late Rev. A. A. Baldwin.

of the price, in life and treasure, paid for a place among the nations.*

The festivities of this day closed with concerts at the monument site and at the military camps, a hop in Lafayette hall, and a brilliant pyrotecnic display and lantern illumination by the United States vessels anchored in the harbor.

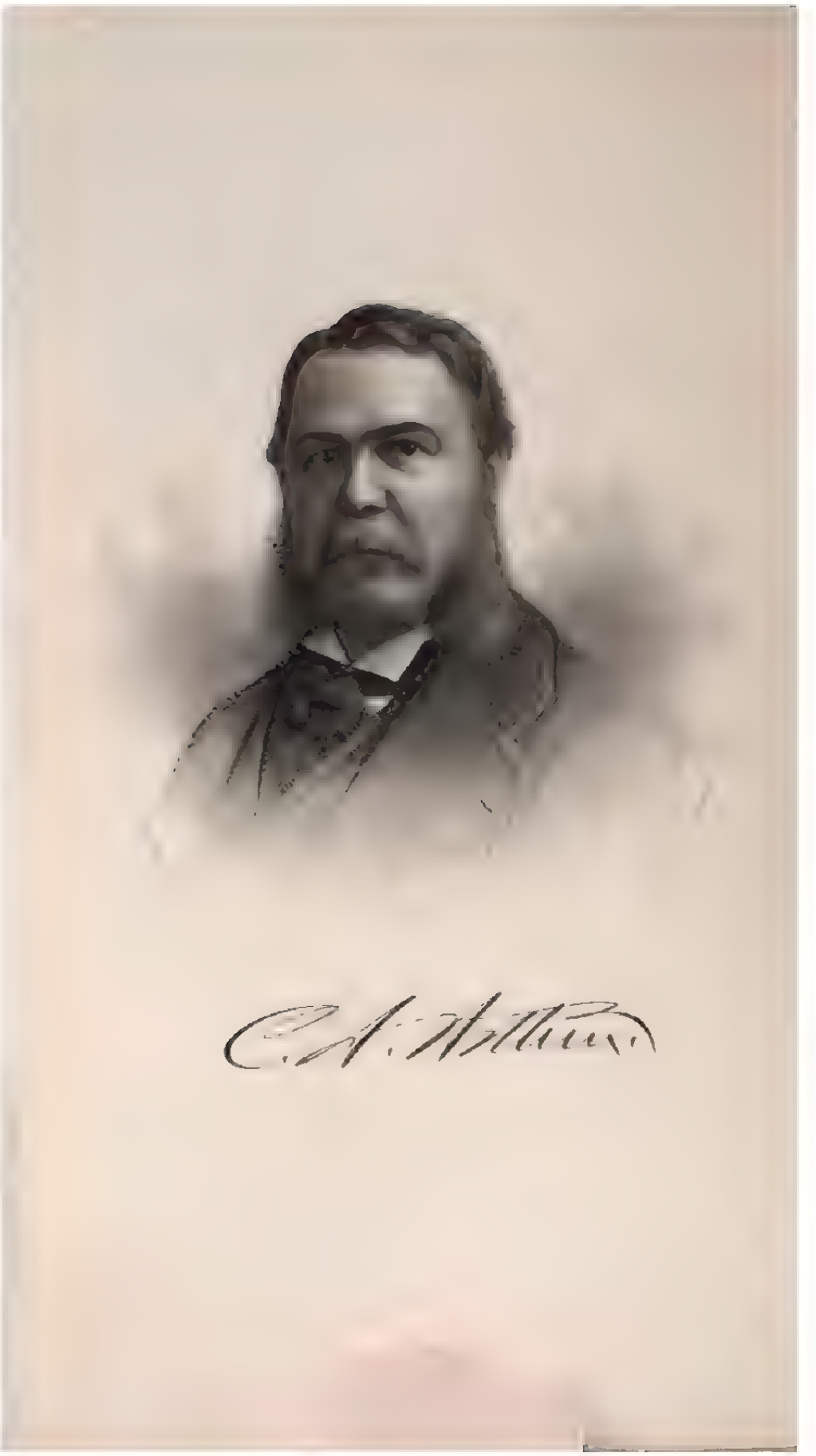
Wednesday, the anniversary of the capitulation, opened bright and cool, a light shower with distant thunder and lightning the night before, having sent the mercury down many degrees. Band concerts enlivened a morning hour at the monument site, and at the military encampments. Later, crowds bent their steps towards the former, and before eleven o'clock the seats on the grand stand, exclusive of those reserved for President Arthur and members of his cabinet, and for the foreign and other distinguished guests, were filled to their utmost capacity, while a crowd, with eager gaze, stood in front. The assembly was called to order by the Hon. John W. Johnston. The commemorative services commenced with an overture of Leutner, performed by the Marine band, conducted by J. Philip Sousa.

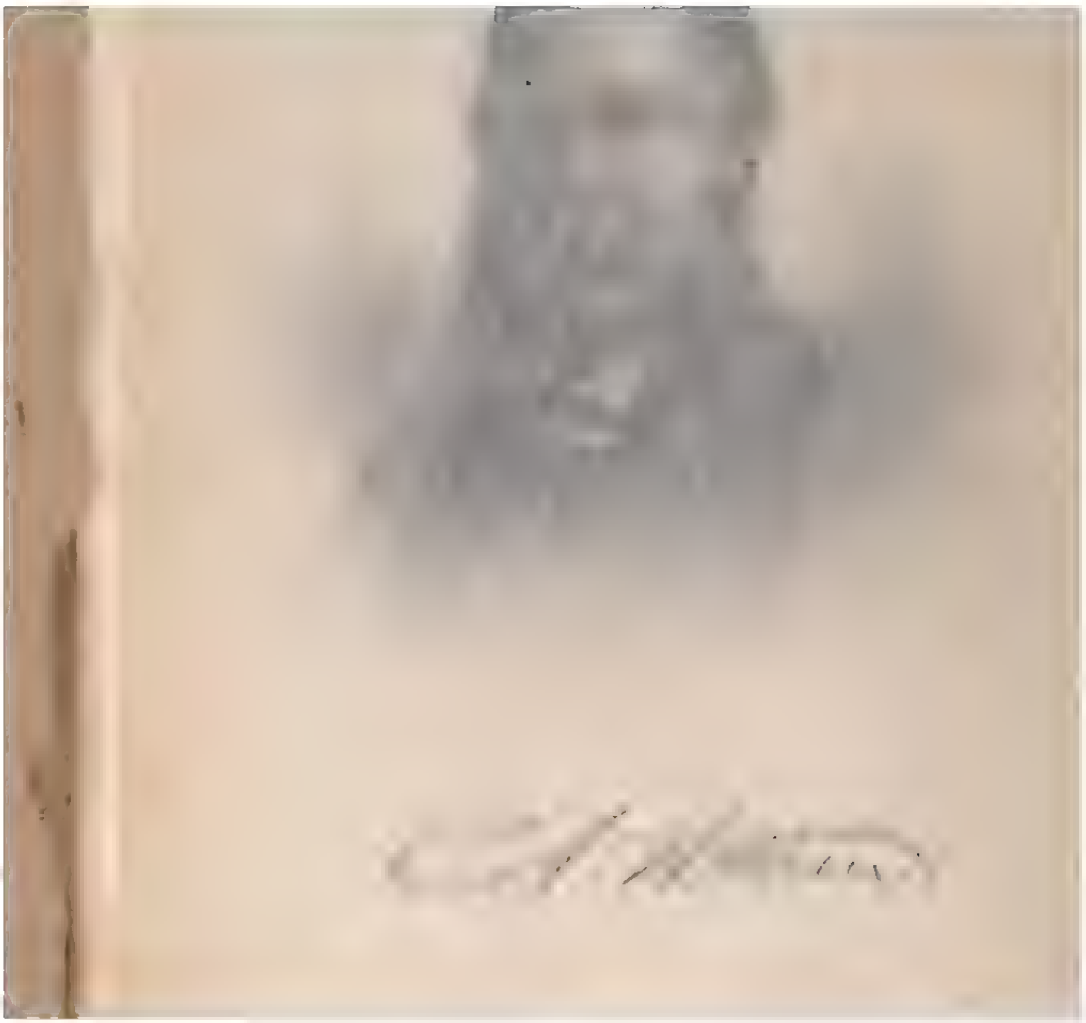
*A FORGOTTEN FACT.—"It is an instance strikingly exhibitive of the treachery and brevity of the popular memory, that an occurrence so recent and so marked as the erection in 1880 of a monument at Yorktown, commemorative of the momentous surrender there, should have been almost entirely forgotten, though daily chronicled by the press at the time.

"The monument was thirteen feet in height, and comprised two bases of James river granite and a shaft of white marble, the latter bearing the following inscription, 'Erected the 19th day of October, 1880, by the regimental and company officers of the twenty first regiment of Virginia militia, of Gloucester county, and of the Volunteer companies attached thereto, to mark the spot of the surrender of Cornwallis's sword on the 19th of October, 1781.'

"The monument was furnished by Mr. John W. Davies, of Richmond, Va. It was not, however, erected on the 19th of October, which being a tempestuous day, the ceremony was deferred, taking place on the 20th instant following. The site on which the monument was erected was authenticated by several marks of identification which had been placed there by the late William Nelson, Esq., the son of General Thomas Nelson, of revolutionary memory. These consisted of a heap of ballast stones, differing from those common to the locality, and dating back, it was claimed, to 1824, (the last occasion of the commemorative observances during the visit of Lafayette to America,) and the poplar trees planted, so as to form a square, by Mr. William Nelson, about the year 1847.

"The duration of the monument was brief enough. It fell a victim to the known destructive proclivity of the soldiers (our own '*Grey Backs*', the following year. Stationed in the vicinity of the monument, they battered it down and so effectually uprooted and pounded it that no vestige of it is known to have remained *in situ*. It is said that the softer material of which it was constituted—the shaft of white marble—was industriously fashioned into vesicating tokens of biblical form for distant mothers and sisters, and into expressive emblems for anxious sweethearts."—*R. A. B., in the Richmond, Va., Standard.*





Prayer was offered by Bishop William L. Harris, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of New York. A centennial hymn, composed by Charles Poindexter, Esq., followed, and was effectively rendered by a chorus of three hundred voices, conducted by Prof. Charles L. Seigel, accompanied by the Marine band. President Arthur and members of his cabinet, the foreign guests, and other eminent personages, occupied the front seats of the grand stand, "the observed of all observers." The President delivered an earnest and appropriate address of welcome. To this, responses were made by His Excellency the French Ambassador M. Maxime Outrey, by the Marquis de Rochambeau, and by Colonel Arndt Von Steuben.

PRESIDENT ARTHUR'S ADDRESS.

President Arthur was introduced by Secretary Blaine, and delivered the following address:

"Upon this soil, one hundred years ago, our fathers brought to a successful issue their heroic struggle for independence. Here and then was established, and as we trust made secure upon this continent for ages yet to come, that principle of government which is the very fibre of our political system — the sovereignty of the people. The resentments which attended, and for a time survived the clash of arms have long since ceased to animate our hearts. It is with no feeling of exultation over a defeated foe that to-day we summon up a remembrance of those events which have made holy the ground whereon we tread. Surely no such unworthy sentiment could find harbor in our hearts, so profoundly thrilled with expressions of sorrow and sympathy which our national bereavement has evoked from the people of England and their august sovereign; but it is altogether fitting that we should gather here to refresh our souls with the contemplation of the unfaltering patriotism, the sturdy zeal and the sublime faith which achieved the results we now commemorate. For so, if we learn aright the lessons of the hour, shall we be incited to transmit to the generation which shall follow, the precious legacy which our fathers left to us — the love of liberty protected by law. Of that historic scene which we here celebrate no feature is more prominent, and none more touching, than the participation of our gallant allies from across the sea. It was their presence which gave fresh and vigorous impulse to the hopes of our countrymen when well-nigh disheartened by a long series of disasters. It was their noble and generous aid, extended in the darkest period of the struggle, which sped the coming of our triumph and made the capitulation at Yorktown possible a century ago. To their descendants and representatives who are here present as the honored guests of the nation, it is my glad duty to offer cordial welcome. You have a right to share with us the associations which cluster about the day when your fathers fought side by side with our fathers in the cause which was here crowned with success, and none of the memories awakened by this anniversary are more grateful to us all

than the reflections that the national friendships here so closely cemented have outlasted the mutations of a changeful century. God grant, my countrymen, that they may ever remain unshaken and that ever henceforth, with ourselves and with all the nations of the earth, we may be at peace."

THE FRENCH MINISTER'S ADDRESS.

M. Max Outrey, in behalf of the French delegation, was introduced by Secretary Blaine, and delivered the following address:

"The French government has felt much touched by the friendly sentiments which inspired the United States with the thought of asking France to participate in the celebration of the Yorktown centennial, and heartily desires to respond in a manner worthy of both republics to the invitation sent by the President of the United States in behalf of the people of America. The manifestation of public sympathy following the initiative taken by the Congress of the United States, bidding France to this national festival, has been looked upon by us not only as an act of the highest courtesy, but especially as a mark of affectionate regard, having the noble aim of cementing yet more closely the ties which unite the two republics. In commemoration of this day, which represents one of the grandest events of the political existence of this country, the French government has sent a mission, composed of special delegates from different departments, and the President of the French republic, wishing to mark his personal sympathy, has sent one of his own aides-de-camp. They thus desire to show particularly their appreciation of the graceful compliment paid to our country. Each and all of us are proud of having been called to the honor of representing France on this auspicious day. The monument which is here to be erected will not only recall a glorious victory — it will perpetuate the recollections of an ever-faithful alliance, faithful through the trials and vicissitudes of an eventful century, and as the President of the French republic has so truly said, it will consecrate the union sprung from generous and liberal aspirations, and which the institutions we can now boast of in common must necessarily strengthen and develop for the good of both countries. In coming to this Yorktown centennial we come to celebrate the day which ended that long and bitter struggle against a great nation, now our mutual ally and friend, who here, as under all skies where her flag has floated, has left ineffaceable marks of her grand and civilizing spirit. We come to celebrate the glorious date when the heroes of independence were able to set their final seal to the solemn proclamation of the 4th of July, 1776. We come also to salute the dawn of that era of prosperity where, but by her great men, America permitted the intelligence of her people to soar and their energy to manifest itself, and thus the power of the United States has strengthened, and every year has added to the prestige which surrounds her star spangled banner.

"When France sent from beyond the seas the cooperation of her army and her navy to this valiant people, engaged in a war for its independence; when Lafayette, Rochambeau, de Grasse, and so many others drew in their footsteps the young and brave scions of our most illustrious families, they yielded to a generous impulse and came with disinterested courage to sustain the

cause of liberty, a blessing went with their endeavors and gave success to their arms, for when, one hundred years ago, as to-day, the French and the Americans grasped each other's hands at Yorktown, thus realized that they had helped to lay the corner-stone of a great edifice. But surely the most far sighted among those men would have started had he been able to look down the long vista of a century and see at this end this republic, then young and struggling with all the difficulties which surrounded her, now calm, radiant, and beaming with her halo of prosperity. The great Washington himself, whose genius foresaw the destiny of this country, could not have predicted this. Truly the United States have made, especially in these latter years, gigantic strides along the route to still greater progress by showing to the world what can be accomplished by an energetic and intelligent nation. Always as respectful of its duties as jealous of its rights, America has given a great example and has been a cause of rejoicing to all true lovers of liberty. France is proud of having contributed to found this great republic, and her wishes for your prosperity are deep and sincere. The mutual friendship is founded on many affinities of taste and aspirations which time cannot destroy, and future generations, I trust, will assist again in this same place at the spectacle, unprecedented in history, of two great nations renewing from century to century a compact of fraternal and imperishable affection. I will not close without thanking the federal government, the different States of the Union of which the delegation have been the guests, also the people of America, for the sympathy and welcome extended to the representatives of France. Each of us will treasure the recollection of American hospitality and of the friendly sentiments which have been manifested to us in every place and in every sphere."

ADDRESS OF THE MARQUIS DE ROCHAMBEAU.

The Marquis de Rochambeau made a graceful response in French, in which he said, in substance:

"CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES:—You have invited us to celebrate with you the great achievement of arms, and we did not hesitate to brave the terrors of the ocean to say to you that what our fathers and brothers did in 1781, we, their sons, would be willing to do to-day, and to attest our constant friendship, and to further show that we cherish the same sentiments as our fathers in those glorious days we celebrate. In the name of my compatriots who represent here the men who fought, permit me to hope that the attachment formed in these days around this monument which is about to be erected, will be renewed in one hundred years, and will again celebrate the victory which joined our fathers in comradeship and alliance."

COLONEL VON STEUBEN'S SPEECH.

The extempore speech of Colonel von Steuben, in response to the President's address, was delivered in German, of which the following is a literal translation:

"Mr. President:—In the words of welcome to your foreign guests, which you have just uttered, you remembered and mentioned in kind terms the family of Von Steuben. I assure you that as soon as the tidings of our hearty, enthusiastic reception in this country, following the friendly invitation to us by the President of the United States, were received in the old Fatherland, there was heartfelt rejoicing among all classes in every part of our country. It was a new and striking evidence of the common sympathy that existed between the American and German peoples. It proves, too, that the American people, which thus appreciates and hastens to honor the great dead, stands at the height of civilization and culture. Only this morning I received a cablegram from my country with hearty congratulations upon this happy commemoration day, so important in the history of the United States, and believe, Mr. President, that I may express to you the sincere gratulation of the whole German people, and of the German government, upon this auspicious day. Permit me also, Mr President, to return to you, for all our Von Steuben family, the warmest thanks of our full hearts; thanks which I cannot adequately express, for the boundless hospitality and for the cordial greetings which we have met on every hand, at every step from the hour of our landing until you crowned the whole with your welcome to us. As representatives of our great kinsman, I can only say to you again and again, we thank you."

MR. WINTHROP'S ORATION.

The historical oration was delivered by the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston. No better or more popular selection could have been made. His classical culture, his profound knowledge of history, his familiar acquaintance with American politics, his enlarged views as a statesman, his courteous manners, and his attractive oratorical powers eminently qualified him for the important and delicate duty assigned him. It was a forensic display not often witnessed in a veteran of seventy-two years. Following necessarily protracted preliminary exercises, he held, for an hour and forty minutes, the rapt attention of an immense audience. He opened with a delicate compliment to Virginia,—"a State which, of all others in our Union, has never needed to borrow an orator for any occasion, however important or exacting." He drew a graphic picture of the siege and surrender of Yorktown. He paid honorable tributes to Washington, to Nelson, to Rochambeau, to Lafayette, to de Grasse, to Viomesnil, to de Chastellux, to de Lauzun, to Von Steuben, and to other American and foreign officers who were conspicuous for bravery and efficiency. He drew attention to the dangers threatening the American republic, and pointed out the method of shunning them. He frankly declared that in recent years "things had not gone well with us," yet he was hopeful of the future. He spoke of the French

King in terms of praise, and also of Queen Victoria, "whom neither Anne nor Elizabeth will outshine in history," and of whom "we are ready to say, and do say, 'God save the Queen,' as sincerely and as earnestly as she herself, and her ministers, and her people have said, 'God save the President,' in these recent hours of his agony." Only a few extracts from this admirable production can here be given:

"And now, fellow-countrymen," said the orator, "as we look back at that history at this hour, and see at what a great price our fathers purchased for us the freedom we are now enjoying — at what a cost of toil and treasure and blood these Republican institutions of ours have been founded and built up — can there fail to come home to each one of our hearts a deeper sense of our responsibility, as a people and as individuals, for upholding, advancing, and transmitting them unimpaired to our posterity? The century which has rolled away since the scene we commemorate needs no review on this occasion. It has made its mark upon our land, and written its own history on all our memories. The immense increase of our population, the vast expansion of our territory, the countless productions of our industry, the measureless mass of our crops, the magical reduction of our debt, the marvelous prosperity of our people, beyond that of all other nations of the earth — all these are things not to boast of, as if they were of our own accomplishment, but to recognize and thank God for with all our hearts. Nor can we of this generation stand here to-day, on this Virginia soil, beneath this October sun, without an irrepressible thrill of exultation and thanksgiving that we are here as brothers, from the St. John's to the Rio Grande, from the Atlantic to the Pacific — all conflicts long over, and all causes for conflicts at an end — fifty millions of people, all free and equal, and all recognizing one country, one Constitution, one flag, to be cherished in every heart, to be defended by every hand! But it is of our future, not of the past or even of the present, that I would speak, in the brief remnant of this address. It is not what we have been, or what we have done, or even what we are, that weighs on our thoughts at this hour, even to the point of oppressiveness; but what, what are we to be? What is to be the character of a second century of independence for America? What are to be its issues for ourselves? What are to be its influences on mankind at large? And what can we do, all powerless as we are to pierce the clouds which rest upon the future, or to penetrate the counsels of an overruling Providence — what can we do to secure these glorious institutions of ours from decline and fall, that other generations may enjoy what we now enjoy, and that our liberty may indeed be 'a liberty to that only which is good, just, and honest,'—'a liberty enlightening the world?'

* * * * *

"Let me not exaggerate our dangers, or dash the full joy of this occasion, by suggesting too strongly that there may be poison in our cup. But I must be pardoned, as one of a past generation, for dealing with old-fashioned counsels in old-fashioned phrases. Profound dissertations on the nature of government, metaphysical speculations on the true theory of civil liberty, scientific dissections of the machinery of our own political system, even were I capable of them, would be as inappropriate as they would be worthless.

Our reliance for the preservation of Republican liberty can only be on the commonplace principles and common-sense maxims which lie within the comprehension of the children in our schools or of the simplest and least endowed man or woman who wields a hammer or who plies a needle. The fear of the Lord must still and ever be the beginning of our wisdom, and obedience to His commandments the rule of our lives. Crime must not go unpunished, and vice must be stigmatized and rebuked as vice.

* * * * *

Cities and towns must make provision for all that relates to cities and towns. States, which still and always have duties, which still and always have rights, must provide for all that justly relates to States. And the general government of the Union must exercise its paramount authority over everything of domestic or foreign interest which comes within the sphere of its constitutional control. Civil service must be reformed. Elections and appointments, as Burke said, must be made, 'as to a sacred function and not as to a pitiful job.' The elective franchise must be everywhere protected. Public credit must be maintained in city, state, and nation, at every sacrifice. Neither a gold nor a silver currency, nor both conjoined — neither mono-metallism nor bi-metallism — can form any substitute for the honesty and good faith which are the basis of an enduring public credit. Our independent judicial system, with all the rights and duties of the jury-box, must be respected and upheld. The army and the navy must be adequately maintained for the defense of our coasts and commerce and boundaries, and the militia not neglected for domestic exigencies; but peace, at home and abroad, must still and ever be the aim and end of all our preparations for war. Above all, the Union — the Union 'in any event,' as Washington said — must be preserved.

* * * * *

"But let me add at once, that, with a view to all these ends, and as the indispensable means of promoting and securing them all, universal education, without distinction of race, must be encouraged, aided and enforced. The elective franchise can never be taken away from any of those to whom it has once been granted, but we can and must make education co-extensive with the elective franchise, and it must be done without delay, as a measure of self-defense, and with the general cooperation of the authorities and of the people of the whole country. One-half of our country during the last ten or fifteen years has been opened for the first time to the introduction and establishment of free common schools, and there is not wealth enough at present in that region to provide for this great necessity. Two millions of children without the means of instruction was the estimate of the late Dr. Sears in 1879. Every year brings another installment of brutal ignorance to the polls to be the subject of cajolement, deception, corruption, or intimidation. Here, here is our greatest danger for the future. The words of our late lamented President, in his inaugural, come to us to-day with redoubled emphasis from that inclosed grave on the lake: 'All the constitutional power of the nation and of the States, and all the volunteer forces of the people, should be summoned to meet this danger by the saving influence of universal education.' No drought or flood or conflagration, no succession of droughts or floods or conflagrations, can be so disastrous to our material wealth as this periodical influx, these annual inundations of ignorance, to our moral and political welfare. Every year, every day, of delay increases the difficulty of meeting the

danger. Slavery is but half abolished, emancipation is but half completed, while millions of freemen with votes in their hands are left without education. Justice to them, the welfare of the States in which they live, the safety of the whole republic, the dignity of the elective franchise, alike demand that the still remaining bonds of ignorance shall be unloosed and broken, and the minds as well as the bodies of the emancipated go free! I know whereof I speak, and have certainly given time enough, and thought enough, to the subject, for fourteen years past, in my relations to a great Southern trust, to learn, at least, what that trust has done, what it can do, and what it cannot do. It has been thus far as a voice crying in the wilderness — calling on the people of the South to undertake the great work for themselves, and preparing the way for its successful prosecution. It may be looked back upon, one of these days, if not now, as the little leaven which has leavened the whole lump. But the whole lump must be kneaded and molded and worked over with unceasing activity and energy, by every town, village and district, for itself, or there will be no sufficient bread for the hungry and famished masses. And there must be aids and appropriations and endowments by cities and states, and by the nation at large, through its public lands, if in no other way, and to an amount compared with which the gift of George Peabody — munificent as it was for an individual benefactor — is but as the small dust of the balance. It is itself one of the great rights of a free people to be educated and trained up from childhood to that ability to govern themselves which is the largest element in republican self-government, and without which all self-government must be a failure and a farce, here and everywhere! It is, indeed, primarily, a right of our children, and they are not able to enforce and vindicate it for themselves. But let us beware of subjecting ourselves to the ineffable reproach of robbing the children of their bread and casting it before dogs, by wasting untold millions on corrupt or extravagant projects, and starving our common schools. The whole field of the Union is now open to education, and the whole field of the Union must be occupied. Free governments must stand or fall with free schools. These, and these alone, can supply the firm foundation, and that foundation must at this very moment be extended and strengthened and rendered immovable and indestructible, like that of the gigantic obelisk at Washington, if the boasted fabric of liberty, for which this victory cleared the ground, is not to settle and totter and crumble!

* * * * *

"Fellow-citizens of the United States — citizens of the old Thirteen of the Revolution, and citizens of the new Twenty-five, whose stars are now glittering with no inferior lustre in our glorious galaxy — yes, and citizens of the still other States which I dare not attempt to number, but which are destined at no distant period to be evolved from our imperial Texas and territories — I hail you all as brothers to-day, and call upon you all, as you advance in successive generations, to stand fast in the faith of the fathers, and to uphold and maintain unimpaired the matchless institutions which are now ours. 'You are the advanced guard of the human race; you have the future of the world,' said Mme. de Staël to a distinguished American, recalling with pride what France had done for us at Yorktown. Let us lift ourselves to a full sense of such a responsibility for the progress of freedom, in other lands as well as in our own. It is not ours to intervene for the redress of grievances or for the establishment of independence elsewhere, as France did

here, with fleets and armies. But we can, and must, intervene — and we are intervening, daily and hourly, for better or worse — by the influence and the force of our example. Next, certainly, to promoting the greatest good of the greatest number at home, the supreme mission of our country is to hold up before the eyes of all mankind a practical, well-regulated, successful system of free, constitutional government, purely administered and loyally supported — giving assurance and furnishing proof that true liberty is not incompatible with the maintenance of order, with obedience to law, and with a lofty standard of political and social virtue. Every failure here, every degree of failure here, through insubordination or discord, through demoralization, corruption, or crime, throws back the cause of freedom everywhere, and presents our country as a warning, instead of as an encouragement, to the liberal tendencies of other governments and other lands. We cannot escape from the responsibility of this great intervention of American example, and it involves nothing less than the hope, or the despair, of the ages. Let us strive, then, to aid and advance the liberty of the world in the only legitimate way in our power — by patriotic fidelity and devotion in upholding, illustrating and adorning our own free institutions. There is no limit to our prosperity and welfare, if we are true to those institutions. We have nothing now to fear except from ourselves. There is no boundary line for separating us, without cordons of custom-houses and garrisons of standing armies, which would change the whole character of those institutions. We are one by the configuration of nature and by the strong impress of art — inextricably intertwined by the lay of our land, the run of our rivers, the chain of our lakes, and the iron net-work of our crossing and recrossing and ever multiplying and still advancing tracks of trade and travel. We are one by the memories of our fathers. We are one by the hopes of our children. We are one by a Constitution and a Union which have not only survived the shock of foreign and of civil war, but have stood the allegiance of almost all administration, while the whole people were waiting breathless, in alternate hope and fear, for the issues of an execrable crime. We are one, bound together afresh by the electric chords of sympathy and sorrow, vibrating and thrilling day by day of the livelong Summer through every one of our hearts for our basely wounded and bravely suffering President, bringing us all down on our knees together in common supplications for his life, and involving us all at last in a common flood of grief at his death! I dare not linger amid scenes like these, on that great affliction, which has added, indeed, 'another hallowed name to the historical inheritance of our republic,' but which has thrown a pall of deepest tragedy upon the falling curtain of our first century. Oh, let not its influences be lost upon us for the century to come, but let us be one, henceforth and always, in mutual regard, conciliation, and affection.

"'Go on, hand in hand, Oh States, never to be disunited!' Be the praise and the heroic song of all posterity! Join your invincible might to do worthy and God-like deeds! And then'— But I will not add, as John Milton added, in closing his immitable appeal on reformation in England, two centuries and a half ago — 'A cleaving curse be his inheritance to all generations who seeks to break your Union!' No anathemas shall escape my lips on this auspicious day. Let me rather invoke, as I devoutly and fervently do, the choicest and richest blessings of heaven on those who shall do most, in all time to come, to preserve our beloved country in unity, peace, and concord!

In his delivery, the orator was frequently interrupted by hearty applause, and the eloquent peroration was followed by cheers and other demonstrations of gratification from the throng of listeners.

The President's address was greeted with hearty applause. The responses of the French and German speakers drew from the audience warm tokens of approbation. After the addresses, a spirited "Centennial Ode," written by Paul H. Hayne, of South Carolina, was rendered by a chorus, under Professor Seigel. It sang of the struggle "so Titan of tone," of the bold de Grasse, who "kept at bay the bluff bull-dogs of Graves," of the "morning superb when the siege reached its close," in "triumph transcendent," and then,—

"When Peace to her own tuned the pulse of the land,
And the war weapon sank from the war-wearied hand,
Young Freedom upborne to the height of the goal
She had yearned for so long with deep travail of soul,
A song of the future raised thrilling and clear,
Till the woods leaned to harken, the hill slopes to hear,
Yet fraught with all magical grandeurs that gleam
On the hero's high hope, or the patriot's dream,
What future, though bright, in cold shadow shall cast
The stern beauty that haloes the brow of the past?
Oh! wedded in love, as united in fame,
See the standard which stole from the starlight its flame,
And type of all chivalry, glory, romance,
The fair lilies, the luminous lilies of France."

After the ode came a song, "God save our President from harm." The song was followed by a "Centennial Poem," written and read by James Barron Hope, editor of the "Norfolk (Va.) Landmark." It numbered about twelve hundred lines, and was replete with historic descriptions. It closed with the following stanzas:

"THE SOUTH IN THE UNION.

An ancient Chronicle has told
That, in the famous days of old
In Antioch under ground
The self-same lance was found—
Unbitten by corrosive rust—
The lance the Roman soldier thrust
In CHRIST's bare side upon the Tree.
And that it brought
A mighty spell
To those who fought
The Infidel
And mighty victory.

And so this day
To you I say—
Speaking for millions of true Southern men—
In words that have no undertow—
I say, and say again:
Come weal or woe,
Should this Republic ever fight,
By land, or sea,
For present law, or ancient right
The South will be
As was that lance,
Albeit not found
Hid under ground
But in the forefront of the first advance!

'Twill fly a pennon fair
As ever kissed the air,
On it, for every glance,
Shall blaze Majestic France
Blent with our Hero's name
In everlasting flame,
And written, fair in gold,
This legend on its fold
Give us back the ties of Yorktown!
Perish all the modern hates!
For the safety of the Union
Is the safety of the States!"

THE BRITISH FLAG TO BE SALUTED.

At this stage of the exercises, a scene occurred, which by those who witnessed it will never be forgotten. Secretary Blaine rose, and in a voice distinctly heard by the multitude, read the following order:

"In recognition of the friendly relations so long and so happily subsisting between Great Britain and the United States, in the trust and confidence of peace and good-will between the two countries for all the centuries to come, and especially as a mark of the profound respect entertained by the American people for the illustrious sovereign and gracious lady who sits upon the British throne, it is hereby ordered that at the close of these services, commemorative of the valor and success of our forefathers in their patriotic struggle for independence, the British flag shall be saluted by the forces of the army and navy of the United States now at Yorktown. The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy will give orders accordingly.

"CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

"By the President,

"JAMES G. BLAINE, Secretary of State."

The personal interest shown by Queen Victoria in the fate of President Garfield, and the tender, sisterly communications addressed to his bereaved wife, had prepared the people of the United States to receive with satisfaction the promulgation of such an order. On the ground, in the hearts of the multitude, a sympathetic chord was touched, and when Secretary Blaine ceased reading, the enthusiasm of the assembly burst forth with unrestrained force. Hands were clapped, handkerchiefs and hats were waived, and protracted stentorian huzzas rent the air. In that moment, national animosities were forgotten, and the centennial commemoration of the surrender of Yorktown became to each one present the simple recognition of a historical fact, divested of power to perpetuate alienation between two great nations.

So far as at present advised, the idea of saluting the British flag at the conclusion of the ceremonies at Yorktown, originated with one of the sons of Rhode Island, in New York. He suggested it to a military friend, a member of the Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati, and shortly after, it appeared in a leading New York daily paper. This military gentleman communicated the idea to Major-General W. S. Hancock, at Governor's Island. It met his approval, and was communicated to President Arthur by Mr. Lincoln, the Secretary of War. The order was given, and with a hearty good-will was obeyed to the letter.*

To his acting Adjutant-General, Major Asa Bird Gardner, General Hancock assigned the duty of announcing the order to the land and naval forces at Yorktown. At five o'clock, P. M., a signal for the ceremony was made. As the British and American flags were run up, the American officers stood with bowed heads uncovered, salutes were fired, cheers were given, and a touching national courtesy to Queen Victoria was rendered.

* The tidings of this fraternal act were received in England with evident gratification. The "London Standard" pleasantly noticed it as follows:

"THE YORKTOWN SALUTE TO THE ENGLISH FLAG.

Columbia, dear, in fond delight
We'll cherish one another;
Saluting England's banner bright,
You've only kissed your mother."

The ancient enemies are present friends

Two swords to Mavis bequeath, rich in dust,
And better still, in peacefulness of rust,
Tell the whole story in its double parts
To one who lives in two great Nations' hearts
And late above Old England's roar and din,
Slow tolling bells spoke sympathy of kin.
Victoria's wreath bloomed on the sleeping breast
Of him just gone to his reward and rest
And firm and fast between two mighty Powers
New Treaties live in those undying flowers."*

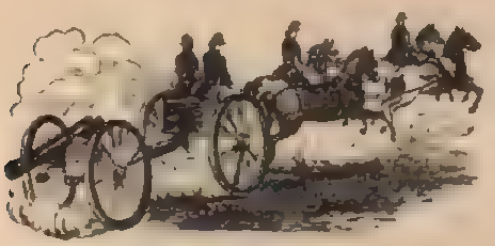
An overture by Dodworth's band of the Thirteenth Regiment, of the National Guard of the State of New York, terminated the centennial exercises at the grand stand. A reception in Lafayette Hall, held by President Arthur, followed. Immediately after, accompanied by members of his cabinet, the French Minister, and other distinguished guests, he visited the military encampment. A band concert at the site of the monument, and another at the military camps, a pyrotechnic display on the York river, and a promenade concert and hop at Lafayette Hall, terminated the festivities of Wednesday.

MILITARY AND NAVAL REVIEWS.

It had been intended to devote Thursday to a grand military review, and to close the commemorative exercises on Friday with a naval review, in the harbor, by the President of the United States, and with exercises of the fleet, under the command of Rear-Admiral R. H. Wyman. In order, however, to accommodate the foreign guests, who had engaged to be in Richmond on that day, to attend there a reception and ball, and who yet desired to witness the reviews, it was decided to hold both on Thursday. At an early hour on the morning of that day, the military encampments were astir. At ten o'clock, 9,500 men of the rank and file were in line, and with General Hancock and his staff at their head, they commenced their march. The grand stand was occupied by President Arthur, members of his cabinet, members of congress, governors of the original thirteen States, the French Ambassador M. Outrey, the French and German guests, General Sherman, Adjutant-General Townsend, and many other distinguished officers and civilians. The

* Hope's Centennial Poem.

route of march was round the Temple farm, a distance of about four miles. When the head of the column reached the reviewing stand, General Hancock and his staff fell out of the line, dismounted, and joined the President's party, while the troops moved onward. Specially noticeable were ten companies from South Carolina, carrying the Eutaw flag of September 8th, 1781; the Chatham Light Artillery, of Georgia, chartered in 1786, having two brass twelve-pounder guns, captured at Yorktown, in 1781, and presented to the company by Washington;* a brigade of Virginia troops, at the head of which rode General Fitz Hugh Lee, with a body guard of forty cavalry, its rear being brought up by two colored companies; two United States



batteries, with four guns each;† and the large Connecticut regiment, which, owing to unavoidable detention, did not reach the field until after the line was in motion, when, meeting the head of the column, it filed off to the rear, and took its position without confusion. The adroitness of the movement gained for the regiment hearty applause. Of the troops representing other States, much in

*One of these guns was of English manufacture and bore the arms and monogram of George II., together with an inscription of the capture. It was made by Gilpin, in 1776. The other was of French origin, and was made by Berenger, of Strasburg, in 1778. It has the Bourbon coat of arms and two Latin inscriptions, viz. "Ultima ratio regum," and "Ne pluribus impar." Between the trunnions are a pair of finely wrought heraldic dolphins for handles. A whirling cloud symbolizes a bursting shell. During the review day the company fired a salute of one hundred guns.

†One of the batteries, commanded by Captain Sinclair, marched from Fort Hamilton, New York, a distance of four hundred and seventy-seven miles, in about twenty-three marching days. The other, commanded by Captain A. C. M. Remington, marched from Washington, a distance of one hundred and ninety-five miles, in a little over twelve days, exclusive of two Sundays, when it rested.

commendation might be said. All appeared well. The marching of the entire column was superb, and drew from the President, from General Sherman, from Adjutant-General Townsend, from the foreign guests, and from others on the stand, expressions of unqualified admiration. General Hancock evidently felt proud of his command, and in this feeling he was justified. Neat in their uniforms, martial in their bearings, and exact in their movements, picked men from the regular army could scarcely have appeared to better advantage. A throng of ten thousand spectators was gratified, the only annoyance being dust. Just as the rear of the column reached the stand, two regular batteries wheeled out of line, fired a salute, and the military

THE "VILLE DE PARIS," FLAGSHIP OF ADMIRAL DE GRASSE.

pageant at Temple Farm ended. The like, on the same spot, will not be witnessed again for one hundred years.

In the afternoon, the naval review took place in the presence of crowds lining the bluffs of the river, and occupying the decks of numberless craft anchored in the harbor. As the President and his party, in a steam yacht, passed from one of the United States vessels to another, the sails of each were unfurled and furled again, the yards were manned, salutes of twenty-one guns were fired, and with

this naval display, brilliant as that of the morning, closed the national centennial commemoration of the surrender of Yorktown by Lord Cornwallis — the premonition of a nation's birth.

No naval scene, equally exciting, had been witnessed by the citizens of Yorktown since the fleet of Admiral de Grasse controlled the Chesapeake bay, and cooped up the British squadron on the waters of York river.

Thursday evening, as early as six o'clock, the steamers, including the French ships "Magicienne" and the "Dumont d'Orville," bearing the President and the national guests had taken their departure. By Tuesday night, October 21st, most of the steamers and sailing vessels, that had given life to the harbor, were gone, and the river in front of the town had resumed its normal condition. At the Temple Farm, little remained to remind the visitor of the martial display of Thursday. Museums of curiosities were closed, the numerous amusements were no longer furnished, wayside traffic had ended, mountebank salesmen with their marvellous curatives, primitive tip-carts and wagons, laden with delighted families of the African race, arrayed in their best, drawn by sturdy bovines in place of horses, and "fitten to de camp to see Gen'ral Hancock and de sogers," the negro face target, at which three rubber balls were permitted to be thrown "for the small sum of half a dime," and scores of other novelties, had disappeared. The streets of the quaint old village, so recently resounding with the merriment of hilarious strangers, had assumed the quietness of a suburban community. Nothing but dust remained, and of that element there was an ample supply.

During the commemoration, the Moore House where the Marquis and Marquise de Rochambeau spent a night as the delighted guests of Professor Charlier and Colonel T. E. Payton, the Cave of Cornwallis, the Nelson Mansion, the original Custom House, (said to be one of the earliest, if not the first, erected in the thirteen colonies,) the ancient Episcopal Church, built in 1700, the tombs of the Nelsons near by, the remains of the fortifications of 1781, and of those of more recent date, and eight bronze cannon taken at the siege, were objects of special interest to strangers. Many relics of the revolutionary period were exhibited. Besides the sword, epaulets, spurs and gloves of Lieutenant-Colonel Tilghman, worn by his great-grandson, Colonel Oswald Tilghman, and sleeve-buttons, made from those taken from his military coat, numerous mementos of General

(Governor) Nelson, owned by a descendant, were displayed in Lafayette Hall, and attracted much attention. On board the "Excelsior," General Rogers, a descendant of Washington, exhibited miniature portraits, painted on ivory, of Washington, of Martha, his wife, and of George Washington Parke Custis, the General's adopted son. These were painted by a lady, not much known to fame, and are not mentioned in any account of the family portraits that I have seen. He also showed gold sleeve and collar buttons worn by the General, the compass used by him in his surveys in Western Pennsylvania, while "earning a good doubloon every day," and a pair of buckskin gloves. These last were in a good state of preservation, but judging from their size, by actual trial, the hands of the General could not have been so unusually large as tradition has affirmed.

RHODE ISLAND REPRESENTED AT THE CENTENNIAL.

No one of the original thirteen States entered more heartily into the spirit of this commemoration than did Rhode Island. Governor Charles C. Van Zandt expressed his cordial approval of the plan, and appointed General Horatio Rogers a State Commissioner, to meet and act with the Commissioners of other States. Governor Alfred H. Littlefield, the successor of Governor Van Zandt, was equally prompt and active in measures to meet the wishes of the Committee of Congress. On the 10th day of December, 1880, accompanied by General Rogers, he attended at Washington a meeting of official representatives of the several States and of Congress, for conference, and both were subsequently unwearied in their efforts to make certain of creditable representation from the State. From the inception, Lieutenant-Governor Henry H. Fay, Chairman of the Committee on Executive Communications, took an active interest in the subject. In a report made by him to the General Assembly, he urged it as "imperative that Rhode Island should participate in this last of the centennial celebrations." Her absence would be conspicuous and discreditable, and would be inconsistent with the sentiments of patriotism and local pride which pervade the minds of the people of the State. The General Assembly warmed on the subject, and to defray the necessary expenses appropriated five thousand dollars.

A. H. Whittemore

PARTICIPANTS IN THE YORKTOWN TRIP.

His Excellency Governor Alfred H. Littlefield, accompanied by his wife.
General Horatio Rogers, State Commissioner.
Honorable Joshua M. Addeman, Secretary of State.
" John P. Sanborn, Speaker of the House of Representatives.
" Charles H. Handy, Chairman Senate Military Committee.
" James Davis, Chairman House Military Committee.
Mr. A. H. Littlefield, Jr.
Brigadier-General Elisha H. Rhodes, Commanding Brigade, R. I. M.
Lieutenant-Colonel Philip S. Chase, Assistant Adjutant-General, Brigade, R. I. M.
Brigadier-General C. Henry Alexander, Adjutant-General, R. I. M.
Lieutenant-Colonel William W. Douglas, Assistant Adjutant-General, R. I. M.
Brigadier-General Charles R. Dennis, Quartermaster-General, R. I. M.
Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen W. Nickerson, Assistant Quartermaster-General, R. I. M.
Brigadier-General John C. Budlong, Surgeon-General, R. I. M.
Lieutenant-Colonel George L. Gower, Assistant Judge-Advocate, R. I. M.
Colonel Henry A. Pierce, Aid-de-Camp,
" Eben N. Littlefield, " "
" Charles H. Williams, " "
" John F. Clark, " "
" E. Charles Francis, " "
" John C. Seabury, " "
Three colored servants.

The "Providence Journal" was represented in the party by Mr. Edward P. Tobie, and the "Providence Press" by Mr. Ansel D. Nickerson.

The Governor's escort consisted of Company D, Captain Fred W. Jenckes, and Company F, Captain Charles Rittmann, both of the Second Battalion of Infantry, R. I. M. The field and staff and non-commissioned staff-officers of this battalion were as follows:

Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin B. Martin, Commanding Battalion.
First Lieutenant W. Howard Walker, Adjutant,
" " Charles S. Davol, Quartermaster,
" " Charles B. Mathewson, Surgeon,
" " Joseph A. Elwell, Paymaster,
" " Bartholomew McSoley, Commissary,
" " William A. Smith, Sergeant-Major,
" " Fred. W. Arnold, Hospital Steward.

The American Band,* of Providence, accompanied the escort, and by the superior excellence of its music received from admiring listeners special encomiums. The caterer to the escort was Mr. Joseph E. Dispeau, of Pawtucket.

The entire party numbered one hundred and fifty-eight. It left Providence by the New York and New England railroad, Sunday evening, October 16th. At Baltimore it received hospitable attentions from the Fifth Maryland regiment. Pursuing its route by water, the Rhode Island representatives reached the encampment at Yorktown on Tuesday morning, October 18th. Three days previously, General Rogers, Colonel Henry A. Pierce, and a detail of enlisted men preceded them and made needful preparations for their comfort. To the energy and zeal of Colonel Pierce, who made a visit to Yorktown at an earlier period, to ensure successful preparation, the Rhode Island delegation was largely indebted for finding their quarters all ready for their coming. To Generals Barney and Dennis much credit was due for their services in making necessary arrangements for the comfort of the party while *en-route* and during

*The members of the band were

David W. Reeves, *Leader*,	Bowen R. Church,	Carrol J. Pullen,
Frederick Fadler,	Alexander McCabe,	Thomas Donigan,
William H. Apelles,	John Donigan,	Thomas Fookes,
Eugene A. Bosworth,	James McCabe,	John Oderman,
John W. Castle,	Augustus Herwig,	Hamlet W. Wheaton,
Clarence H. Cook,	John Lawrence,	Amos W. Hazard,
Albert Heise,	William C. Britton,	Isaac W. Eddy,
Edwin A. Scott,	Elisha D. Kenyon,	Robert C. Spink,

Louis Napoleon DeLong, *Drum Major*. Edward R. Babcock, *Steward*.

Besides the Providence American Band, fifteen other bands were present, viz: the first United States Artillery, the North Carolina State, third United States Artillery, Columbia, S. C., Silver Cornet, second United States Artillery, fifth Regiment Maryland N. G., tenth United States Infantry, Brown's Brigade, Boston, United States Marine, Washington, third Regiment, New Hampshire; first and fifth Regiments, Vermont, first Regiment, Connecticut, Boston Cadet, Dodworth's, New York, Weecacoe Legion Cornet.

their stay at Yorktown. The camp of Colonel Martin's battalion was on or near the spot occupied by Colonel Jeremiah Olney's regiment during the siege of Yorktown in 1781, and this fact must have called up patriotic reminiscences of those eventful days. The well arranged quarters, the abundant supply in the commissary department, the exactness in drill, and soldierly bearing of the battalion, gained for it golden opinions from critical observers. The interchange of courtesies with neighboring regiments was in every respect gratifying. It may be mentioned, as an illustration of the spirit that dominated throughout the encampment, that a serenade by the Providence American Band, complimentary to the efficient Brevet-Major L. C. Forsyth, of the Quartermaster's department, United States army, found a counterpart in a similar compliment to Governor Littlefield by a Virginia band.

On Thursday afternoon, October 20th, immediately after the naval display and national salute to the British flag, the battalion broke camp, and set out for home, where it arrived on the following Saturday morning. On the way, a few hours were spent in Baltimore, where highly appreciated hospitalities were again tendered by the Fifth Maryland regiment. The trip of nearly six days' duration was, to the entire delegation, a season of unqualified enjoyment. How could it have been otherwise? They had met and fraternized under the flag of the Union, with military representatives of the original thirteen States. They had marched over the prostrate ramparts of Cornwallis. They had visited the house where one hundred years before the terms of capitulation were signed. They had encamped on the field where, in the presence of Washington, Rochambeau, Lafayette, and the principal officers of the American and French armies, General O'Hara, in the name of Lord Cornwallis, surrendered the sword of that General to General Lincoln, and where the British troops laid down their arms. They had shaken hands with the descendants of men who fought, north and south, in the principal battles of the Revolution. They had seen and saluted the President of the United States, the members of his cabinet, ambassadors from foreign courts, and representatives of the noble allies, who, at a critical juncture, came to the support of the American arms. They had looked upon the spot upon which a national commemorative monument was soon to be erected. They had seen, on the waters of the York, one of the grandest naval exhibitions

recorded in American history. And they had participated in an impressive act of courtesy — an expression of national good-will — to one whose regal life and domestic virtues will ever endear her name to the American people. In a word, they had seen everything worthy of note, no casualties had occurred, and nothing had taken place in camp or elsewhere to render the recollections of Yorktown other than pleasant.

The centennial commemoration, of which the preceding account is but an outline, was carried through with seemingly as few vexations to the several committees having it in charge as could be expected in conducting an enterprise of such magnitude. The effect of it has been to quicken and strengthen a devotion to the Union of the States, and to cement more firmly the friendship of two powerful republics. The history of the United States from 1781 to 1881 reads as an intensified romance. In that period, "the proportions of the continent have been reduced into symmetry, and its boundless resources been made to pay tribute not only for the advancement of the people in those comforts which refine and elevate, and make up the definition of civilized life, but which go to swell a nation's greatness and mark its chief glory." * May the next hundred years find this greatness and glory still advancing.

*Governor Holliday

NOTE. To the Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati belongs the honor of an initiative movement which led Congress to pass an act authorizing the President of the United States to invite the government of the French republic "to send a suitable representation from the French army and navy to the celebration at Yorktown." *See "Yorktown Hand Book," pp. 54-57.*

VISIT

OF

THE FRENCH DELEGATION

TO

RHODE ISLAND,

OCTOBER 30—NOVEMBER 3,

1881.

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THE FRENCH GUESTS IN NEWPORT,

1881.

WHEN it became certain that the republic of France would send representatives to join in the Yorktown commemoration, Governor Littlefield was authorized by the General Assembly to invite the delegation to visit Rhode Island, during its sojourn in the United States, as guests of the State. This he did, and the invitation was accepted. After the reception given to the foreign delegation in Richmond, it was handsomely received at Washington. Subsequently, the French and German members of it separated, —the former bending their steps to New York, on their way to Newport, and the latter, in a filial spirit, visiting the grave of their brave ancestor, the Baron de Steuben. Thence they journeyed on to Chicago, to Springfield, Illinois, where they stopped long enough to visit the tomb and monument of President Lincoln, to St. Louis, where they were enthusiastically received, and to other principal places in the great West.

In accordance with the resolution passed by the General Assembly authorizing the Governor to invite the representatives of France to visit Rhode Island, His Excellency appointed the following named citizens as members of the committee to assist him in entertaining the guests of the State, viz.:

Hon. William P. Sheffield, of Newport,
Lieutenant-Governor Henry H. Fay, of Newport,
Hon. Nathaniel Greene, of Middletown,
*David King, M. D., of Newport,
Henry E. Turner, M. D., of Newport,

* David King, Jr., was subsequently appointed in place of his father, deceased.

George Peabody Wetmore, Esq., of Newport,
Ex-Governor William W. Hoppin, of Providence,
Ex-Governor Henry Lippitt, of Providence,
Ex-Governor Henry Howard, of Coventry,
Hon. Thomas Durfee, of Providence,
Hon. Charles S. Bradley, of Providence,
Hon. Thomas A. Doyle, of Providence,
Hon. Augustus O. Bourn, of Bristol,
Royal C. Taft, Esq., of Providence,
Rev. Ezekiel G. Robinson, D. D., LL. D., of Providence,
Colonel William Goddard, of Warwick,
General Horatio Rogers, of Providence,
Hon. Henry B. Metcalf, of Pawtucket,
Hon. Rowland Hazard, of South Kingstown,
Hezekiah Conant, Esq., of Lincoln.

It appears to have been the original intention of the delegation to proceed directly from New York to Newport, and thence repair to Baltimore, Washington and Yorktown, but upon due consideration by the congressional commission, it was deemed best that the Newport visit should be deferred until after the Yorktown celebration. A similar opinion was entertained by the Governor of Rhode Island, and by the State committee. A committee, consisting of the Hon. Charles S. Bradley, Rowland Hazard, Esq., and George Peabody Wetmore, Esq., was therefore appointed to visit New York, upon the arrival there of the French delegation, to consult with it upon the subject.

On the evening of October 29th the French guests, accompanied by a Rhode Island committee consisting of Lieutenant-Governor Fay, David King, Jr., Esq., and Senator Augustus O. Bourn, who repaired to New York for that purpose, took their departure on board the steamer "Providence," flying the American and French flags, and the next morning (Sunday) landed at Newport. No special ceremonies were then observed. The foreign party entered carriages, and rode directly to Hartman's, where it breakfasted, and afterwards, at the hour of divine service, attended Mass at St. Mary's church. At noon it was called upon by the Hon. William P. Sheffield, and by the other members of the State committee resident in the city, and was formally introduced to them. The weather was unfavorable for being abroad, but subsequently to this

interview, the guests took carriages and visited the various points of interest. A portion of them was entertained by Mr. James Gordon Bennett, at "Stone Villa."

On Monday, October 31st, Governor Littlefield, on board the steamer "Bay Queen," visited Newport, to extend, in behalf of the State, a welcome to the representatives of the French republic. He was accompanied by the members of the General Assembly and by the following named officials and guests: The Hon. Nelson W. Aldrich, United States Senator; the Hon. Joshua M. Addeman, Secretary of State; the Hon. Samuel Clark, General Treasurer; the Hon. Joel M. Spencer, State Auditor; Colonels Pierce and Williams, of the Governor's personal staff; Quartermaster-General Charles R. Dennis; Assistant Quartermaster-General Stephen W. Nickerson; General William W. Douglas; Judge Advocate General John F. Tobey; Assistant Judge Advocate General George L. Gower; Surgeon General John C. Budlong; Brigadier-General Elisha H. Rhodes and staff;* the Hon. William S. Hayward, Mayor of Providence; Henry V. A. Joslin, City Clerk of Providence; the Rev. Frederic Denison; Christopher R. Holden, Sheriff of Providence county; the Hon. Rowland Hazard and Colonel William Goddard, of that part of the committee which had charge of the arrangements in Newport; the Hon. Thomas A. Doyle, Chairman; ex-Governor Henry Lippitt; ex-Governor Henry Howard; ex-Governor William W. Hoppin; the Hon. Henry B. Metcalf; the Hon. Charles Bradley; Royal C. Taft, Esq., of that portion of the committee residing in Providence county, which had charge of the arrangements and exercises in Providence; the Clerks of the Senate and of the House of Representatives. The steamer was gaily decked with flags, among which the tri-color was prominent.

Notwithstanding the unpropitious weather, there was a very good attendance of the members of the Legislature. The Governor was received at the dock by Lieutenant-Governor Fay and General Barney. The gun squad of the Newport Artillery fired the usual salute. About twenty carriages were in waiting to convey the Governor and State officials. The whole was escorted by the Newport Artillery company, Colonel Fearing, commanding. The streets were crowded, and many French and American flags were flying to the breeze.

*Of General Rhodes' staff there were present Lieutenant Colonel Philip S. Chase, Major William J. Bradford, Captains John J. Jenckes, C. Clarence Maxson, John Howe, Theodore A. Barton, Henry W. Farnum, William D. Mason and Thomas W. Manchester.

Proceeding in procession to the State House, the interior of which was tastefully decorated with French and American flags, the French visitors spent a short time in inspecting the building occupied a hundred years before as a hospital for soldiers and sailors of the French army and navy. In the senate chamber their attention was particularly arrested by Stuart's admirable life-size portrait of Washington, in which they appeared to take great interest. The French delegation was in uniform, except Minister Outrey, who was in citizen's dress. In the representatives' chamber, where the official ceremonies of welcome took place, Governor Littlefield occupied the chair, with Lieutenant-Governor Fay and Senator Aldrich on his left, and Chief-Justice Durfee and Secretary of State Addeman on his right. M. Outrey and the French delegation occupied seats in front. They were first addressed by the Hon. William P. Sheffield, in an extended speech, replete with historical reminiscences, and rendering a warm tribute to the services of the French army and navy, from the arrival at Newport of Count D'Estaing, in 1778, until the capture of Yorktown, in 1781. Addressing M. Outrey, in closing, he said:

"Were it not for the great distinction acquired by Your Excellency in your native country, and the high office you hold from France, we should be strongly inclined to claim you as a Rhode Islander by adoption, for the grandfather of your children, the son of a revolutionary officer, was born in Newport, and the great-grandfather of your excellent lady, John Innis Clarke, was an eminent citizen and leading revolutionary patriot resident in Providence.

"I have recalled some of the incidents which tend to show the relations which have existed between the people of Rhode Island and the people of France. This done I have, to me, the distinguished honor of presenting you, not as strangers, for the representatives of France, and especially the kindred of Lafayette, Rochambeau, de Persac, D'Estaing, de Ternay, Destouches, de Barras, and their brave companions-in-arms, can never be strangers to the people of Rhode Island, descendants of the patriots of the Revolution, to His Excellency Alfred H. Littlefield, Governor, and to the members of the two houses of the General Assembly here present, and the Governor will now have the supreme satisfaction of welcoming you to our little commonwealth."

At the close of Mr. Sheffield's address, which was listened to with strict attention and received with applause, His Excellency Governor Littlefield, in extending to the distinguished guests the State welcome, spoke as follows:

THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS.

"It gives me great pleasure to welcome Your Excellency and the gentlemen with you to the State of Rhode Island, and to invite you to share its hospitality. The General Assembly, in the resolutions of the last June session, requesting me to extend this invitation, referred in fitting phrase to the cordial cooperation and invaluable services rendered by your countrymen to our fathers in the Revolution, in the time of their great distress. On their first arrival within the limits of our State this city was in the hands of the enemy, and its people were crushed beneath the severity of the captivity. But by the presence of the French fleet on the coast, the enemy were forced to evacuate Newport forever. On the arrival of the fleet in 1780, bringing Count Rochambeau and his gallant associates, they were here received with the heartiest demonstrations of joy. The General Assembly placed upon record their appreciation of the value of the presence and services of their welcome allies. Your officers found a cordial welcome in the hearts and homes of our people. They entered into the social festivities of the time. They found favor in the eyes of our maidens, and marriage vows added their force to the national alliance. In the sadder relations of life we felt a common grief. Almost within the sound of my voice lie the remains of your chivalrous de Ternay, while in our sister capital are buried numbers of your brave countrymen, whose resting-place you will have opportunity to visit before your departure from our State. It will not, then, seem strange that we cherish memories of those days of cordial friendship, nor that the people of the State, acting through their General Assembly, have embraced this opportunity to welcome you as the representatives of our ancient ally. We have been gratified at the cordial reception which has awaited you in every part of the country visited by you, and especially at the national welcome at Yorktown, where on the same field the soldiers of Rhode Island and of the other States, with their French comrades, one hundred years ago, won the final triumph which secured our independence. Though, in territorial limits, the smallest of the States, Rhode Island is second to none in grateful appreciation of those services, without which Yorktown would probably never have been the centre of so much historical interest, and without which the result of our great struggle for independence might have been doubtful, or at least would have been much longer delayed.

"To carry into effect the wishes of the General Assembly, I have selected a committee of reception, composed of some of our most distinguished citizens, many of them descendants of those who fought with your countrymen for American independence. In this presence and surrounded by the representatives of our people gathered in this ancient edifice so familiar to your countrymen during their sojourn in this city, I cheerfully embrace this opportunity to express our grateful remembrance of those services in the past, and to assure you of our hearty good wishes for the future of your republic. In closing, I can think of no more fitting words than those addressed to your countrymen more than a hundred years ago by the Governor and Speaker of the House, 'We entreat you on this occasion to accept the warmest congratulations of the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.'"

To this address, expressing so comprehensively the feelings of the citizens of Rhode Island, the French Minister, M. Max Outrey, made the following reply:

REPLY OF MINISTER OUTREY.

"I am happy to express to Your Excellency and to the General Assembly how pleased all the members of this French delegation are to find themselves in the State of Rhode Island, that they have heard of since their childhood. In fact, the names of Newport and Providence, and of the different places around here, are so much connected with the history of our common efforts of the last century that they are familiar to almost every one in our country. We are very happy that you have given us an opportunity to come and visit these places, and we will take home certainly a most deep recollection of all that we have seen here. Since the French delegation has been in the United States we have had many proofs that America has never forgotten her ancient ally of 1781, and now to-day we have the most brilliant evidence that the old sentiments of friendship existing between the two countries are as strong now as they were in those times. I must say, and you must be assured that nothing in the world could be more gratifying to France. Let me, therefore, thank you in her name for your kind hospitality, for your good welcome, and for all the kindness that has been shown to us since we have been in this State. I will not finish without thanking, at the same time, Mr. Sheffield for all the kind words just pronounced for the French people and personally for myself."

This speech of the French Minister, which was heartily applauded, terminated the official ceremonies, and after a general but brief reception, Governor Littlefield was escorted to the steamer "Bay Queen" by the Newport Artillery, and, accompanied by the General Assembly, he returned to Providence. The social pleasures of the brief voyage were enhanced by a rich collation, prepared by Mr. George M. Ardoene, a Providence caterer. The table was laid in excellent taste, and had for a centre ornament a representation of "Home, Sweet Home," made of confections, and surmounted with horns of plenty, the centre structure being filled with nuts and *bon-bons* of all kinds. Bouquets were also furnished in profusion, from the small kind designed for coat lappels, to the largest used for table and parlor ornaments.

After the departure of the Governor and the General Assembly, the guests commenced a round of observation. First, they proceeded to the torpedo station. On their arrival there, they were received by Captain Thomas O. Selfridge and conducted to the porch in front of his building. When everything was in readiness for the salute of

twenty-one torpedoes, the United States officers escorted the French visitors to the spot where the stars and stripes usually float. Here they stood for a moment or two, and a surprise was in store for them. At a signal the first torpedo was fired, and this was also the signal for the breaking over their heads of a flag which proved to be the tri-color of France. Simultaneously with this act, the band from Fort Adams, which had been kindly loaned by Major Taylor for the occasion, struck up the Marseillaise, and the Frenchmen, promptly recognizing the compliment, uncovered. It was a most effective little arrangement, and reflected great credit upon the forethought of Captain Selfridge.

After the French delegates and the committee had returned to the porch of the headquarters, ex-Mayor George H. Calvert was introduced and delivered an address in French. This, with the incident recorded above, touched the hearts of the Frenchmen most profoundly, for their eyes were bedimmed with tears. Mr. Calvert, in his address, referred at length to the condition of the American army prior to the arrival of Count de Rochambeau and his magnificent army. He also referred in glowing terms to the valorous deeds of the French armies, not only one hundred years ago, but during the entire history of their country. He concluded his remarks by expressing a hope that there was a grand future for the French republic.

After Mr. Calvert had delivered his address of welcome, there was dancing until four o'clock, when the visitors were conducted around the island, the rain, however, interfering to some extent with the intentions of Captain Selfridge in this respect. After partaking of Captain Selfridge's hospitality, the whole party returned to town and began an inspection of several points of interest.

THE BANQUET.

On returning to Hartman's and to their respective cottages, they rested after the busy hours, and then prepared for the banquet, which was given at the Casino. It was in all respects a most *recherché* affair. Pinard, of New York, was the caterer, and on this occasion showed himself a complete master of his art. Everyone expressed the highest compliments of the *menu* and the service. The tables were beautifully decorated with choice flowers, and the flags of America and France adorned the room.

In the absence of Governor Littlefield, the Hon. William P. Sheffield, chairman of the State committee, presided at the dinner. The tables were three in number, and were arranged together in the form of a T. On them were a large number of silver candelabra tastily decorated with smilax, by which every article on the table was surrounded. The band of the United States ship New Hampshire furnished fine music during dinner from the balcony. There were no formal speeches, but the health of the visitors was drunk.

Two days, both more or less rainy, were insufficient in which to visit every locality made specially interesting to the French delegation by associations with the army of Rochambeau, and the naval armaments of D'Estaing and of De Ternay, or to accept all the hospitalities that the citizens of Newport would gladly have bestowed upon them. But an industrious employment of the time allotted for their sojourn enabled them to take a hasty glance at the harbor, the entrance of which by D'Estaing's squadron, prompted the British commander, then in possession of Newport, to order the destruction of all his guard ships. They visited the headquarters of General Rochambeau, where many festive occasions had been graced by the beauty and *élite* of the town. They saw the house in which Admiral De Ternay died. They made a pilgrimage to the grave of the brave old sailor in Trinity church-yard, and read the inscription on the mural tablet set up in honor of him in the vestibule of the church. Redwood Library, the Jewish Synagogue, the Old Stone Mill, the Monument to Commodore Perry, and many other localities and objects of interest were made familiar to them, and when they bade farewell to a spot affluent in military memories of the the American Revolution and of "Our French Allies," they carried away with them the most agreeable impressions of the city and of their hosts.

THE FRENCH GUESTS IN PROVIDENCE.

HAVING spent two days in Newport, with evident appreciation of the welcome with which they had been received, the distinguished French guests, on Tuesday morning, November 1st, embarked on board the steamer "Bay Queen," in the midst of a drenching rain, to fulfill their engagement in Providence. They were accompanied by members of the State committee, and of Governor Littlefield's staff. As the boat passed out of the harbor, the party received salutes from the United States receiving ships and from Fort Adams. A few minutes before eleven o'clock, A. M., the boat reached the dock of the Continental Steamboat Company, in Providence. Here, the guests were received by ex-Mayor Thomas A. Doyle and Royal C. Taft, Esq., of the State Committee. The Marquis de Rochambeau, Madame Loyseau and MMe de Chambrun, without stopping to partake of the hospitalities of Providence, proceeded directly to Boston. The other guests were conducted in carriages to the Narragansett Hotel, which had been selected for their quarters. They were warmly welcomed on the way by a crowd of spectators with cries of "Vive la France," "Vive la Republique," and with other patriotic greetings. Under the direction of Colonel J. Harry Welch, the hall of the hotel was tastefully decorated with French and American flags, streamers and shields. The ornamentations of the banquet hall were of surpassing elegance. At the south end of the hall there was a set piece of draped American flags, surmounted by the French republic coat of arms on one side, and draped French tri-color with the American coat of arms on the other side of a cluster of American flags bearing the State shield in the centre. At the north end, in the centre, was a butterfly of American and French flags, with a cluster of American flags and French seal in the centre on one side, and a cluster of French flags with American seal on the other side. Over-head broad streamers of French tri-color were drawn from the chandeliers to the two side walls, meeting in the heavy drapery of tri-color thereon. At intervals in this drapery were set French and

American shields, with the names of our French allies and Centennial heroes thereon. The effect was at once suggestive and artistic, and many expressions of admiration were heard to fall from members of the French party.

If time for sight-seeing and the reception of courtesies in Newport was short, in Providence it was still more limited. The members of the delegation could allow themselves only half a day for a survey of the city, and an examination of its revolutionary antiquities, for which three or four days were none too many. But the first thing to

NARRAGANSETT HOTEL.
(Headquarters of the French Delegation.)

be done was to appease appetites sharpened by a delay of the morning repast. Passing at once to the reception parlors, they divested themselves of their outer garments, and prepared for *dejeuner*, which was served in the hotel dining-room. While there engaged, they were shown, by George Lewis Cooke, Jr., Esq., a sword once worn by Count de Rochambeau, and which, in 1781, he exchanged with General Nathan Miller, of Bristol, as already related,* for one worn by that officer. M. Outrey explained the historical antecedents of

*Ante, p. 215.

the sword, and Mr. Cooke was warmly thanked for the opportunity afforded the visitors of seeing the valued memento.

After breakfast half an hour was passed in receiving congratulations and in social intercourse. Then followed a review of the Fire department of the city, under the direction of Chief Engineer Oliver

THE PROVIDENCE CITY HALL.

E. Greene. This took place on South Water, Crawford and Dyer streets. The guests proceeded in carriages to a position on South Water street, the leading barouche being occupied by Governor Littlefield, ex-Mayor Thomas A. Doyle, M. Outrey, and General Boulanger. Chief Greene instructed M. Outrey in sounding the call. All being in readiness the signal box 312, corner of South Water

and Crawford streets, was struck, and in one minute Hose No. 1 and Hook and Ladder No. 1, from Exchange place, were on the spot, followed by the Protective and Hose No. 2 a quarter of a minute later, Steamer and Hose No. 10 in one and three quarters minutes, Hose No. 7 in two and a half minutes, and the last, Hook and Ladder No 2, in eight minutes from Harrison street, a distance of a mile and a half. The Skinner Truck was raised against the Day Building, and firemen ascended to the roof, from which a powerful stream of water was thrown. The brigade, consisting of seventeen pieces, was then marshalled by battalions for review, and the distinguished guests passed around the square, receiving and returning the salutes from the department. The brigade then passed in review "on the run," and dashed around the square in lively motion. Then the hose was attached to the hydrants and a score of streams were turned into the canal, the continuous volume of spray forming a grand sight. For this successful exhibition Chief Greene received the congratulations and thanks of the delegation.

From the review, the cortege was driven to the City Hall. As the visitors and committee entered the building the Boston Germania Band, stationed in the third floor corridor, struck up "The Marseillaise," with fine effect. City Messenger Edward S. Rhodes met the guests at the door, and conducted them to the Mayor's office, where they were introduced to Mayor Hayward. After witnessing the operations of the electric lighting apparatus, as applied to the Mayor's chandelier, and inspecting the building, which M. Outrey pronounced the finest the delegation had visited since its arrival in America, the party proceeded to

BROWN UNIVERSITY.

On entering the Library Building, the students, gathered outside, greeted the company with an enlivening college song. Inside, President Robinson and the College Faculty were in waiting. Chief Justice Durfee, Chancellor of the University, and a member of the Committee of Reception, in well-chosen words, introduced the delegation to them. He said:

"In performing this pleasant duty, I deem it not irrelevant to say to you that I understand it to be one of the cherished purposes of these gentlemen in visiting this and other historic spots in Rhode Island, to rekindle the memories of a hundred years ago, when their fathers and our fathers stood shoulder to

shoulder in the great war for American independence. In that view, this city and this classic height can but have for them a peculiar interest. For here, in yonder venerable building, our generous allies had their military hospital, while the city during their short sojourn opened for their gallant officers its stateliest abodes, and made the slope and summit of yonder northern hill the camping-ground of their soldiery. . . . . Mr. President, these gentlemen, I understand, are the representatives not only of the departed French of a hundred years ago, but also of the living France of to-day, in all its extraordinary scientific and literary development. As such, I take great pleasure in presenting them to the officers of this University."

LIBRARY BUILDING, BROWN UNIVERSITY.

At the close of Judge Durfee's remarks, President Robinson addressed the delegation as follows:

"*Your Excellency, Gentlemen, Citizens of France, Representatives from the Younger Republic to the Older:*

"True Christian learning is always the friend and supporter of true civil liberty. Schools of sound learning are always in sympathy with free institu-

[illegible] "[illegible] to-day throws open its halls in glad welcome to you as the guests of the nation. A century ago it gave up its halls and its dormitories as a hospital for the use of those whom France sent to our friends and [illegible] in our desperate struggle for national independence. The fact of that use of our oldest [illegible] of our cherished traditions. May the good relations [illegible] that shall forget it? No! The sympathy [illegible] a hundred years ago by the people whom we represent and by those whose nature and blood some of you inherit, will be cherished by every American scholar and statesman and citizen as a most precious national legacy, so long as the nation shall endure."

To this address M. Outrey responded, thanking Dr. Robinson, in the name of the delegation and of France, for the good words spoken. A brief interchange of courtesies of a more informal nature followed. Then came more college songs, with cheers for the guests, a compliment which M. Outrey acknowledged by a bow and the expression of "thanks." The members of the delegation then returned to their carriages to visit other places. First, they were driven to Prospect Terrace. Thence they passed to the Dexter Asylum, driving to the front of the building and round a portion of the farm. Without pause they continued their route to the French Encampment of 1780–82. Early in the forenoon, in anticipation of this visit, the author of this volume assisted by the Rev. Frederic Denison, marked the boundaries of the original camp-ground with small tri-colored flags, prepared by Colonel J. Harry Welch, who also planted a flag staff and raised the American colors on the spot pointed out to him as the French headquarters Marquee. To aid the members of the delegation in obtaining a correct idea of the extent of the grounds occupied by their countrymen a century before, the author presented to each, through the French Minister, a copy of the plan of the encampment upon which was located upwards of three hundred tent and hut sites. For this civility, M. Outrey found time amidst the engagements and excitements of the day to write, in behalf of himself and of the delegation, a note of grateful acknowledgment.

The visitors did not alight, but from their carriages, looked out with signs of pleasure upon the tri-colored tokens of welcome, and upon the broad field over which once floated "the luminous lilies of France." From this point of interest they rode to the North Burial Ground, to assist in decorating the base of a monument about to be erected to the memory of French soldiers buried there, who died in the afore-named encampment. At the foot of the stone stood a cen-

tury plant, symbolic of the years since the graves were here made. On the left of the stone was placed the French flag, and on the right the flag of the United States. On the top of the stone was a tasteful display of evergreens. The Rev. Frederic Denison conducted the ceremonies. He welcomed the party by waving a magnificent French flag, which he then placed in the hands of Professor Victor E. Hummerel. He also read in English a memorial hymn, composed by himself for the occasion. Professor Jean E. Guilbert read to the delegation the same hymn in French, and also an ode in the same language, of his own composition, "To the French soldiers inhumed in the North Burying Ground." The members of the delegation, leaving their carriages, approached the stone, and each reverently laid upon it a small bouquet of flowers, which one of their number arranged in the form of a cross. It was an affecting scene. The Rev. Mr. Denison then said, "Let this service close with uncovered heads and the prayer *vive la République Francais*. Amen." While on the ground, M. Outrey and other members of the delegation were profuse in their thanks to Mr. Denison for his energetic labors in securing the erection of this monument.*

*That the graves of these allies should have some permanent mark of honor, indicative of their sacrifice, and of our country's gratitude to France, the Rev. Frederic Denison, in the summer of 1881, conceived the design of a monument to be placed over them, and took steps, through appeals in the "Providence Journal," and by personal applications, to secure the means for accomplishing the worthy object. Responses were prompt and generous. The moneys collected were placed in the hands of Mr. Henry R. Davis, of the "Providence Journal," as treasurer.

The work, a double-based ledger monument, of fine Westerly granite, executed by the Smith Granite Company, of Westerly, was completed in a workmanlike manner. It weighs about eight tons. Its symbols, in relievo, are the French coat-of-arms, and a revolutionary cartridge-box, with the date 1782. On the sides are the raised legends,

"LA GRATITUDE DE RHODE ISLAND,"
and
"OUR ALLIES IN THE REVOLUTION."

On a raised and polished panel are the inscriptions

"Tribute of the people.
Decorated by the
French Delegation,
November 1, 1881.
Dedicated by the
Citizens of Providence,
July 4, 1882."

The work being completed, the city of Providence volunteered to dedicate it with becoming ceremony on the national anniversary. Guests were invited from abroad, among which were the Gondes Lafayette, commanded by Major Joseph Weill, Monsieur A. Le Falvre, French Consul General, Maurice Truy, Vice Consul, M. Valdijo, Chancellor of the

Leaving the burial ground, the party proceeded to the Corliss Works, where it was courteously received by Mr. George H. Corliss, and conducted through the extensive establishment, in the various operations of which much interest was expressed.

The works of the American Screw Company were next visited, and the complicated machinery for the manufacture of screws carefully examined.

It was now past four o'clock in the afternoon, and one more visit was to be made before returning to the Narragansett Hotel. This was to the Public High School. And here opened to the visitors a scene more exhilarating, probably, than any they had witnessed since the commemorative exercises at Yorktown, although of an entirely different character. After an introduction to the principal, Mr. David W. Hoyt, and his male assistants, and to Miss Sarah E. Doyle and her female assistants, they were conducted to the large hall of the building, where they were received by the Rev. Daniel Leach, D. D., Superintendent of Public Schools, by the School Committee, and by

Consulate, Lieutenant-Colonel Schilling, M. C. Gallot, Professor Cohn, Alderman Levy; M. L. A. Risse, M. Le Bent; M. Louis Mercier; and several others, all of New York. The approach to the grounds was decorated with flags and mottoes in French, by the "French Colony" of Providence. Within the grounds, the decorations were handsomely arranged by Mr. Richard J. Payne. The Chief Marshal of the day was General Elisha H. Rhodes, having for aids, Lieutenant-Colonel Philip S. Chase, Major William J. Bradford, and Captain Thomas W. Manchester. The military and civic procession was long and attractive to the thousands who thronged the streets through which it passed. The dedicatory exercises were appropriate and impressive. They consisted of unveiling the monument, the Marseillaise hymn, performed by the band, a salute of twenty-one guns to the French flag; Prayer of Dedication, by the Right-Reverend Thomas M. Clark, D. D.; Oration by the Rev. Frederic Denison; Addresses by ex-Mayor Thomas A. Doyle, His Honor Mayor William S. Hayward, the French Consul-General, Monsieur A. Le Faivre, and Monsieur Louis Cuaillard, Jr. A select choir of men, under the direction of Professor Eugene Henri, chanted very effectively a Latin prayer for the republics of France and America, followed by the Gloria Patri. The band played "Hail Columbia," and Professor Jean E. Goilbert read an ode in the French language. A benediction by Bishop Clark closed the services, and the vast concourse, assembled to witness them, departed. The Garden Lafayette and the city's guests were handsomely entertained at the armory of the First Light Infantry, on South Main street. An address of welcome was made by Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph H. Kendrick, which was happily responded to by Major Joseph Weill.

A full account of this monumental movement and of the dedication, may be found, in manuscript and printed reports, bound together, in the archives of the Rhode Island Historical Society. A more condensed account, containing particularly the dedicatory exercises, with the order of procession, prayers, oration, addresses, ode, and entertainments, may be found in published form, in excellent style, in the City Document of Providence, No. 27, 1882.

So far as is known, this monument is the first of its kind, both in form and purpose, ever erected in America or in foreign lands. While Rhode Island cherishes it for all that it represents, France has accepted it with emotions of thankfulness.

Thomas M. Clark.

twelve hundred pupils of the different city schools, who, under the direction of Mr. Benjamin W. Hood, their accomplished music teacher, commenced the reception exercises by singing the Marseillaise hymn, with an unction that thrilled the audience, and drew from the French delegation the warmest commendation. Ex-Mayor Thomas A. Doyle, of the State Committee, then spoke to the pupils

THE PROVIDENCE PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL.

of the distinguished guests as representatives of the people and government of France, who shared in the struggle and in the glories of Yorktown. He explained to M. Outrey the American idea of free education. He stated that the building in which they were assembled cost about one hundred and sixty thousand dollars, and that for

the support of public free schools the city expended annually the sum of two hundred thousand dollars.

M. Outrey made a pleasant response, and addressing the pupils, he said:

"One hundred years ago there was an alliance between your fathers and ours. When our army left America, the two armies grasped hands and promised to be friends, and it has been so for one hundred years. The proof of this friendship is our coming to this country to congratulate it upon its prosperity and success."

The address was received with a storm of applause, following which the pupils sang "Auld Lang Syne," the "Star Spangled Banner," and the "Flag of the Free," with a spirit that aroused the foreign visitors to enthusiastic manifestations of appreciation. Before leaving the hall, M. Outrey again addressed the pupils, and said: "I thank you in the name of the delegation. Don't ever forget that France is the best, oldest and first friend to America. I bid you good-bye in the name of us all." The impressive leave-taking was supplemented, on the part of the pupils, by the waiving of handkerchiefs, the clapping of hands, and other demonstrations of patriotic feeling. Before leaving the building, M. Outrey thanked Principal Hoyt, in hearty and affecting phrase, for the grand reception given by the children, and the members of the delegation returned to their quarters delighted with what they had seen and heard.

Seldom has so many pleasant events been crowded into a half day experience. But fatigued by the extended round of sight-seeing, as the foreign guests must have been, one more expression of welcome awaited them. That was a grand banquet at the Narragansett Hotel. In the preparation of this entertainment there was displayed a delicate æsthetic taste and a thorough artistic skill. Under the brilliant light of the chandeliers the decorations of the hall and the silver, crystal and floral adornments of the tables created for the eye a fairy-like scene. Prior to entering the dining-hall, Colonel William Goddard presented to the members of the French delegation ex-Governor William W. Hoppin, who exhibited to them the famous "Lafayette sword," as related on pages 173–175.

Nearly one hundred persons sat down to the tables. At the first table were:

His Excellency Alfred H. Littlefield, Governor,
Max Outrey, French Minister,

M. le General Boulanger,
Mr. Sevellon Brown,
Rev. Ezekiel G. Robinson, D. D., LL. D., President of Brown University,
M. le Commandant de Cuverville,
M. le Comte d'Olonne,
Ex-Governor Henry Lippitt,
Chief-Justice Thomas M. Durfee,
M. le Colonel Bossau,
Right-Rev. Thomas F. Hendricken.

At the table on the left were the following gentlemen:

Ex-Governor William W. Hoppin,
M. le Comte d'Haussonville,
M. le Comte de Beaumont,
Honorable Nelson W. Aldrich, United States Senator,
Honorable Charles S. Bradley,
Judge Charles Matteson,
M. le Commandant Descams,
Judge Pardon E. Tillinghast,
Professor George I. Chace,
M. Felix Regamey,
M. Gaston de Sahune,
Thomas Robinson, Esq.,
General Charles R. Dennis,
Honorable Rowland Hazard,
M. le Baron Christian d'Aboville,
M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Blondel,
Honorable John Carter Brown Woods,
Zachariah Allen, LL. D.,
M. le Vicomte Noailles,
M. le Capitaine Mason,
Professor Charles H. Gates,
George W. Danielson, Esq.,
M. le Comte de Grasse,
M. Boulard Pouqueville,
Henry E. Turner, M. D.,
Professor Alonzo Williams,
Henry A. Hidden, Esq.,
M. de Pourcet de Sahune,

William S. Rueyard

Hon. George H. Corliss,
M. Bertout,
Rev. Daniel Leach, D. D.,
Rev. Frederic Denison,
Hon. John F. Tobey,
Albert A. Folsom, Esq.,
Hezekiah Conant, Esq.,
Colonel Henry A. Pierce,
Daniel G. Littlefield, Esq.,
Colonel Eben N. Littlefield,
Samuel Pomeroy Colt, Esq.,
Colonel Charles H. Williams,
Honorable Samuel Clark,
Colonel John F. Clarke,
Hon. Joshua M. Addeman,
Colonel John C. Seabury,
Hon. Joel M. Spencer,
Colonel E. Charles Francis,
His Honor Stephen P. Slocum, Mayor of Newport,
His Honor William S. Hayward, Mayor of Providence.

The banquet was enlivened by choice music, rendered with taste and skill by the Germania Band. The party devoted about two hours to the pleasures of the table, when Governor Littlefield called it to order, and in a brief speech introduced ex-Chief-Justice Charles S. Bradley, a member of the committee of arrangements. Justice Bradley made an eloquent farewell address. He said:

"Your forefathers, after the allied victory at Yorktown, returned to this State, and camped in this city. It was in this same chill and stormy month of November that they pitched their camp upon the heights over which the winds of winter swept from the mountains to the sea. And much of that camp remains untouched by plow or spade during the century. You wished to behold that sight so full of sacred memories. In the burial ground of our fathers were left many of your dead heroes. Their ashes are mingled with its soil forever. For a hundred years the place of their burial has been faithfully respected. We now place there, in remembrance also of your coming — a monument of that material adjudged at the Paris Exposition to be the best for monumental purposes — capable of the highest finish, and so durable that time and storm seem to touch it only with reverent hands. Upon that stone, in memory of your dead, your hands laid the offerings of your hearts to-day. We took you to some of our work-shops. Indeed our State is one of the work-shops of America. We are prouder of the sons and daughters of toil than of those delightful visions of beauty. You went to the Titanic

work-shop of him upon whom the Institute of France has conferred the Montyon medal. You found there and elsewhere, steam and iron doing the work of man. Science, by such inventions, is preparing for the human race on both sides of the ocean the opportunity for a lovelier and loftier future. And last, you saw what we love the best — our children in their schools. Of them I need not speak. The music of their young voices will remain in your hearts forever. You have seen no trainbands of soldiers, but you have seen the artillery and the heroes who conquer our only enemy. You have been to our University, and heard there of its sympathy for France. We try to make it like the old universities of France, which, passing the hand, as it were, over the communities around them, and drawing out like a magnet the gifted ones, gave them the development which nature intended, and thus raised France among the nations to the pinnacle of glory.

"We wish that you could remain with us longer, that you might see the stately mansions yet remaining, where your forefathers were welcomed to the best hospitality of the time, and that we might welcome you to our homes. Yet we hope when you return to the homes of France, as Everett said to Lafayette, to the "vine-clad hills of your own delightful France," you will carry some recollection of the welcome which you have made so brief, and we have made simple and sincere. Nothing remains now but an hour of personal and friendly greeting from our citizens, who bring with them some of the daughters of the land; and to bid you, in the name of our State, farewell."

On rising from the table, the guests passed directly into the hotel parlors, where they found assembled a large company of ladies (some of them in full evening dress) and gentlemen, waiting for an introduction. This ceremony was performed by ex-Mayor Doyle, and an hour in social intercourse passed agreeably away. In the meantime the floor of the dining hall had been cleared for dancing. This continued until a late hour, and was the closing feature of a delightful festivity.

On Wednesday morning, November 2d, the French guests departed for Boston, well pleased with the attention they had received, and feeling that unpropitious as the sky had been, the hearts of their Providence hosts were warm and sunny.

In Boston the French guests were received with distinguished consideration. They visited Bunker's Hill and other places of special interest to them. Reaching New York November 4th, they were complimented with a reception and ball, given at Terrace Garden, by the French residents of the city. Soon after, M. Outrey dissolved the official commission, and in January, 1882, such members of the delegation as did not protract their sojourn for travel in the United States returned to Paris.

BANQUET GIVEN TO THE FRENCH DELEGATION AT THE NARRAGANSETT HOTEL.

The *Menu* was of the most elaborate and tempting character, and the cards on which it was printed, both in French and in English, were marvels of typography. For the gratification of some curious disciple of Apicius, who may be present at the next centennial banquet, the programme is here preserved:

BILL OF FARE.

Rhode Island Oysters.

SOUP.

Green Turtle. Jelly Broth. Royal.

FISH.

Boiled Salmon. Trout, Sauce Colbert. English Turbot, Baked.
Potatoes Parisienne. Cucumbers.

REMOVES.

Tenderloin of Beef, Braised, Rothschild.
Young Turkey, with Celery, Brown Sauce.
Saddle of Venison, Currant Jelly.
French Peas. Potatoes. Cauliflower.

ENTRÉES.

Potted Quail, Royal Fashion. Small Oyster Patties.
Cotelette of Squab, Chevalier Style. Mayonnaise of Chicken.
Tomatoes. Sweet Potatoes. Spinach.
Roman Punch.

GAME.

Broiled Woodcock, on Toast, with Water Cresses. Roast Chicken Grouse, Quince Jelly.
Dressed Lettuce. Celery. Olives.

DESSERT.

Charlotte Russe, Parisian Style. Fruit Ices. Maccaroons. Biscuit Diplomat.
Meringues Chantilly. Neapolitan Ices. Champagne Jelly.
Hamburg Grapes. Port Wine Jelly.
Pears. Malaga Grapes. Florida Oranges.
Coffee.

MEMORANDA.

THE FRENCH VISITORS.

The following is an official list of the French visitors:

M. M. Outrey, envoyé extraordinaire et ministre plénipotentiaire de la République Française aux Etats-Unis,
M. le Général George Ernest Boulanger,
M. le Commandant Lichtenstein,
M. le Commandant de Cavalier de Cuverville, capitaine de vaisseau,
M. le Colonel Bossau,
M. le Commandant Descams, capitaine de frégate,
M. Fr. de Corcelle, secrétaire d'ambassade,
M. Félix Regamey, délegué du ministre des beaux-arts.
M. le Lt. Colonel Blondel,
M. le Commandant de Pusy,
M. le Capitaine Mason,
M. Schilling, lieutenant de vaisseau,
M. Boulard-Pouqueville, secrétaire d'ambassade,
M. de Pourcet de Sahune, lieutenant de dragons,
M. le Comte de Grasse, sous-lieutenant d'infanterie de marine.

Représentants des familles, dont les ancêtres ont pris part à la guerre d'indépendance.

Madame la Marquise de Rochambeau,
Madame Loyseau,
Mademoiselle de Chambrun,
M. le Marquis de Rochambeau,
M. le Comte d'Olonne,

M. le Comte d'Haussonville,
M. le Comte de Beaumont,
M. le Baron Henri d'Aboville,
M. Gaston de Sahune,
M. de Gouvello,
M. le Baron Christian d'Aboville,
M. le Vicomte de Noailles,
M. le Marquis Laur de Lestrade,
M. le Vicomte d'Olonne.

Also,

M. Gérard, secrétaire de la légation de France,
M. le Capitaine de la Chere, attaché militaire à la légation de France.
M. Bertout, attaché à la légation de France.

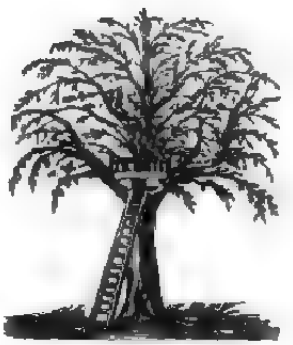
Descendants of Baron Steuben.

Colonel Arndt Von Steuben, Chief of the Mission,
Captain Fritz Von Steuben,
Captain Eugene Von Steuben,
Lieutenant Berandt Von Steuben,
Lieutenant Kuno Von Steuben,
Lieutenant Anton Von Steuben.

PROVIDENCE LIBERTY TREE.*

DEDICATED WITH AN ORATION BY SILAS DOWNER, JULY 25, 1768.

Cut down about 1801.



FORM OF DEDICATION.

After the oration, the gentlemen of the party seated in the tree reverently laid their hands upon it, when Mr. Downer, in clear, distinct tones, pronounced the following words of consecration:

"We do, in the name and behalf of all the true Sons of Liberty in America, Great Britain, Ireland, Corsica, or wheresoever they may be dispersed throughout the world, dedicate and solemnly devote this tree to be a true tree of liberty. May all our councils and deliberations under its venerable branches be guided by wisdom, and directed for the support and maintenance of that liberty which our renowned forefathers sought out and found under trees and in the wilderness. May it long flourish, and may the sons of liberty often repair hither, to confirm and strengthen each other; when they look towards this sacred Elm, may they be penetrated with a sense of their duty to themselves and their posterity; and may they, like the house of David, grow stronger and stronger, while their enemies, like the house of Saul, shall grow weaker and weaker. Amen."

*Ante, p. 446.

APPENDIX,

COMPRISING

Miscellaneous Letters and Other Papers.

1700-1830.

APPENDIX.

NORTH BURIAL AND TRAINING GROUNDS LAID OUT.

"TOWN MEETING, June 10, 1700.

"Whereas, it hath this day been proposed that some convenient piece of land may be stated to lie in common continually, to be for the use of military affairs for training of soldiers, &c., &c., and also as a place to be for the use of burying of the dead, and many of the purchasers and Proprietors of land of this town of Providence, being now met together, and having considered the matter, do apprehend it to be a suitable motion and convenient the same to propagate; and for as much as it hath hitherto been omitted when it might (happily) be with more conveniency effected, yet now well weighing the motion and finding that there is a necessity of the performing of the same, and if longer omitted the more inconveniency will appear. It is therefore by these presents ordered, determined and agreed, and by these presents do hereby order, determine and agree, that all those *Common Lands* lying between the land belonging to Archibald Walker whereon he now dwelleth, and southward to the brook which runneth out of Samuel Whipple, sr., his land whereon he now dwelleth, and eastward with the highway, and westward and north-westward with Moshassick River, shall perpetually lie in common for the uses aforesaid, and for other public uses as the town shall see cause, not damnefying what is aforesaid promised, and that a burying-place be bounded out of the said tract of Land in the place, and what quantity, three men which the town shall make choice of shall appoint. And if any appropriated lands lying within the limits afore specified be at any time laid down to common, it shall continually in common remain, and not be appropriated to any person, any former act, order or clause therein to the contrary hereof notwithstanding."*

This ground, as surveyed and platted in 1764, by F. C. Harris, contained fifty-two acres and thirty-three rods. It has been several times enlarged, the last time by the annexation of the Randall estate, (originally Archibald Walker's,) which bounded it on the north. "The brook which runneth out of Samuel Whipple, sr., his land," is now conveyed by a covered way across Sexton street. The first

*Book 1, p. 40.

grave made in this ground was that of the above named Samuel Whipple, sr. A stone suitably inscribed, set up many years ago by the late Mr. Dexter Thurber, marks the spot. The first negro buried in this ground was Obe Gardner. His grave was in the south-west corner, near the monument to French soldiers. Many negroes and white natives of neighboring towns were buried in that vicinity.

A SCENE IN THE ROYAL CIRCLE AT PARIS.

(EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM PARIS.)

"LONDON, August 13, 1778.

"The King and Queen, the Minister, Lord Stormont, Dr Franklin and Mr. Deane, are the principal actors here in the great theatre of politics. Franklin, Deane, and the Queen, play against Stormont and Maurepas, and the King.

"The Queen avows herself the friend of America; the King, the friend of peace. Stormont and Maurepas, the faithful servants of their masters, Franklin and Deane, the guardians of oppressed virtue.

"The Queen rallies Maurepas; the Minister submits; and the King is silent, till provoked to speak by the partner of his regal honors, who one day arraigned him for want of spirit, he made answer 'Consider, a King is not such for himself; he owes his whole self to the service of his country.' 'I admit it,' replied the Queen, 'and it is that service of your people, which is my argument.' Hear their opinions. The King, turning to her with a smile, said, 'Their opinions are, that the *opera* is better calculated for Your Majesty than the *cabinet*.'"

RETREAT OF SULLIVAN'S ARMY.—1778.

A further confirmation of the statement made on page 169, that Sullivan's army, after the battle on Rhode Island, retreated across Howland's Ferry, is found in the following bill, preserved among the papers of Solomon Peck. Mr. Peck was the son of Ichabod and Judith (Paine) Peck, and was born in that part of Attleboro, now Cumberland, R. I., April 19, 1733. He married Mercy Foster, daughter of Ebenezer Foster, of Cumberland, June 14, 1756, by whom he had six sons and two daughters. He settled in Wrentham, Mass., where he attained to distinction, and became a wealthy farmer. He died December 31, 1802, in the seventieth year of his age. Mr. Peck served in the campaign on Rhode Island. Whether the bill here cited was presented and paid, does not appear.

"Aug. 30th, 1778. } THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

To SOLOMON PECK, DR.

"To sundry articles lost in the retreat from the island of Rhode Island in passing Howland's Ferry, so called, viz.:

"To one great Coat,	£15
"To one large new blanket,	6
"To one pair tow-cloth trowsers,	1 10
"To one pair yarn stockings,	1 4
"To one flannel shirt,	3 10
"To one knapsack,	1 10
	£28 14

Solomon Peck

"Sworn to in Cumberland, 12th of November, A. D. 1778, before John Dexter, Justice of Peace."

LETTER FROM COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU TO GENERAL HEATH.

"HOWLAND'S FERRY, August 7, 1780.

"I approve entirely the disposition proposed by General Heath for the militia; 1st, to send back directly all those that are called for this extraordinary occasion; 2d, to keep till Howland's Ferry fort be finished, the four regiments from Boston, that in all cases our communications with the continent may be perfectly easy and safe: 3d, I beg of him to assure our Generalissimo that we will employ them in such a manner, to our works, that they may not neglect their military duty. Colonel Greene's regiment will be quite enough at Stander-house, (?) where it shall stay to furnish me with some workmen on my redoubts to work with my own troops. Since our Generalissimo is so good as to leave it to me either to keep here General Heath or to send him back to headquarters, I will beg of him to allow that he may stay with me, because I love and esteem him vastly, and that he is very necessary to me for all our intelligence, with all the Governors of the several United States, our allies.

"A deserter from the English fleet, who came yesterday from Block Island, says that he has left it behind that island, and we always see their Frigates who are a cruising as much as the fog will permit it.

le Cte de Rochambeau

"I send to the Admiral the letter you have received from Bedford,* mentioning the place where the Galaton is now cruising in Buzzard's Bay."

* New Bedford.

LETTER FROM GENERAL HEATH TO COLONEL-COMMANDING JACOBS.

"NEWPORT, August 28, 1780.

"DEAR SIR,—I was informed the last evening, from General Count de Rochambeau, that the Fatigue Parties at Butts' Hill do not prosecute the works with vigor—that although the number of men required do go on in the morning they work but a very small part of the Day—as the Works at Butts' Hill are considered of great importance to the Security of this Island, they must be prosecuted with all possible diligence—this will not be done without the particular attention and exertions of the officers who must put and keep every thing in motion—you will therefore please to impress on the officers of all ranks this necessity. It is said that for two or three days past but very little work has been done. I am sensible that digging is hard and the season bad, but perseverance overcomes all obstacles, and such parts of the Day as are most comfortable must be well improved. I have been thus particular because I am anxious that the wishes of our Friends may be answered and I rely on your attention and Exertions for the reform of every thing that is amiss and to spur and animate where it is necessary.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient Serv't,

"Colonel Jacobs."

DR. SOLOMON DROWNE TO HIS SISTER SALLY DROWNE.

"February 16.

"But [illegible] pleasure to hear that the greatest General on earth is near. I [illegible] that yesterday was expected at Newport the illustrious Washington, and, as some faint mark of welcome, the town was to be illuminated."

In another letter, Dr. Drowne calls Washington the "American Belisarius."

DR. SOLOMON DROWNE TO M. DE SILLY.

Providentiæ, die 31 mo. Augusti, A. D., 1780.

* * * *

"Et nunc de Bathsheba [Bowler] quid scribam. Reor te illam sæpe vidisse ab isto tempore quo te reliqui. Innocentia, modestia, omnesque virtutes,

quae conciliant mentem ad susceptionem facilem, illam amabilem, suavem, formosam, teneram, venustam, candidam, blandulam, hilarem verecundamque puellam excolunt.

"Vale mi amice, sum tui amicissimus."

LETTER FROM ADMIRAL DE TERNAY TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

On page 345, it was stated, that search for an autograph signature of Admiral De Ternay had been unsuccessful. Since then, the search has been continued, and, at the moment of closing this volume, it has been rewarded with the following copy of a letter from the Admiral to Washington, together with a tracing of his signature, courteously presented to me by Hon. William Hunter, of the State Department, at Washington:

"ce 11 9 bre (1780,) rade de Newport.

"MONSIEUR:—J'ay reçu la lettre que votre excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire du huit Septembre je seray a hartford le 20 de ce mois avec Monsieur le comte de rochambeau votre voyage ainsi que le notre est subordone sans doutte aux mouvemens qui pourront se faire a Newyorck comme le mien doit l'être a ceux de l'escadre ennemie qui est mouillé actuellement sous la pointe de l'est de long island je desire bien vivement que rien ne contrarie une entrevue qui pourra determiner les operations de l'arrière saison je suis avec tout l'attachement et le respect possible,

"Monsieur,

votre tres humble et tres
obissant serviteur
le chevalier De Ternay

[TRANSLATION.]

September 11, roadstead of Newport.

SIR:—I have received the letter which Your Excellency did me the honor to write to me on the 8th of September. I shall be at Hartford on the 20th of this month, with Count de Rochambeau. Your journey, as well as our own, is subordinate, without doubt, to the movements which may be made at New York, as mine is to be to those of the enemy's squadron, which is now moored under the eastern point of Long Island. I desire very earnestly that nothing

may thwart an interview which may determine the operations in the latter end of the season. I am with all possible attachment and respect,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

LE CHEVALIER DE TERNAY.

PROVISION MADE FOR FRENCH TROOPS IN PROVIDENCE.

Early in April, 1781, the Quartermaster-General of His Most Christian Majesty's army requested permission to appropriate the Market House, to store the baggage of the army and the town. April 9th, granted him permission "to make use of the upper lofts of the Market House Building, as long as he shall want the same for the use of said army, on condition of his laying a tight double floor in the middle of the loft, and keeping and leaving the windows of that part of said building which shall be improved by the army in as good repair as the same now are, (saving the natural decay,) and building such a pair of stairs as he may think proper, in such place as shall be directed by the gentlemen here named, viz.: Nicholas Brown, Esq., Mr. Ebenezer Harding, and James Lovett, Esq."

At a town meeting held August 8, 1781, Colonel Jonathan Arnold and Benjamin Bourne, Esq., State Committee, were authorized to provide quarters for the French officers and surgeons, stationed at Providence, the rent therefor to be paid out of the next town tax.

At a town meeting, held August 30, 1781, Mr. John Dermount, Overseer of the Work-house, was directed to clear that building of its inmates, and to deliver it to Major De Prez, for the purpose of barracking the troops of His Most Christian Majesty. A large and capacious building [Rhode Island College?] improved as a hospital, was also given up to the use of the officers. In March, 1782, most of the French troops being withdrawn, the commanding officer and the few officers occupying it with him, were requested to vacate it, unless they chose to contract with the owners to continue there at their own charges, as the finances of the town did "not admit of rent being paid by the town for the same any longer time than till the first day of April next."

LETTER FROM COUNT ROCHAMBEAU TO GOVERNOR GREENE.

"NEWPORT, 27 May, 1781.

"SIR:—I have the honor to send to Your Excellency, Major Fleury, who has the honor to be acquainted with you. He will deliver into your hands General Washington's letter. You will see by it that he requires you would call immediately five hundred militia men, which he has regulated for relieving the French body at Newport. The Admiral and myself are of opinion that this is a very favorable instant to put our respective forces in motion to fulfill the scheme determined in the late conference with General Washington.

"I trust to Your Excellency's discretion, and under condition of the greatest secrecy, this information. I beg at the same time you would give immediate orders to collect at Newport, as soon as possible, the five hundred men. General Washington and I would wish their commander to be a man of abilities, firmness and spirit, and such that we could depend upon in all circumstances whatever. I beg Your Excellency would send him here as soon as possible, that we could determine and agree.

"Your Excellency will, I hope, be persuaded how much I lament the loss of your friend and relative, Colonel Greene. I had the greatest regard and esteem for an officer of such merit.

"I have the honor to be with great respect,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

le cte de Rochambeau

LAFAYETTE TO A COMMITTEE OF CITIZENS OF BALTIMORE.

"Mr. Lyon's Plantation,
"20 miles from Williams'bg, July the 3d, 1781.

"Gentlemen:—By Major McHenry you will receive some papers that relate to the affair in which you have so kindly assisted me. But I claim the pleasure personally to express my obligations to you, and beg you to be convinced that they have excited the most grateful and everlasting sentiments in my heart — permit me to request my respectful thanks may be presented to the ladies of Baltimore. [Who had furnished his troops with clothing.] I am proud of my obligations to them, not only from a general respect for the fair sex, but more particularly because I know the accomplishment of those to whom I am indebted. I am happy in the ties of gratitude that bind me to them, and beg leave once more to assure you of the regard and attachment I have.

"Your most obedient servt,

Lafayette

LETTER FROM ADMIRAL BARRAS TO GOVERNOR GREENE.

"Newport, 13 July, 1781.

"Sir:—I learn from the newspapers that the house in which I lodge, and have my office, and the park adjoining it, which inclosed the magazines of my squadron, are advertised to be sold the next month. I have thought that that

advertisement could not be but the effect of some mistake, and have not believed that it was the intention of Your Excellency and the Assembly to sell, during the continuance of the squadron in this port, the land and buildings which have been agreed upon for them to form their establishments. The expenses which the King has already been at in making repairs and new buildings, and title on the contrary, for which the Assembly will readily ensure the possession during the whole course of the war to the French squadron, which shall be stationed in these seas for the defence of America. In consequence, I have the honor to require in the most pressing manner of Your Excellency and of the Honorable Assembly of the State of Rhode Island, that the sale of the House, Land and Buildings, belonging to Col. Joseph Wanton, and the Land and Buildings having belonged to Mr. Rome, contiguous to the Land of Col. Wanton, may be suspended until the end of the war, and I demand that those places may be destined to the use of French Vessels of War which circumstances may lead into this port, and that the French Consul in the New England States may be authorized to place a keeper to take care of the Buildings and effects which shall be left there.

"I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration, Sir,

"Your Excellency's most humble and most obedient servant,

Barras

In accordance with the wishes of Admiral de Barras, the General Assembly, "desirous of giving every aid, assistance and convenience to the fleets and armies of His Most Christian Majesty," voted to postpone the sale of the Wanton and Rome estates.

LETTER FROM GENERAL CHOISY TO GOVERNOR GREENE.

"NEWPORT, August 1, 1781.

"SIR.—By his being acquainted with General Washington's intentions and the both States of Rhode Island and Massachusetts resolves, Your Excellency will easily conceive how much I have been astonished at a letter of D. G. Bowen intimating the State's regiments discharge and recall for not being relieved, as perhaps thought redundant and necessary. When the Massachusetts ordered troops arrived, I am trusting enough on Your Excellency's true sense of the importance of this place, for to be afraid of being bereaved of such an important promised succor.

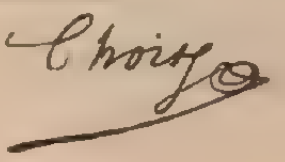
"Far from the five hundred men of Massachusetts to be stationed at Butts' Hill being arrived, they are only one hundred and thirty in that fort, and for the five hundred raised in your State, and ordered to be on duty at Newport, the 6th of the month, they are no more arrived than three hundred and thirty-one.

"I require, Sir, Your Excellency's influence and known warm attachment to the cause, to employed for the rest of the troops that are to be raised, be

forwarded and completed, and furnished with better military accoutrements, for their being relieved or unrelieved, as you will think it most proper; but always keep complete to the number of five hundred well armed men, agreeable to the Act of the General Assembly in the last session.

"I have the honor to be, with respect, Sir,

"Your most humble and most obedient servant,



"His Excellency William Greene, Esq.,
Governor of the State of Rhode Island.

DR. SOLOMON DROWNE TO M. DE SILLY.

"PROVIDENCE, September 26, 1781.

"I am happy, my dear d'Silly, in this good opportunity of transmitting a letter to your very Camp in Virginia, after so long absence, and interrupted correspondence. When I returned from Philadelphia last July, you were at White Plains, the allied forces being then united;—but as our route was through Fishkill, Litchfield, and Hartford, I was obliged to forego the pleasure of embracing you. You have passed through a long tract of Country, have seen the Capital of America, and at length have arrived where Laurels grow thick to crown the Warrior's brow. Perhaps the Opportunity so often wished for by you is at hand, wherein you may 'give proof of your ardour for the cause of America, and for the glory of the arms of France.' How thorny is the path that leads to the Temple of *Glory*. What death-dealing fields to be traversed!—I tremble whilst I write—(Ye Deities presiding o'er the Battle, protect my Friend! award the unfading Wreath, and to his family restore the gallant youth!)

"We have no news of consequence, but wait impatiently for accounts from your Quarter. Pray write every good Opportunity. I must conclude for Mons. Borgella sets off soon. Please to assure your brother of my best regards. Mrs. Drowne sends her compliments to you.

"I am, my dear d'Silly, your assured Friend,

"SOL'N DROWNE."

REPLY.

"You shall believe, My Dear Solomon Drowne, Glory has stifled in my heart all sentiments of Friendship; but I rather choose to confess my laziness than give you any doubt on my character. I thank you for your good wishes, it was an happy presage of my preservation, for, my Brother and I enjoy very good health. Nevertheless an impudent shell of a Bomb touched

my shoulder, but so lightly it seems a Divinity, or rather your vow, did conduct it.

"I read many histories, and consequently great many descriptions of Battle and siege; but what a difference of emotion I feel when I saw with my own eyes the innocent victims of our stupid furor, I did pity the weakness of human kind. Such a reflexion was unseasonable in the trenches and incompatible with my duty.

"A true friend of his country has certainly felt a great joy, hearing the news of York's Garrison taken and the deliverance of a good State like Virginia.

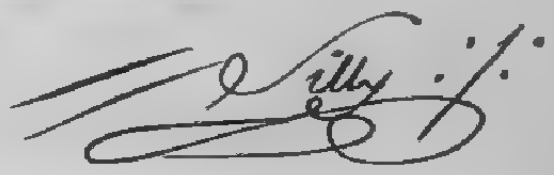
"May such an advantage produce peace to America, and give me the pleasure of seeing my *Penates;* May the true merit of my Dear Drowne be rewarded with a good office in medical University.

"My Brother sends you his compliments; pray present our respects to Mrs. Drowne.

* * * * * *

"I am, for ever, my dear Drowne, with estime and friendship,

"Your affectionate servant,



"I wrote this Letter, my friend, when our armée took the Winter Quarters, and I had not any other opportunity of sending it to you. But this, since five [fünf] months ago. Give my best compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Tailler; nothing in the world can make me forget the politeness I receive daily when I was at their house: be the interpreter of my sincere sentiments of acknowledgment.

"To Mister Solomon Drowne,

"at

"Providence,

"State of Rhode Island."

A CURIOUS AGREEMENT.

"ARMÉE DE ROCHAMBEAU.

"HOPITAUX.

"*Convention*	"*Convention*
"Made with Mr. Solomon Drowne, Phisician & Surgeon of this Town, for the treatment of the named John	"Faite avec Mr. Solomon Drowne, Médecin & Chirurgien de cette Ville pour le Traitement du Nommé Jean

Baptist Quiner, said Giscon Soldier of ye Reg't of Bourbonnois Comp. of Chasseurs, born in Arché, Province & County of Flandres, Jurisdiction id. who cannot be transported by reason of a complicated fracture in his leg.

"I underwritten, do Promise & bound myself towards M. Robilliard, *first Doctor* of the French Army & Mr. de Mars G'al Regisseur of ye Military Hospital, to supply the said John Baptiste Quiner with Lodging, Victuals, Medicaments, firewood & washing; also to furnish him everything W[h]atsoever he shall Want for his wound & his particular maintenance; this present treatment is to take place from the third day of this month, till the Compleat recovery & cure of his Wound, at the rate of Eight Livres two sols, tournois by day, or one dollar & half at the Exchange of five Livres & Eight Sols tournois, Providing that the said Mr. de Mars shall Deliver Me

"Wiz't

"1 straw bed,
"1 straw bag,
"1 matrass,
"1 Pilar,
"2 Blankets,
"4 sheets,
"3 schirts,
"3 Coiffes of Cap,
"1 Woolen Cap,
"2 tin pots, } d'to.
"2 Porringers, } d'to.
"1 Chamber Pot, } d'to.
"4 Dressing Sheets,
"4 pounds of Lint,

"Which articles & utensils above mentioned I do Promise & oblige myself to Represent again at the first demand; the Expenses of the said treatment shall be paid me every fortnight by Mr de Chenel Comm. of War, now Resident in Pensilvania, or by the French Consul in Boston, upon a due & Legal Certificate that

Baptiste Quiner dit Giscon soldat du Régiment de Bourbonnois Compagnie des Chasseurs, Natif d'Arché En Flandre Juridiction de Idem, qui est hors d'Etat d'être transporté ayant une fracture Compliquée à la jambe.

"Je Soussigné Promets Et M'engage Envers Mr. Robilliard premiér Chirurgien de l'Armée Française, Et Mr. De Mars Régisseur Gal des hopitaux, de traiter, alimenter, Medicammenter, Loger, Chauffer, Blanchir ledit, Jean Baptiste Quiner Et de fournir Généralement tout Ce que Sa Blessure Exige Et ce dont Il aura besoin pour Sa Subsistance, Et meme, Entretien à Compter du trois de ce Mois Jusqu'à Sa guérison parfaite, Moyennant La somme de huit Livres deux Sols argent de france par Jour, ou un Dollar Et demy à Cinq Livres huit Sols à la Charge qu'il me Sera fourni par susdit Sieur de Mars Régisseur des hopitaux.

"Savoir

"un Paillasse,
"un Sac à Paille,
"un Matelas,
"un Traversin,
"deux Couvertures,
"deux paires de Draps,
"Trois Chemises,
"Trois Coiffes de Bonnets,
"un Bonnet de Laine,
"deux Pots à Boire, } En fer Blanc.
"deux Ecuelles, } En fer Blanc.
"un Pot de Chambre, } En fer Blanc.
"quatre Draps à Pansement,
"Et quatre Livres de Charpie.

"Les quels Effets Et ustensiles Je M'oblige de Representer sur la Demande qui m' En Sera faite; La Dépense du quel Traitement me Sera Payée tous les quinze Jours par Mr. de Chenel, Commissaire des Guerres, Résidant En Pensilvanie, ou Mr. Le Consul de France Résidant à Boston, sur le Certificat, que Je Produiray

I shall produce of the Existence & Good treatment of ye said John Baptist Quiner.

"Providence, ye 2d Day of December, 1782.

"SOLOMON DROWNE.

"This present agreement, under the approbation of the Superintendent of the french army, together with the conditions & Clauses herewith related, is accepted by the undersigned.

"Providence, ye 2 of December, 1782.

"Signé à L'original,

"ROBILLIARD et
DE MARS.

"Et plus bas

"Vu par nous Commissaire des Guerres. Signe Jujardy de Granville.

de l'Existence Et du Traitement dudit Jean Baptiste Quiner.

"A Providence Le 2e X'bre, 1782.

"SOLOMON DROWNE.

"Accepté Sous le Bon Plaisir de Mr. L'intendant par Nous Soussignés La Presente Soumission aux Clauses Et Conditions y Détaillées.

"A Providence Le 2 X'bre, 1782.

"Signé à L'original,

"ROBILLIARD et
DE MARS.

"Et plus bas

"Vu par nous Commissaire des Guerres. Signé Jujardy de Granville.

"Pour Copie Conforme à L'original,

"JUJARDY DE GRANVILLE."

THE MARQUIS DE LA ROUERIE.*

In Volume I. of the Revolutionary papers of the New York Historical Society, for the year 1878, lately printed, there are forty-six letters of General Armand de la Rouerie, which show his service, and also that of the legion under his command. His letters from France, on his return, and for years afterwards, attest his high estimate of Washington and of *Liberty*. The mother of the Marquis wrote a letter to General Washington, dated "Rouerie, 12th Jan'y, 1781," of which a translation is given in the above-mentioned volume, at pages 371–2. The letters of General Armand occupy pages 289–396 of the same volume. From one of them, addressed to General Washington, the following extract is made:

"PHILADELPHIA, Xbre 11th, 1783.

"SIR: - * * * [2 or 3 ¶]

"Since my return from France, I had no other occasion but the siege of York to go to the enemy – I made it not only a point of honor but what I do esteem as high, a point of my duty towards Your Excellency, to act as a

*Ante, p. 57.

soldier at the head of the American column that stormed the redoubt of the enemy and otherwise during the siege to evidence that if Your Excellency had honored me with the t[e]stimony of his esteem I did all in my power to deserve it — Since that I raised and disciplined a corps, which I dare say was brought to that point of instruction and order which place troops in the right road to success and whose conduct in being regular and agreeable to the people has answered our ambition to evidence that a corps under your protection could not be otherwise but respectable.

* * * * * [2c]

"I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, Sir,

"Your Excellency's the most obed't h'bl S't,

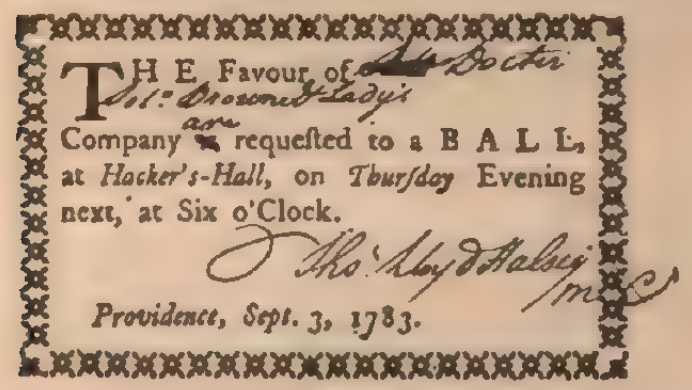
"ARMAND MQS DE LA ROUERIE.*

His Excellency General Washington, Commander in chief of the American forces, headquarter.

[Endorsed Philadelphia, 11 December, 1783, from Brig'dr Gen'l Armand.]

HACKER'S HALL.†

Colonel Thomas Lloyd Halsey appears for many years as manager at balls given at Hacker's Hall. Among the invitations preserved is the following, addressed to Dr. Solomon Drowne and to his wife. It is here introduced, as another Providence relic of the last century. Like that addressed to Miss Polly Arnold, it was printed on the back of a playing card.


THE Favour of Dr. Solo. Drowne & Lady's Company are requested to a BALL, at *Hacker's-Hall*, on *Thursday* Evening next, at Six o'Clock.

Thos. Lloyd Halsey Mg.

Providence, Sept. 3, 1783.

* His mother wrote from her home at Rouerie an earnest letter, to the same effect. "Washington," she says, "I have a son. He leaves thee, he has served under thy command, fought under thy eyes. Thou knowest him, thou honorest him with thy esteem. Impart those flattering sentiments to our Ministers. The opinions of such a man as thou art hath an ascendency which gives it the force of a law." The Marquis appears at one time to have contemplated becoming a naturalized citizen of the United States.

† Ante, p. 252.

While in Washington, the German guests of the nation were entertained at dinner by the German citizens of the District. At this dinner, Commissioner Dent and a number of invited guests from Baltimore were present. An unpublished letter of General Washington* to Baron Von Steuben was read, and much enthusiasm was manifested. The following is the text of the letter:

WASHINGTON TO BARON STEUBEN.

"ANNAPOLIS, 23 December, 1783.

"MY DEAR BARON:—Although I have taken frequent opportunities in public and private of acknowledging your great zeal, attention and abilities in performing the duties of your office, yet I wish to make use of this last moment of my public life to signify in the strongest terms my entire approbation of your conduct, and to express my sense of the obligations the public is under to you for your faithful and meritorious services. I beg you will be convinced, my dear sir, that I should rejoice if it could ever be in my power to serve you more essentially than by expressions of regard and affection, but, in the meantime, I am persuaded you will not be displeased with this farewell token of my sincere friendship and esteem for you. This is the last letter which I shall write while I continue in the service of my country. The hour of my resignation is fixed at 12 o'clock to-day, after which I shall become a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac, where I shall be glad to embrace you, and testify the great esteem and consideration with which

"I am, my dear Baron, etc.,

G. Washington

CERTIFICATE OF CAPTAIN GIBBS.

"I do certify that Mr. Jonathan Simmons has shod three horses all round belonging to a Gentleman of His Excellency General Washington's family. Any Quarter Master of the State of Rhode Island is requested to settle with Mr. Simmons for the same.

"C. GIBBS,
"M. C. Guards.

"Newport, Jan'y 11th, 1781."

* WASHINGTON'S LIFE GUARD.—Washington's Life Guard was formed in March, 1776, and Caleb Gibbs, of Rhode Island, was its first Captain-Commandant. He held the position as late as 1781. Uzal Knapp, a native of Stamford, Conn, is believed to have been the last survivor of this celebrated body. He died in New Windsor, N. J., January 11th, 1856.

FOREIGN MEMBERS OF THE PARENT SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.

"May 7, 1784, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the Sieur Gerard, his predecessor, Count d'Estaing, Count de Grasse, Count de Barras, Chevalier des Touches, Count de Rochambeau, the Generals and Colonels in his army, and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, were made members of the Society of the Cincinnati, and on the 17th of the same month, Intendant D'Tarlé, Chevalier de Lameth, Count Sonnsvielle, Count la Touche, Count Vergasien, Chevalier Pryguille, Chevalier du Quesne, Count de Trevalies, Chevalier Maulivrierf, Chevalier de Vallonge, and the Count de Capelles, officers in the French army and navy, were also admitted.*

LAFAYETTE AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

In 1784, the legislature of Maryland, by statute, made Lafayette a citizen of that State. Virginia and Connecticut passed similar enactments, the latter State extending citizenship to his son, George Washington Lafayette. These enactments took place before the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. The acceptance of that instrument, by the above named three States, placed both father and son in the category of American citizens, without disturbing their allegiance to France. It was probably on this basis that Washington, in his effort to secure the release of Lafayette from prison in Olmutz, claimed him as "an adopted citizen of this country."

LAFAYETTE TO SAMUEL B. DENISON.

[By courtesy of Henry Thayer Drowne, Esq., New York.]

"PROVINS, July 12, 1830.

"DEAR SIR:—I am happy to have it in my power to oblige our friend, Mr. Davies, and before I left La Grange for this electioneering place, I put in the hands of Colonel Carbonel, who was returning to Paris, the very Badge that General Washington used to wear, not as President, but as a member of our Cincinnati Society. You will easily conceive my reluctance to let this precious relick, a past heritage of the family, be exposed to the mistakes that might take place at a Jeweller's House. But to the measurement or drawing which

* Memoirs, Hist. Soc., Penn., pp. 39, 40, 53, 54.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] OF THE EARTH

[illegible] Washington [illegible] Lafayette [illegible] Washington [illegible] After the war was ended [illegible] Louis XVI., and [illegible] The Bastile [illegible]

[illegible] GENERALS AND SURGEONS

[illegible] Pelham, Girardy and [illegible] correspondents of Dr. Solo[illegible] D[illegible] at Yorktown, and wit[illegible] Early in 1781, Girardy, on [illegible] from professional service in the army, and returned to France.

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[redacted]

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